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## THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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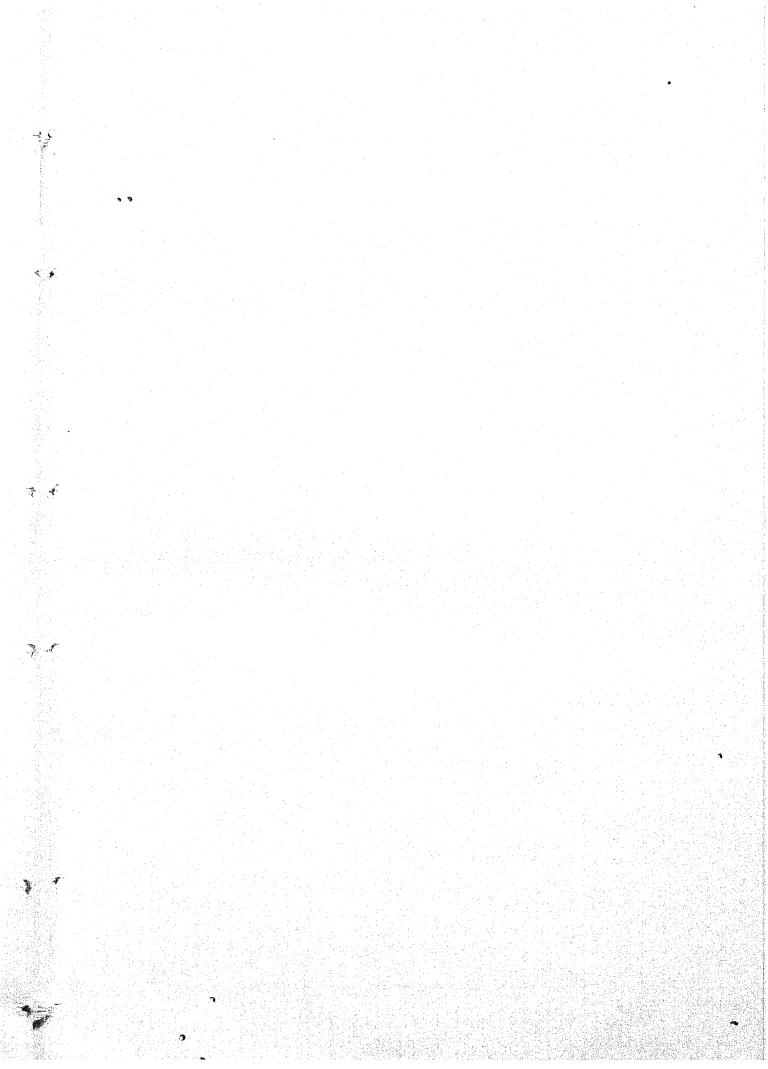
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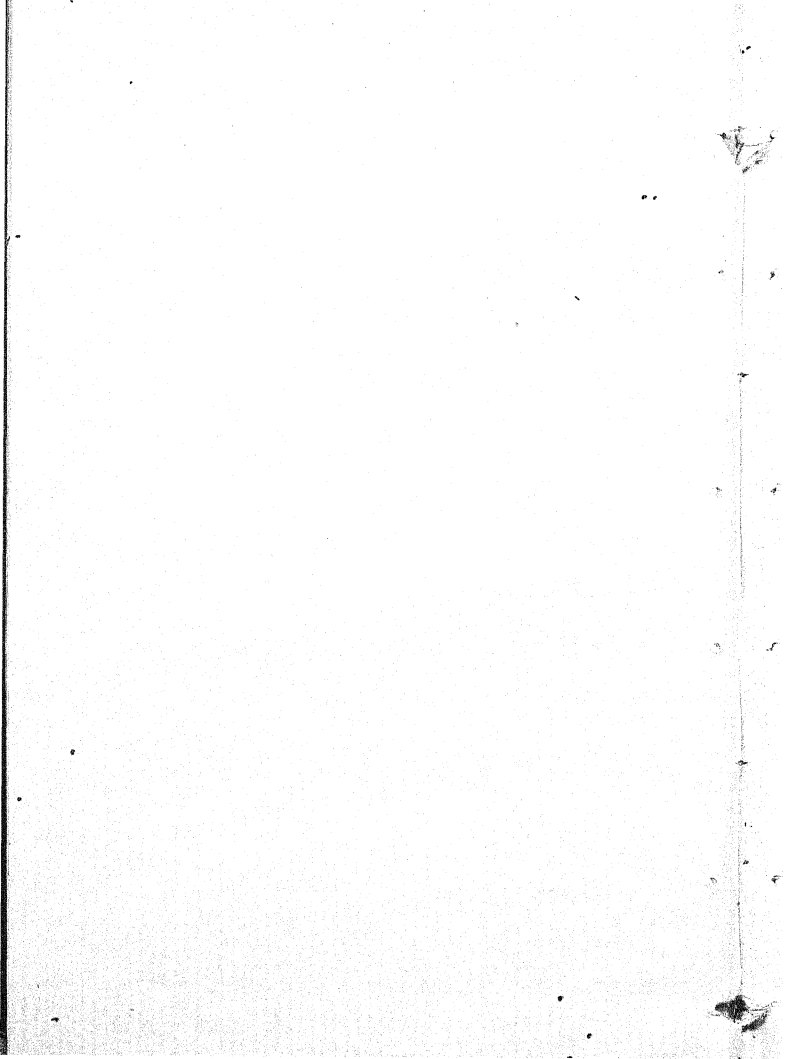
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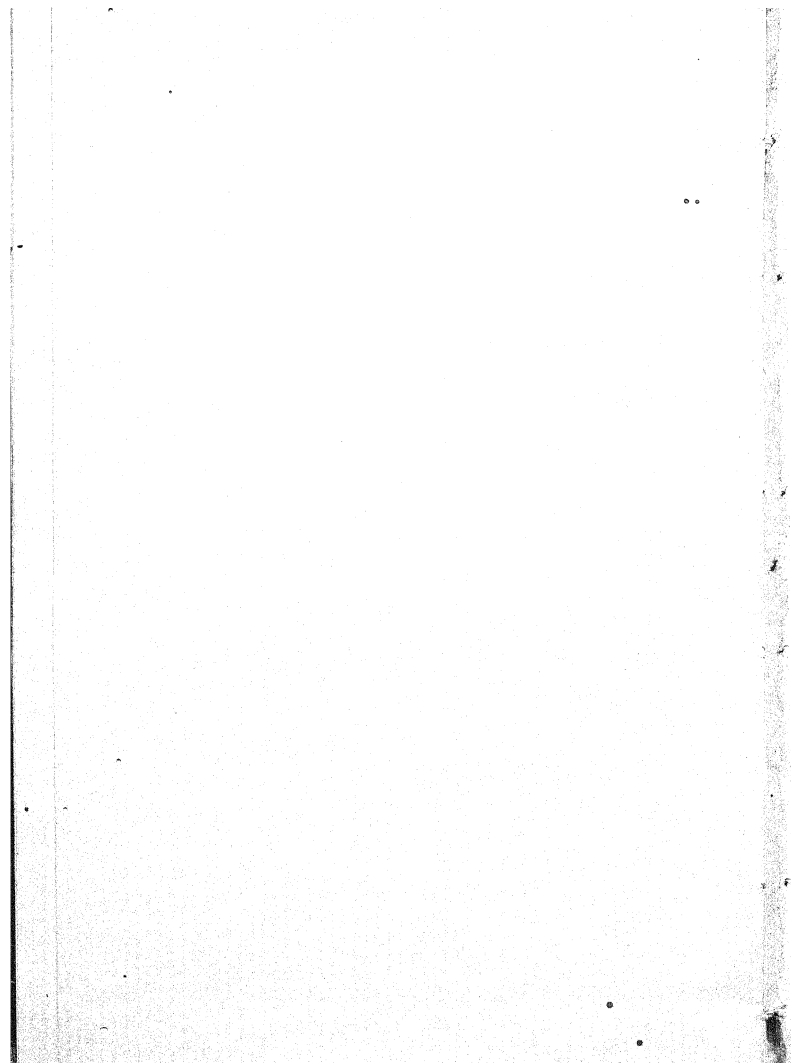
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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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## STATE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY\*

*Marcello Boldrini*

**I**N any type of society, regulating the economy is one of the functions of whomever holds the reins of government.

The more complex a society becomes and the wider the ramifications of the economy in production and trade, the more the government's guidance in the economic sphere is bound to grow and spread.

From the days of the earliest civilizations we have seen the two distinct forms in which this function is discharged: the indirect form, when the State—by virtue of its powers—influences the economy by means of legislation and administration, and the direct form, when the State becomes an entrepreneur and, either itself or through its agencies, engages in production and trade.

The forms of State intervention in the economy which interest us are those employed in the western world since the French Revolution and the first Industrial Revolution radically altered the basis and conditions of society.

The evolution of capitalism, up to its destruction in collectivism, is the salient feature of our life in the last few generations and the problem which faces all of us—governments, nations and individuals—in our continual search for freedom, justice and prosperity.

During the long stretch of social, economic and technical progress in the century which ended in 1914 with the start of the First World War, the State modelled itself on liberal principles which tended to leave the forces of capitalism maximum freedom of choice and action. The task of the State, of which these forces were the pivot, was to create the most suitable framework for their activities by means of taxation, customs duties, public works and foreign policy. The State was not expected to act as a mediator between classes and conflicting interests or to see that the growing wealth was fairly distributed. On the one hand, its indirect intervention in the economic sphere was reduced to a minimum and directed towards promoting the development of capitalism; on the other any direct intervention

\* Text of a public lecture delivered at the Institute on March 12, 1964.

was taboo except where it was limited—as, for instance, in Italy—to running certain industries, for tax reasons, as a State monopoly.

But the intrinsic evolution of capitalism and the extrinsic forces opposing it with ever-increasing pressure, led to a transformation of the State and its functions. This is a part of history which we all know and have lived through to some extent, but whose essential points must be underlined because they still overshadow our present problems.

The last hundred years of capitalist development have shown that the liberal theory of the private entrepreneur's gain and the automatic play of the market was incapable of achieving adequate production rates and conditions to meet the needs of the masses impelled by an urge for social redress. At the same time Liberal Government failed to satisfy those needs by a fairer distribution of income.

Already in the second half of the nineteenth century socialist and catholic doctrine and even the most advanced liberal thinking began to challenge the moral and practical validity of capitalism. And when its deterioration into imperialism caused a clash between the European nations entailing unheard-of sacrifices by the common people, the ground was prepared for the voicing of new values and new concepts of society and the State.

During the First World War the production and distribution mechanism had to be adapted to meet very different needs from those of peace-time operation. The State took on new jobs and responsibilities and had to make the necessary adjustments to cope with them. The principle that the good of the community should take precedence over the good of the individual and should be promoted even at the expense of the latter was extolled as a result of the war and has become one of the corner-stones of our political philosophy.

But along with political and social upheavals, entirely new situations arose as a result of changes within the capitalist system itself and in its methods, giving a new course to the economy and modifying the sociological foundations.

The core of Liberal economic thinking was the entrepreneur's freedom of action. Since he was taking the risks inherent in the undertaking, it was up to him to organize production factors and determine returns. But the rise of the trade unions, increases in the size of the firm due to new techniques, and the nation-wide and world-wide links established between firms, were gradually changing this theory and the economic climate in which it had been conceived and practised.

Thus we were to witness a widening gap between the ownership and management of companies, the growing dependence of firms on banks and finance houses and increasing competition by the biggest, most efficient and successful firms, which private interests offset by forming cartels.

.. Conditions were thus gradually becoming ripe for new forms of State intervention in the economy. If in the private sector, the entrepreneur's freedom of action is less and less equated by the assumption of risk, if the owner is increasingly displaced by the manager and if capital is raised from an ever-growing number of shareholders and a nameless host of savers via the capital market, there is no longer any reason to ban public enterprise and management from those economic spheres of major interest to the community. This is still more the case when Liberalism is no longer able to resolve its inner contradictions or control the forces it has set in motion and economic crises are rocking the foundations of society and the State.

## II

These changes, already nascent before the First World War, took shape in the unsettled period between the wars and reached a climax after the Second World War, giving rise in the West to a system under which democracy is trying to solve in freedom the problems of a society which is no longer capitalist but not socialist either.

The modern State, which, with the advent of universal suffrage has become representative of every citizen, is faced with immensely increased responsibilities but at the same time has more varied and better instruments for dealing with them.

As far as economic policy is concerned it is assisted by advances in economics enabling it to measure micro and macroeconomic phenomena with a certain precision and to apply brakes or incentives to mitigate the consequences of cyclical fluctuations. It is armed with technical, legal and administrative means—such as anti-trust laws and price controls—of ensuring that a given type of activity does not damage the interests of the community. It can also count on international solidarity and the support of international bodies which co-ordinate to some extent individual governments' policies and provide a common framework for the various countries' economies.

Balancing economic and social forces in defence of freedom, defending the interests of the many against the actions of the few, and above all promoting and maintaining economic progress—these are the aims which the State pursues both by means of general economic policy and direct intervention.

The varying extent and form of State intervention to be found in different countries are due to political factors, the pattern of society and the degree of development. In the United States and Germany, State intervention is almost entirely indirect, but this does not mean that there are not good grounds for more forceful government measures in other highly developed countries like the United Kingdom or France, or less advanced countries like Italy or in the emerging countries where State control in the main sectors of the economy is vital to the modernizing of a backward society and an embryo economy.

But it is not the situation of this last group of countries that is significant for the State's tendency to take on direct economic responsibilities. It is indeed more significant that this is happening in industrialized and economically highly developed countries, because it is in these countries that the evolution of economic and social institutions can be gauged, the worth of new formulae tried out and new prospects outlined.

Theory and practice in these countries agree in giving public enterprise four essential aims:

- (a) the performance of public services which are vital to the life of the community, where what matters is that the service in question be carried out properly, regularly and economically;
- (b) the breaking up of monopolies, in defence of consumers' and business's freedom, and of political freedom where the monopoly or cartel creates a vast concentration of economic and political power;
- (c) economic development where there are unbalances between different parts of a country or different sectors, or a lack of vigour on the part of private enterprise;
- (d) control of the output of goods which are a basic factor in other production lines.

The means of achieving these aims and, therefore, the different legal forms and organization of undertakings give public enterprise in each country an individual stamp. And there are, of course, various methods of solving the problems of these undertakings' management, finance and control.

The first aim is fulfilled by the public administration of public utility undertakings—transport, communications, electricity, water, gas—which are a special case not only because they operate in a situation of technical monopoly, but also because their public service character affects costs and tariffs and may imply their not being run on strictly business lines and thus receiving government subsidies.

A more interesting case is that of productive undertakings sponsored by the State to promote economic development, revive competition or for both these purposes. It is here that the greatest problems arise in the conduct of affairs.

### III

I cannot dwell at length on individual countries' situations and so I will take the Italian case in particular, for two main reasons apart from the fact that it is my country: because Italy offers a complete range of the various types of public economic intervention and because one of them is typically Italian and represents the most interesting example of State enterprise.

In Italy the State is engaged in economic activities through:

- (a) a number of autonomous undertakings which form part of its administrative organization and, therefore, have no distinct legal entity (State Railways, tobacco and salt monopolies, long-distance telephones, etc.);
- (b) a national electricity undertaking, similar to those set up in England and France.
- (c) a large number of companies: industrial, commercial, transport, banking, insurance, relating to spas and tourism, theatrical, mining, telecommunications and shipping, formed under the Civil Code and grouped under public holding companies with a separate legal entity.

These are the so-called "state holdings"—a group which is of the greatest interest as regards its legal set-up, its relation to the State and its economic function.

The problem which this formula sets out to solve is that of State-owned enterprise engaging in industry in competition with private enterprise, and operating for the public benefit under the rules of a free market economy.

The firms in which the Italian State has an interest are companies limited by shares, except that their capital is held by public holding companies set up by an Act of Parliament. The direction and control of these holding companies are in the hands of the Minister of State Holdings who is in the Cabinet and thus responsible to Parliament.

It goes without saying that where the State is concerned not with its specific political functions but with economic objectives, the undertaking formed to carry out these objectives must have freedom of action and the type of management which puts it on an equal footing

with private enterprise. The State-owned corporation must be run for the public benefit on sound lines by a management unhampered by red tape and headed by men with business experience and a business mentality.

This basic concept of State holdings is not valid for all the existing undertakings. For this reason the problems that arise in a practical application of the concept—to which I shall refer later—are not the same in the different firms.

A large number of the State-owned corporations existing today in Italy came under State control not because the government, in pursuance of a given economic policy, deliberately formed or acquired them, but because, due to the vicissitudes of Italian capitalism in the twenties, it was forced during the world crisis to step in to avoid the collapse of the big banks and the many industrial firms they financed and controlled.

*The Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*—I.R.I. (Institute for Industrial Reconstruction) was formed in 1933 to take over both the banks and the firms, put the latter's house in order and then return them to the private sector. But this proved impossible.

As there were objectively good grounds for the form taken by a large part of the State's business interests, the "state holding" became a system.

As regards *Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi*—E.N.I., for which I am responsible, this is, briefly, how it came into being.

In 1926 the *Azienda Generale Italiana Petroli*—AGIP had been set up by charter, with the State and two large national insurance institutions holding the capital, but was organized and operated as a private company. AGIP's operations and results and those of other State ventures in petroleum exploration, refining and the marketing of petroleum products led around 1950 to the need to re-organize the whole sector in order to give it a unified policy and strengthen its potential. In 1953 an Act of Parliament set up *Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi*—E.N.I. which took control of the various companies in which the State had an interest and those subsequently formed as a result of the boost given by E.N.I. to operations in the oil, chemical and engineering industries.

I.R.I. and E.N.I. (which of course, means the group of limited companies each of them controls) are today the two outstanding examples of State holding in Italy.

They are known as multi-sectoral integrated groups or differentiated groups and their size, flexibility and vitality enable them to create the necessary conditions for carrying out the State's aims,

which the holding company must guarantee by its powers of control and the companies must put into effect.

The public character of E.N.I. is unmistakable because it stems from a clear-cut government decision in pursuance of an economic policy justified by the situation in its main sector of operation.

The importance of energy for economic development, inadequate home production of primary energy sources and the international character of the oil industry in fact forced Italy to seek the greatest possible independence from outside sources of supply and to obtain imports on the most advantageous terms. The E.N.I. Group was formed to achieve these aims and it is one of the many examples of State intervention in the oil industry.

#### IV

The problems of State holdings, which are partly common to other forms of State intervention, are varied and complex. They concern the definition of aims, the ways of achieving them and relations between the State and the undertakings. They are political, legal and economic problems, giving rise, of course, to lively and never-ending political and technical discussion which goes to show the importance of this type of intervention in the economy for the structure of society and the State.

I can only make some brief references.

It is not always easy to define the aims of a public undertaking or group of undertakings, and still less to decide how they are to be achieved, especially where such undertakings are operating in competition with private enterprise.

For this very reason the companies in which the State has an interest must be run on sound business lines. The opponents of State intervention in fact insist that they should behave like private firms, especially when the capital is partly public and partly private, as often happens. There is no doubt that to be run on sound lines means at least that a public enterprise should adopt all the practices and techniques of a well-run private firm. But the bone of contention is what should a public enterprise do in regard to the profit motive, which is the essence of private enterprise and which entails the use of certain criteria of management.

In view of the aims of public enterprise which I mentioned earlier, it is obvious that the profit motive cannot and should not be the main aim of a State-owned company. But this does not mean that it must be eliminated altogether or that it may not be a means to an

end. For one thing the profit motive is a gauge of efficiency which cannot be overlooked if public enterprise is to be run on sound lines.

The crux of the matter is what price policy should a public enterprise adopt?

If it has been given the aim of restoring or stimulating competition in a given sector, it is felt that its prices must be fixed at a level which allows maximum use of production capacity and enough profit margin to give a return on capital, without providing additional income. But since private firms tend to adopt a price policy which enables them not only to obtain the funds they need for plant replacement and capital remuneration but also to set aside appropriations for future developments, public enterprise cannot forgo higher profits than will provide for mere capital remuneration unless it can be sure of finding the financing it needs on the market at reasonable rates or unless it can count on State backing. In some cases this may mean, as is happening in Italy, that the government is obliged to increase taxes to finance public enterprise.

If the aim of a public enterprise is to promote economic development in a particular region or sector, and it has to operate in uneconomic conditions such as private enterprise would reject, the State must provide a cushion of subsidies or else reduce costs. Unless it does this it is endangering the soundness of the enterprise as well as the aims it is pursuing. If it does so, it must be able to exercise the necessary controls to ensure that the enterprise does not sit back and cease to be efficient.

The problem I have just outlined is one of the most delicate. It is true to say that neither the various interpretations of the behaviour of private firms nor economic models are enough to give public enterprise practical guidance.

The attitude of public enterprise to the profit motive and the fixing of prices, as indeed to many other management problems, must be determined by a sober appraisal of all the facts and forecasts—national, international and of the particular sector, group and firm—in relation to the aims to be achieved. To this end both the government's political and administrative bodies and the heads of the enterprise, with their business experience, must work together, each within their own sphere and responsibilities but in close harmony.

## V

Here I should like to call attention to the immense importance of planning in this connection,

In those countries where it is found advisable to use public intervention to change the market mechanism with a view to adapting it to development aims, planning appears to be an essential instrument in rationalizing the choices of the public and private sectors in terms of the proposed aim. And when the public sector is already widespread and powerful, and the State can exert through it a profound influence on the whole economy, the plan becomes an instrument for making this sector to give the lead in pursuing the overall aims of the economy.

It is a matter of distinguishing between the public and private sectors, of laying down what each of them can and should do, but at the same time of co-ordinating their functions, and the administrative activities of the State as well, into a concerted and coherent whole.

Control of the public enterprises is one of the biggest problems in a mixed economy because it must be effective without being a bottleneck and because the usual political and bureaucratic bodies for controlling the State administration are not suited to controlling industrial firms. In Italy the problem has been solved by giving the Minister of State Holdings and Parliament overall political control and the group holding company the day-to-day control over the firms' activities. This avoids bureaucratic interference in the firms' affairs whilst ensuring their public character and aims and guaranteeing that they are run on sound lines.

The changes in the capitalist system which have given rise to the State's new functions are by no means over. Factors which have existed for some time have not yet produced all their possible effects and their full significance has not yet been grasped.

The gradual, continuous dwindling of money values, the falling off of individual saving and its replacement by public and business saving, the propensity to spend egged on by increasingly aggressive sales campaigns which mean that supply rather than demand determines production tendencies, are all a clear indication in advanced societies of a decline in traditional values and relations. Fundamental institutions of the old legal and social order—such as private property—are on the downgrade. The chief political theories of the last century are becoming less and less representative of the economic and social reality and less and less capable of inspiring the policies of the various parties. Power is derived from different forces and expressed in different terms from formerly.

Public intervention in the economy is a result of these changes, but is inevitably affected by their incompleteness. Public enterprise is an instrument of this intervention, but only an instrument. It cannot lay down its own objectives and must take its place in a system

of institutions intended to achieve and defend the aims and values of society, just as private enterprise must come within the same framework if its size and type of operation give it a considerable influence on the economic and political life of the nation.

## VI

The capitalist world is going through a phase of transition and uncertainty. At the same time a process of revision is going on in the collectivist camp which is beginning to lose ground as a point of reference for the social currents which in the West have thoroughly upset the old equilibrium.

For the developing countries, which have recently entered a new phase in their history, these happenings can serve as a valuable example. Their problems are quite different from those of the older and more advanced countries and their solutions will also be different. But they can make their choices in the light of what has occurred elsewhere and thus perhaps avoid costly experiments.

The various ways in which the West is attempting to find a happy medium between freedom and social purpose in business show that the old capitalist world is trying to progress without turning everything upside down. Not all these ways are equally applicable or appeal equally to the developing countries.

A formula based, as in the Italian experiment, on firms which have to be efficient because they are operating a competitive market, aims at the distribution of resources and the regulation of capital formation in the interests of economic development. The firms are part of the free market system but affects its mechanism. In other western countries with the highest national product in the world public enterprise does not to any great extent affect the market mechanism, but only removes certain activities, generally in the category of public utilities, from the private sector by means of nationalization.

For a country like India, which already has a vast and expert executive class and is already fairly industrialized, the need for a strong public enterprise would not appear incompatible with a system encouraging the spread of managerial ability within the public sector.

Government action and the Plan ensure that the economy is geared to a socialist pattern of society. "Speedy decisions and a willingness to assume responsibility—decentralisation of authority and management along business lines" are the four characteristics which the 1956 Government of India Resolution on Industrial Policy ascribes to public enterprise. It is just these characteristics that distinguish the Italian State holding system from other western public enterprise formulas and make it an up-to-date and efficient instrument of economic progress in a free society.

## THE ROLE OF VIVA VOCE IN RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICES

*[We have published previously in the issues of this Journal, for July-September and October-December 1956, two articles respectively "On Interviews" by Shri A. A. A. Fyzee and "How to Be Interviewed" by Don Roney and Charles Cushman.*

*We are happy to publish below, by the courtesy of All India Radio, the text of two recent broadcasts by Dr. G. S. Mahajani on "Personality Test" and Shri K. P. S. Menon on "Facing the Interview". These deal with the use of the interview method for selection of personnel for public services and how best the candidates can present a true and complete picture of their merit. It is hoped that they will not only be of some practical utility to the candidates appearing for interview before Public Service Commissions in India but also help remove inadequate appreciation in some quarters about the usefulness of the interview method for recruitment to the public services.—Ed.]*

### PERSONALITY TEST\*

G. S. Mahajani

I PROPOSE this evening to say a few words on what makes for success in the Personality Test as held by the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment to All-India and other Central Services.

This test is a twenty to thirty minutes interview of the candidate, by a competent and unbiased Board—which consists of two members of the Commission, an educationist of standing, usually a Vice-Chancellor, plus a few experts who, among them, represent the various services. The interview is no test of his specialized or general knowledge because these have been tested through his written papers. The Board has also before it a record of his career and achievements. The interview, therefore, is in the nature of a conversation to judge such qualities as mental alertness, critical powers of assimilation, clear and logical exposition, balance of judgment, variety and depth of interests, ability for social cohesion and leadership, intellectual and moral integrity. Now if you are a candidate for this test, this somewhat high sounding

\* Broadcast from Poona Station of All India Radio on May 30, 1964.

phraseology need not frighten you. What you need remember is simply this: Apart from your special subject of academic study, you should have taken interest in the happenings around you, within and outside your State and country, as also in the modern currents of thoughts and new discoveries.

#### THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

Now here, as in every other field, there are two aspects of success. As Addison would have put it, they are:

First, to deserve success which is more important and depends on yourself; and

Secondly, to *command* success, which depends on external factors and in respect of which one can only master some technique.

Take the first: How to deserve success in the Personality Test? Two factors help to develop the personality. As remarked by Bagehot in the case of Shakespeare, they are capacity for conversation that is social life and capacity for solitude.

Self-confidence and ability to inspire confidence in others are the basis of leadership and they can be cultivated by enthusiastically participating in social life. On the other hand it is the capacity for solitude which develops self-reliance, individuality and original thinking. It is by thinking for oneself and by oneself that you are able to exercise the right of private judgment and if need be to dissent from the crowd. The courage to say "no" when necessary marks out a leader.

#### SOME PRACTICAL HINTS

Let us now list a few practical hints in this behalf of *deserving* success.

First, everyday read, aloud if possible, some one English newspaper of standing with the help of maps on the wall and a dictionary. Whatever you read will be a part of yourself if the places referred to are seen on the map. Similarly, listen in, to the radio-news, every night. You will be thus kept in touch with current affairs. Your ear will be trained to the accent and pronunciation and you will learn proper delivery of address.

Secondly, reading dailies and listening to radio-news would not suffice. Information gathered day by day will not enable you to see the inter-relation of events, their relative importance or their perspective. For example, you might learn much about the Punjabi-Suba

agitation, language riots in Assam and the D.M.K. activities in the South—each in isolation. But their cumulative bearing on the convening of the Conference for National Integration will be reflected much later in an article in a periodical. Hence, I would strongly urge your reading some standard monthly or a quarterly. It may have its own overtones in presentation. All the same it will enable you to marshall your facts and information, ready for intelligent use.

Thirdly, seek every opportunity to participate in debates, seminars and group discussions. Whatever your views, it is a good mental exercise to seek and study arguments against you. In fact, you should practice speaking on either side on a proposition. This will help you to get the over-all picture of a problem; it will steady your judgment and you will be able to put across effectively your own point of view.

Fourthly, do some writing every day. An essay, an article, a letter or a question paper—anything will do. But this should be done in ink and seriously. That makes for clarity of thought, purity of expression and tidiness in general.

#### IMPORTANT SUGGESTIONS

Now we come to the technique of *commanding* success in the interview room.

- (1) It does not matter if your suit is old—but let it be tidy and scrupulously clean. A knowledge that you are suitably dressed improves your morale and confidence.
- (2) Enter the interview-room, when called, at your normal pace. Pause before sitting down, thus giving the Board a chance to make the first move to offer you a seat.
- (3) Please speak up. That is speak slowly, loudly and distinctly—and in no case very fast. Look straight at the questioner. Your tone and manner should be respectful but not too submissive. An occasional 'Sir' is good but do not over do it. Do not be rude, cockey or casual. Self-confidence and good manners should go together.
- (4) The Board does not mind you being nervous and you need not be. After all you have passed the written test and are offering your services to the nation. The Board is out to discover the best in you. And to do this it will even give you five-ten minutes more, if necessary. So, smile when you feel inclined to do so. Give prompt replies to simple factual questions

but avoid monotonous repetition of "yes" and "no". Answer to the point but you can lead the discussion to what you know. If asked, for example, "Do you read the Times?" then instead of saying "No", it is reasonable to say "No, Sir, but I take the Statesman". If you do not know something, say so at once: do not dither and do not try to guess the answer. The Board will ask you something else.

- (5) The Board is not concerned with your opinions. If you have a clear view about something, state it definitely but not dogmatically. If the interviewer takes the opposite view you need not agree with him and can tactfully say "Well, Sir, I should not like to commit myself". If, say, unwittingly, you are asked an embarrassing question, it is better to give a brief reply than refuse to answer it.

If you are asked a difficult question—say, your views on a controversial issue—, stop and think a while before replying and then speak with confidence.

- (6) As a rule, young men should have preferences but no exclusions. Hence, in your choice of subjects, perhaps it is better to give low priority to those you dislike than to exclude them altogether. And in the case of the first two choices of services, you should be prepared to discuss why you prefer them.
- (7) Lastly, you are expected to have some sparetime interests. When you claim to have any such, you should be in a position to justify the claim. For example, if you are fond of reading, you should mention at least two books that you are prepared to discuss, preferably, one a recognised classic and one a contemporary work. If photography be your hobby, you should be able to describe your camera—its make, focal length and performance. Similarly, in regard to your favourite game you should be familiar with its rules and names of those who hold national and world records in that.

#### BE AN HONEST JUDGE TOO

After the interview is over, it is usual these days to ask the candidate to go to another room and write in fifteen minutes a brief resume of his interview. He should not omit in this summary to mention points on which he did not do well. This resume in fact is to confirm his ability to narrate what happened, honestly, consistently and coherently.

All this, perhaps, is not new to you. But it may be news to you if I say in conclusion that the Goddess of Success will find it difficult to elude you if you are yourself and do not worry too much about her.

## II

### FACING THE INTERVIEW\*

*K. P. S. Menon*

I HAD better begin by telling you about my experience as a candidate facing an interview rather than as an examiner conducting one.

The first time that I appeared at an interview was at Oxford in 1921. At Oxford I took History, or, to give it its full name, the Honour School of Modern History. You will be surprised to hear that my interview took no more than a minute; in fact, rather less. At Oxford it is the written test that counts. The oral examination is merely intended to resolve doubts as to whether a candidate should pass or fail or in which class he should be placed. In my own case, the examiners had decided, on the strength of my written papers, that I should pass and in which class I should be placed. I was, therefore, let off after an interview of only for 45 seconds.

Very different was my interview for the Indian Civil Service, for which, in those days, the examination was held solely in London. It was a regular personality test; as the regulations put it, it was designed to test a candidate's "intelligence, alertness and general intellectual outlook". That interview took about half an hour. The Board of Examiners consisted of 5 persons, including a lady. The Chairman set the ball rolling by saying: "So, you come from Travancore." "And that", chipped in the lady examiner, "is a native state, Isn't it?" "Or, rather, an Indian State", I said. We then discussed how the term native had acquired a derogatory meaning and why many people in Asia and Africa resented it.

I was then asked about the Government of Travancore and, in particular, the Maharaja. I said that the Maharaja, Shri Moolam Thirunal, was a dignified and almost saintly person, but that there had been complaints that he had one or two favourites. "Is it better to have one favourite, or two", asked an examiner. I said, "Normally, two, for you can play off one against the other".

Having learnt that I was a Nair, the Board asked me about the matrilineal system, its nature and its origin. It was suggested that perhaps it had something to do with the prevalence of polyandry in Kerala in the old days, where a woman had more than one husband.

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\* Broadcast from All India Radio, Kerala from Trivandrum in 1964.

In such cases you can tell who the mother is, but not the father. "In other words", said an examiner, quoting an anthropological expression, "maternity is a fact, but paternity is only a theory". "Yes", I said, "And that is a statement which is applicable not merely to Kerala".

From local subjects, the conversation gradually proceeded to more general, and more important topics. I do not remember all the details of the interview, but I remember a question as to how, in my opinion, the problem of Indian home rule differed from the Irish problem, which was then very much in the limelight. I said that for England Ireland was essentially a domestic problem, whereas India was an Imperial problem. Whether Mr. De Valera would have agreed with me I doubt, but it seemed to satisfy the examiners. On the whole, I left the interview feeling that I had a square deal at the hands of the Board; and I must say I rather enjoyed my talk with them.

That is the feeling which we would like our candidates to have in respect of our own Selection Boards. In 1951, thirty years after I had my interview for the I.C.S., I had the honour of assisting our Public Service Commission at the interviews of candidates for the Indian Foreign Service and Indian Administrative Service. I had this privilege again in 1962 and 1963. On these occasions, I bore in mind my own interview as a candidate for the I.C.S. in 1921, because I regard it as a model.

Our attempt has, first of all, been to put a candidate at ease. We would begin by questioning him about things which he was likely to know and which he could discuss with confidence. When, sometimes, a candidate withdrew into his shell we did our best to draw him out. Last year, we asked a candidate from Kerala about the recent elevation of Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai as Governor of the Punjab. A newspaper had remarked that it was a case of political bribery on the part of the Government of India and political perfidy on the part of Pattom. Did the candidate agree with this remark, we asked. He replied loftily that it was a matter of high policy and that he would rather not discuss it. We could have jumped to the conclusion that that candidate was too touchy, or too secretive, or too truculent, but instead of doing so we explained to him the purpose of our question. We pointed out that the Union Public Service Commission was not precluded from asking, and that the candidates were not precluded from answering, questions of high policy. We assured the candidate that he was entitled to hold his views, whatever they might be. All that we wanted to find out was whether he had any views at all and whether he was capable of expressing them with clarity and cogency. We assured him that any answers he gave would be treated as strictly confidential. We also told him that the putting of this particular question did not mean that

we were prejudiced against Patton; I myself was an admirer of Patton in many ways. This patient explanation put the candidate at ease, and he gave a reasoned answer to our question.

Let me also refer to another question which we put relating to current events. The Gold Control Order had just been issued. We discussed it with one of the candidates. We asked him whether he would agree with Rajaji's description of Shri Morarji Desai as "the emergency husband of the Indian people". What Rajaji meant was that just as a husband would turn to his wife in a time of emergency and ask for her jewels to be pawned, so Shri Morarji was asking the Indian people for their gold; and Rajaji advised the people that just as a shrewd wife would not part with her jewels without asking a hundred pertinent questions, so the Indian people should not lightly surrender their gold to the Government. Those candidates who had read the newspapers had no difficulty in answering our question, but others found themselves at sea and gave some very amusing answers. However, we did not penalize any candidate for his inability to follow the subtleties of Rajaji's mind.

I hope I have not given you the impression that all, or most of, our questions relate to current affairs. Very often we ask academic questions, but we prefer to put questions on the subjects in which a candidate is strong rather than on the subjects in which he is weak. Our object is not to test the degree of his knowledge of any particular subject, but rather to test the nature of the knowledge, that is to say, to see whether it is the result of merely memorising things, or whether he has thought about them and is able to relate his knowledge to the facts of life. For instance, we asked a candidate, who had taken international law, whether our action in integrating Goa into India by force was consistent with the principles of international law. When the candidate said yes, his attention was drawn to an opposite view, held by some people, that our action constituted a serious violation of international law. This was done simply in order to see whether the candidate was capable of holding his ground or whether he would give in too easily and collapse when a contrary view is presented to him. In this way we would test a candidate's self-confidence and his capacity to argue things out.


Sometimes, we would question a candidate not on his own subject, but on cognate subjects. For instance, there appeared before us a candidate from Kerala, who had got a first class in English literature. I asked him not about Keats or Shelley, Browning or Tennyson, but about Vallathol; and, to my pleasant surprise, he knew a good deal about the poetry of Vallathol. Another candidate, to whom I put the same question, admitted that he was too busy preparing for the examination to have time for Malayalam poetry; and we appreciated

this frank admission. Ignorance is always excusable; and a candid confession of ignorance is commendable, but any attempt to cover up ignorance with pretended knowledge is reprehensible and will easily be found out. There is nothing that an examiner dislikes so much as an attempt on the part of the candidate to bluff. In a candidate, as well as in a Government servant, the chief virtue which we expect is intellectual integrity.

Can an examiner, or Board of examiners, assess a candidate's intellectual integrity and mental alertness in the course of, say, half an hour's interview? My answer is that this is possible, assuming of course that the examiners are of the right type. Not being a member of the U.P.S.C., but only one attached to it occasionally, I hope I can say, without being accused of self-praise, that those members of the Commission, with whom I have had the honour of sitting at the interviews of candidates for the I.F.S. and I.A.S., are dedicated men, entirely free from any sectional or communal prejudices, men of ability and perception, who, by instinct and experience, can gently but firmly plumb the depths of a candidate's mind and ascertain its quality and his suitability for the public service. After all, no business firm will take an officer on its staff without an interview. Under the British system, too, a personality test has, for more than 40 years, been an integral part of the method of selecting candidates for the Home Civil Service and the Foreign Service, even though the vast majority of candidates, especially for the Foreign Service, come, by tradition, from certain well-known institutions, such as Eton and Oxford. How much more is a personality test necessary in India, where there is a bewildering variety of schools and colleges, where the standards of the various universities are by no means uniform, and where there is still a premium on cramming? In my opinion it would be a retrograde step to reduce the marks for the personality test and its importance in the scheme of selection.

I hope would-be candidates for the I.F.S., I.A.S. etc. who have been listening to this broadcast, will derive some comfort from my talk. I hope they will not regard the interview which awaits them as an ordeal. I hope they will appear at the interview with smiling faces and cheerful hearts, confident that the members of the Selection Board are not their natural enemies, but friends who are there to help them. They have but one desire, namely to recruit the best candidates India has for her public services. For, the more we try to strengthen democracy, the more it is necessary to safeguard the efficiency and integrity of the administration. There is much truth in Pope's couplet :

"For forms of government let fools contest,  
What'er is best administered is best."



## MIDDLE AND HIGHER MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL IN PUBLIC SECTOR

*S. T. Raja*

IN CONSONANCE with the objective of a Socialist Pattern of Society and in keeping with the Industrial Policy Resolutions of the Government, the Public sector has been playing an increasingly active role in the industrial expansion of India through its successive Five Year Plans. The size of the investment in the public sector is, therefore, growing in geometrical proportion and the question of proper utilization of these resources, both in the shape of Indian rupees and of scarce foreign exchange, assumes considerable national importance and evokes keen public interest. These resources have to be properly utilized and made to produce national wealth commensurate with the sacrifices made. This objective can be achieved only if the persons placed in the Public Sector are carefully chosen, trained and provided with suitable incentives in order to bring about the best in them. On the alertness, efficiency and integrity of this middle and higher management personnel will ultimately depend the success of the Public Sector and the prosperity of the country. While, everyone seems to be in general agreement with these principles, one sometimes wonders whether this is matched by corresponding co-ordinated action in the right direction. The public sector being distributed between various administrative Ministries, some strong central agency has to do the requisite thinking and acting in this matter. The Public Sector operates in various shapes such as Departmental undertakings like the Railways, Defence Production etc., statutory Corporations like the Reserve Bank of India, the State Bank of India, the Life Insurance Corporation, Central Warehousing Corporation, Foodgrains Corporation, etc., and companies registered under the Indian Companies Act like Heavy Engineering Corporation, Hindustan Steel and National Coal Development Corporation. Government apparatus being generally impersonal and also subject to frequent changes at higher levels, often fails to provide the personal touch and overlooks the human factor which is so vital for providing the much needed incentives for good work and disincentives for bad work in the public sector. Equally, it has also to be realized that the running of an industrial or commercial organization, be it in the public or in the private sector, is quite different from working in a Government office or Secretariat. The former calls for far quicker decisions and the responsibility for such decisions has to be shouldered by far fewer people than in Government. It

follows, therefore, that the qualifications, attitudes and motivations required in industry have to be different from those in Government Departments.

#### ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

The requirements of the Public Sector both for technical and general management at middle and higher levels during the Fourth Five Year Plan are variously assessed by different agencies. Even assuming a modest figure of ten thousand Managers in all for technical, financial and general management, it will require tremendous effort in the right direction to recruit, train, place and motivate this number of important persons. It will present a problem of considerable magnitude in human engineering to build up a management cadre which will constitute the backbone of the Public Sector industries, both present and future. While management at middle level may be largely a matter of specialized knowledge and experience, it becomes less specialized and more a matter of general management technique as it travels upwards. For example, a General Foreman, Assistant Superintendent or Superintendent of a shop in a steel plant or in a machine building plant is called upon to discharge a wide variety of management functions besides solving a few technical problems in his own line. The higher management job would, therefore, require experts with special aptitude and experience of running large commercial and industrial enterprises irrespective of the fact whether they have a technical background or not. No senior or top executive can really be an expert in all branches of technical know-how required in running a large industry. It is, therefore, his proven ability and integrity as the leader of business and industry which would be a paramount criterion in making selections at higher levels.

#### RECRUITMENT PROCESS

There is considerable divergence of opinion among the chief executives of Public Sector undertakings as to the agency and mode of recruitment. Some large Public Sector organizations feel that recruitment should be in their own hands because any other arrangement would adversely affect their control over the managers and the loyalty of the managers to the organization. Another argument against centralized recruitment advanced by the same group is that there may be delays in recruitment as it sometimes happen in centralized recruitment through the Union Public Service Commission. According to the advocates of decentralized recruitment, control and loyalty go hand in hand. There are, however, quite a few chief executives of the Public

Sector who feel that loyalty has to be inspired by the senior and top executives by their own ability, integrity and sense of fairness. If the chief executive is a person with a towering personality and sterling merits and if he keeps himself above nepotism and party politics, meting out justice to each employee according to his work and worth, a team of good and loyal workers can be built up. As regards the argument of delay in recruitment, this can easily be countered by advance planning, quick action and also maintenance of a panel of approved persons with different qualifications, if necessary. The Estimates Committee has recommended centralized recruitment and this has been further supported by Shri B. Mukherji, an ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court who was appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the fire accident in the Heavy Machine Building Plant of the Heavy Engineering Corporation. This does not mean that the chief executives of the Public Sector undertakings would not be associated with the recruiting agency right from the beginning. In fact, their association would be essential.

#### THE EXPERIMENT WITH INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT POOL

At this stage, it would be useful to examine the scheme of the Industrial Management Pool which has been in existence for some time to the extent that some important lessons can be derived from the experience of its working. While the Industrial Management Pool scheme was framed carefully and started with a laudable objective, it has failed to produce the desired results not due to any shortcomings in the scheme itself but due to the various delays and failures in its implementation. Some of these shortcomings were as under:

- (a) Between the adoption of the Industrial Management Pool Scheme and its implementation, considerable time was spent with the result that many persons who had initially shown interest withdrew.
- (b) The emoluments offered to the persons selected were based on what they were actually receiving at the time of selection and not on any evaluation of their qualifications, experience or utility to the Public Sector. The result was that many people did not find the terms very attractive.
- (c) Some rigidity was introduced in the scheme by prescribing minimum periods before promotions could be considered.
- (d) Initial difficulties were experienced in placing selected officers of the I.M.P. because reservation of posts did not exist and does not even now exist.

- (e) Further recruitment to I.M.P. was stopped after initial recruitment. The promotion rules forced some people to resign from the I.M.P. in order to get their due advancement outside the I.M.P. rules. The result was that the initial strength of over 200 officers dwindled to about 110.

The Industrial Management Pool has, therefore, suffered from stagnation and continuous erosion to such an extent that its independent existence in the present form is very much in jeopardy. It has, however, provided a good number of officers who have been occupying key posts in important Public Sector undertakings. A criticism has been levelled in some quarters that some of the officers from this Pool have not been found to be of much use to some Public Sector undertakings. This statement would be no more correct in case of I.M.P. than in other all-India services. The best course now would be to merge the remnants of the Industrial Management Pool at suitable levels in a much larger and wider organization of the Indian Management Service.

#### THE NEED FOR INDIAN MANAGEMENT SERVICE

The main ingredients for attracting and motivating a person engaged in business and industry are the following:

- (a) Social status accompanied by a reasonable security of service;
- (b) Decent working and living conditions;
- (c) Reasonable remuneration for the skill and work to be done by him; and
- (d) Adequate opportunities for advancement on the basis of experience and performance.

The Government Sector offers and will perhaps continue to offer relatively lower scales of pay and prospects in comparison with the Private Sector. This is the position in many other countries and will have to be accepted as a fact of life. In order, therefore, to attract the best talent in the country, it would be necessary to provide other inducements to the educated young men both in technical and general management lines. This can be provided by the constitution of an "Indian Management Service" (on the analogy of the Indian Administrative Service). The Service should have two wings, *viz.*: (1) Technical and (2) General Administration including Financial Administration. The members of this Service will naturally feel a certain sense of pride like members of the other all-India services. The recruitment must be done by an independent agency to be constituted by the Government of India and called the "PUBLIC

SECTOR SERVICE COMMISSION" (P.S.S.C.) The Commission should consist of one administrative Chairman drawn from one of the active and successful chief executives of the Public Sector and two Members—one technical and one financial expert. The P.S.S.C. would conduct an all-India competitive examination for recruitment to the I.M.S. and would associate three or four top executives from the Public Sector while conducting the *viva voce* test. This recruitment by an impartial all-India body duly assisted by the executives of the Public Sector would on the one hand put the selections above all reasonable criticism and on the other hand ensure adoption of uniform standards as well as an all-India outlook. From the angle of the chief executives, themselves, they would be free from pressures which may perhaps be exerted for taking young people with considerable influence irrespective of their merit or qualifications. A provision for filling a certain number of posts by departmental promotions with the approval of the P.S.S.C. in the same manner as promotions of provincial service officers to the I.A.S. Cadre should be made in addition to direct recruitment. Officers from other Central and all-India services, actually working in the Public Sector may, if found suitable, be given an opportunity for opting into the I.M.S. at appropriate levels. This will satisfy aspirations of existing employees and at the same inject new blood in the organization. The number of vacancies arising or likely to arise in the various Public Sector undertakings each year should be carefully assessed and conveyed to the P.S.S.C. The P.S.S.C. will then take steps to recruit people first by holding a written examination on the basis of a previously prescribed syllabus relevant to the requirements of the Public Sector. The candidates obtaining more than 50 per cent marks in the written test should be interviewed by the P.S.S.C. assisted by three or four chief executives and one or two top management experts as advisers. The interview would be mainly for probing deeply into the aptitude, capacity, initiative and personality of the candidate. While selecting the candidate, the P.S.S.C. would also decide how best the candidate could be utilized in any particular branch of the industry.

### *Scales of pay*

In order to make the Indian Management Service sufficiently attractive and to ensure reasonable returns to the managerial personnel, it would be necessary to fix the remunerations at reasonable levels in keeping with the general standard of wages and salaries prevailing in the country and also to introduce a large measure of flexibility in making promotions from one grade to another, while at the same time safeguarding fair assessment and merit-rating. As soon as a candidate is selected, he would receive a fixed pay of Rs. 600 per month as

probation pay. After satisfactory completion of two years' training on probation, he will be taken in Grade IV of the I.M.S., viz., Rs. 700-50-1250. The other three grades would be as under:

Grade III — Rs. 1200-60-1500-75-1800

Grade II — Rs. 1800-100-2000-125-2750

Grade I — Rs. 2750-150-3500 (for chief executives)

In addition to the above scales of pay, fringe benefits such as, free furnished house and Company's car and entertainment allowance should be given to persons in Grades II and I. While recruitment would be generally in the lowest grade, it may be necessary to fill certain specialized posts in higher grades by direct recruitment through P.S.S.C. if suitable persons are not available from within the Public Sector. Promotions from one grade to another should be made by a departmental promotions committee of the Public Sector undertaking concerned, with one representative of the P.S.S.C. present. All promotions to Grade II and Grade I, however, would be referred to the P.S.S.C. with the recommendations of the Chief Executives concerned and those to Grade I would require the approval of the Government.


### *Training*

There are some excellent training institutes doing extremely good work in the country at present. For example, the two Management Training Institutes at Calcutta and Ahmedabad are doing a fine job of work in their own ways. Though the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad modelled on the Henley Staff College pattern, does not train people exclusively for industrial management, there is a considerable industrial and economic bias in its syndicate system of training. Besides, some of the Universities have also been giving Diplomas and Degrees in Business and Industrial Management. There, however, seems to be an urgent need for a co-ordinated training programme to be evolved at these institutes for the members of the proposed "Industrial Management Service". The P.S.S.C. with the assistance of some Management experts and the All India Management Association, should formulate a coordinated training programme for two years after recruitment. The initial training for two years should be in the Management Institutes and such University Institutions as may be approved by the P.S.S.C. for this training. This should be followed by an "on-the-Job" training in the organization. After the candidates have spent sometime in their respective organizations, they could be sent in suitable batches to the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad at a later date.

### *Placement*

As stated earlier, the P.S.S.C. while holding *viva voce* tests would decide about the suitability of the selected candidates for a particular type of job. After compilation and publication of the results, the P.S.S.C. will arrange for placement of the candidates in consultation with the chief executives of the Public Sector undertakings. Once the candidate is placed in a Public Sector undertaking after initial training for two years, he will be administratively under the control of the Chief Executive of that organization who will be writing his annual confidential reports. Future promotions of the candidate either in the same organization or elsewhere will depend upon his confidential report and the recommendations of the Chief Executive of the organization in which he is working. The fact that the chief executive will be associated at all stages, *viz.*, recruitment, placement and promotion, would ensure proper control and also meet the argument of loyalty advanced by some executives of the Public Sector. Transfer of the I.M.S. officers from one Public Sector undertaking to another can be made by mutual consultations between the chief executives concerned, but with the approval of the P.S.S.C. In respect of the I.M.S. cadre, the Chariman of the P.S.S.C. will additionally perform all the duties and functions generally exercised by the Establishment Board and the Establishment Officer in the Ministry of Home Affairs in relation to Members of the all-India services. He will be assisted by the Secretary of the P.S.S.C. in establishment matters.

If the Public Service Commission is a small and compact body manned by people who are used to quick action and business like dealings, it will not only ensure recruitment, training and placements of the best talent available in the country but also prompt disposal of all matters entrusted to it. In order to enable this body to do full justice to its job, it should be permitted to function freely and to frame its own rules and regulations. Since this body will be catering for a number of economic ministries, it may be administratively responsible to the Planning Commission instead of to any particular administrative ministry of the Government. If it is felt that the Planning Commission should not have any administrative functions or responsibilities, the Cabinet Secretariat or the Ministry of Industry and Supply could perhaps assume administrative functions for the P.S.S.C. As the latter body will be functioning as an independent and autonomous body with wide powers, the administrative ministry's responsibilities would be confined only to ensuring that decisions and recommendations of the U.P.S.C. are being scrupulously followed by the undertakings concerned.



## RE-ORGANIZATION OF FRENCH RADIO AND TELEVISION, 1964

*Keith M. Henderson*

ANY student of Political Science or Public Administration should find much of interest in the recent French experience concerning administrative restructuring of radio and television services. Not only is such a case study of value from the standpoint of comparative "politics of administration" but it also illuminates the larger issues involved in government regulation and control of the mass media.

The French experience with radio and television media differs considerably from the American, British, German, Italian or others which might be taken as points of comparison. A distinct cultural heritage, as well as historical circumstance, place the French in a unique position. Not only is radio and television identified as a government monopoly, but at the same time the tradition of political factionalism, relative freedom of the press, and cultural hegemony over other nations throw this seemingly anomalous government control into sharp perspective and subject it to varying degrees and styles of criticism as well as impassioned support.

The American mind reacts with dismay at the idea of monopolistic control of mass media by government. On the issue of control over radio and television, the French position is more ambiguous and, with one disdainful eye on the philistinism of American commercial television, many educated Frenchmen may have appreciated the arguments of Minister of Information, Alain Peyrefitte, in May, 1964, that "tutelage" by the government is needed to assure the public-service character of radio and television in France.

The basic concept of monopolistic government control is imbedded in the preamble of the 1946 constitution and continued in the 1958 constitution: enterprises which have acquired the character of a national public service may become property of the State.

Under both the fourth and Fifth Republics, the Radiodiffusion Television Francaise (R.T.F.) has been under State control as an appendage of the Ministry of Information. Television has been a complete monopoly and radio "semi-competitive", with the State as major shareholder. The radio listener may also turn his dial to Radio-Luxembourg, Radio-Monte-Carlo, Europe 1, Sottens, Brussels I, or the British Broadcasting Company (French service). The T. V. viewer is more restricted, although, as of last year, he has a second

government channel to choose from. Provision for decentralization had previously been made for T.V. in the nine regions of Lille, Strasbourg, Nancy, Marseille, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rennes, Lyon and Limoges, and also for radio, so that viewers and listeners in the provinces might receive communications of local interest. Considerable criticism, from a number of sources, including the provinces, has been heard in recent years in spite of the various extensions of service undertaken by the government.

This paper will seek to analyze the various issues involved in re-organizing French radio and television and to concurrently explore the controversy surrounding the proposed new statute for an O.R.T.F. (Office Radiodiffusion Television Francaise) designed to "replace" the previous R.T.F. As the government's response to growing criticism from a variety of quarters, the new statute is worthy of attention both as a semantic triumph (substituting seemingly different concepts—such as tutelage—for those existing) and as a micropicture of the government-dominated political complex surrounding radio and television broadcasting. The technical details, administrative problems, character of programming (constant appearances of President de Gaulle, for example), labour troubles among the rank and file employees of broadcasting, etc. can only be properly understood against the background of the broader political environment.

Circumstances surrounding the O.R.T.F. story provide yet another illustration of the operation of a strongly centralized political system in which the executive—reflecting the person of the President—dominates the legislature, one house of which (the Assembly) in turn dominates the other (the Senate).

#### BUREAUCRATIC AND OTHER DYSFUNCTIONS

Prior to the proposed re-organization in mid-1964, the R.T.F. manifested a number of widely conceded difficulties of an administrative nature and additional political problems of a more controversial character. The Court of Accounts had discovered a number of defects and abuses. In his initial presentation of the government's remedy<sup>1</sup>—an administrative council under the guidance or tutelage rather than direct control of the Ministry of Information—M. Peyrefitte alluded to the paralysis caused by stringent financial controls, the absence of authority and the dilution of responsibilities, personnel problems, and structural inadequacies of the existing administrative organization. Even though the government, in 1963, had introduced "reforms" by improving programming, decentralizing to give each region material

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Official*, May, 26, 1964.

of its own interest, and similar measures, the Minister admitted that more reforms were needed. He recognized, but of course could take only an official position upon, the more deep-seated issues of "liberte", partiality, adequacy of news coverage, and the public interest.

Political parties had been less subject to restraint. In the M.R.P. (Mouvement Republicain Populaire) Programme for Joint Action, 1962, Radicals, Socialists and Independents published a list of fundamental points of opposition to the Gaullist regime, the first of which emphasized, *inter alia*, the establishment of a system or "objective information" by guarantees for the press and a *democratic* statute for State radio and television.

Symptomatic, also, was the attitude of other mass media. The press, which is free of government regulation, prides itself on complete and courageous coverage of the news while, on the contrary, the cinema industry argued and continues to argue for greater government protection for itself, pointing to the envied R.T.F. and protesting both the utilization of its studies by R.T.F. and the non-utilization of its film-processing laboratories.<sup>2</sup>

Generally it was conceded that a "bureaucratic spirit" had spread over the radio and television establishment with unqualified personnel virtually irremovable and qualified personnel almost unpromotable because of the outcry arising from colleagues as to demogogy and favouritism. Producers of programmes exercised excessive control through various pressure groups inspired, according to the government, by interests other than the public interest.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the bureaucratic and broadly political issues, several specific incidents had brought forth the wrath of R.T.F.'s critics. In October, 1962, when the President of the Senate wrote the Minister of Information indicating that he wished to make his views known to the public on the forthcoming referendum, the Minister of Information was placed publicly in an extremely awkward position. In 1963, an interview with M. Khrushchev on the occasion of the anniversary of the battle of Stalingrad was suppressed because of the Soviet leader's attack on France's friend and neighbour, the German Federal Republic. In this case, non-intervention by the French Government would have been tantamount to approval and it was thought ill-advised to risk offending the Federal Republic. The handling of other documentary items, such as those concerning Red China, was a further bone of contention for critics of the R.T.F.

With the spector of censorship continually flaunted in its face and the extensive reliance by President de Gaulle on the use of R.T.F.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Monde*, November 13, 1964, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Monde*, May 28, 1964, p. 10.

to reach the people, accompanied by de-emphasis of all political opposition to de Gaulle, the government found itself in an untenable position and hence determined to introduce several changes through a new statute without, however, compromising the government's role.

#### THE 1964 STATUTE

The 1959 Statute was held inadequate to cope with France's radio and television problems and in May, 1964, the government presented a revision based on the desire to achieve:

- (1) depolitization of French radio and television,
- (2) greater autonomy, and
- (3) structural administrative reform, including increased authority and responsibility for the radio and television organization.

An Administrative Council (*conseil d'administration*) would be created with autonomy from direct government control. The government would exercise "tutelle" or tutelage rather than immediate authority, as previously, and would intervene in the affairs of the enterprise only as arbitrator in "grave internal conflicts". Thus the Council would run its own programme and form its own policies under the general guidance of the Ministry of Information. However, the Director General, who would act as chief administrator for the Council, would be appointed by the government and could be revoked by the government.

Composition of the Council would be balanced between appointees named by the State and by outside sources on a half-and-half basis. It would be impartial, watching over the objectivity and accuracy of broadcast information, and would have the necessary authority and responsibility to carry out its tasks. A President of the Administrative Council would be elected by his peers on the Council and a Vice President would be similarly elected. The Director General, appointed by the Council of Ministers, would in turn name his management staff but would serve more as *primus inter pares* than true chief. He would act in the "sole interest of listeners and viewers and of the nation". He would have responsibility for financial management as well as for personnel.<sup>4</sup>

Hence, the basic outline was presented of what would be called the Office de la Radiodiffusion et Television Francaise (O.R.T.F.), an autonomous public body operating under the surveillance of the

<sup>4</sup> *Le Monde*, May 28, 1964, p. 10.

government with parliamentary control of the basic budget and sources of financing. O.R.T.F. was intended to meet the needs of three objectives: information, culture and leisure.

According to the official presentation before the National Assembly, the new statute would remedy existing problems, retaining necessary control while also providing the desired "liberte" in accordance with the best French tradition.

Not all members of the National Assembly or the Senate were so sure.

#### THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION

From the largely internal questions over matters such as wages and salaries, which are not of significance for the present discussion, the R.T.F. controversy and become by mid-1964 a major public issue and the government's statute emerged as the focal point for the political opposition. In the course of Assembly debate on the statute, M. M. Maurice Faure, President of the Radical party, and Jean Freville led the opposition arguments, endeavouring to liberalize the statute's provisions.

According to M. Maurice Faure, "l'etiquette est changee, le flacon reste le meme". He denounced the "politisation" of personnel of the Radio and Television journal who, allegedly, never criticized the government or its supporters and presented only an official view. He, and his colleagues, further objected to the composition of the Administrative Council and the mode of designation of the Director General.<sup>5</sup>

M. Fernand Grenier, Communist, denounced the partiality of the regional journals of the R.T.F. and stated that the proposed statute made no mention of the rights of the opposition. He recalled the proposal put forth by his group that the Administrative Council be entirely elective and that the Director General be appointed by the Administrative Council rather than the Council of Ministers. The Communist orator also defended the personnel of the R.T.F. against the "McCarthyism" of the government.<sup>6</sup>

A Socialist deputy, M. Escande, alluded, in the same debate of May 28, to the "politisation", "clans", and "sinecures" in the R.T.F.<sup>7</sup>

These and other perspectives on the past, current, and proposed situation of French radio and television were aired in the original

<sup>5</sup> *Journal Official*, May 28, 1964.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

assembly debates. After three days of debate, the National Assembly adopted the statute by a vote of 276 to 181, with 14 abstentions. Numerous minor modifications were proposed for the statute and M. Peyrefitte deemed it advisable to demand a blocked vote, the French mechanism by which the government may call for a vote on the basis of the original proposal.<sup>8</sup>

This was not the end of things, however. A number of spokesmen presented their ideas at this point, including the Director of the Institute of Political Studies (Institut d' études politiques), M. Pierre Lavigne. His points might be more revealing than some others, although he also might be considered partisan. Essentially, he indicated that:

- (1) Freedom of information is desirable.
- (2) *Tutelage* will be no different than *authority*.
- (3) The structure of the Administrative Council is incorrect.
- (4) The mode of designating the Director General is incorrect.
- (5) The system is incoherent.

Following Assembly passage, the bill was referred to the Senate for action. The debate in the Senate on the statute as passed by the Assembly began on June 11 and continued for several days. Again the Minister of Information presented his case, indicating that if the budget of the R.T.F. is in balance this year, it is due to a policy of austerity and the fine efforts of personnel who maintained the quality of programmes in spite of reduced means.

Although a second channel was placed in operation, 445 employees were suspended. In effect, M. Peyrefitte indicated that the government had done all it could within the limits of the existing statute and hence a new one was needed. He explained:

"The President and Vice President of the Administrative Council, elected by their peers, must be given extensive responsibilities."

"The Director General must be a capable administrator, named by the State, handling administrative matters whereas the Council handles 'policy' matters."

"The R.T.F. must be made an exemplary public service."

In spite of applause from the right, centre and several benches of the left after the Minister of Information's presentation, the Senate profoundly modified the statute as adopted by the National Assembly. The Senate version provided, *inter alia*, as follows:

(1) Limited to 1/3 the number of members of the Administrative Council who would represent the government (rather than 1/2).

<sup>8</sup> *Le Monde*, May 30, 1964.

(2) Transferred to the Council (rather than the Director General) the responsibility for management.

#### ENACTMENT

A compromise between the Senate and original Assembly versions was developed by a joint committee, but this, as with the Senate version, did not find favour with the government. M. Alain Peyrefitte, before the National Assembly, categorically opposed the compromise measure, arguing that the government had already accepted, in the original Assembly version, nine amendments to its initial proposal and this was enough.

The final Assembly vote, after the government again invoked a "blocked vote" which required a vote on the bill as introduced, was 279 in favour to 181 against. The Senate vote was 190 (against) to 38 (in favour).

In accordance with standard parliamentary procedure in the Fifth Republic, the Senate action was sent back to the Assembly for re-affirmation of the Assembly's original position. As might be expected, the Government's will prevailed. By way of footnoting this procedure, the uninhibited press offered various comments of interest to us.

In the June 18 issue of *Le Figaro*, it was stated that, "The institution of joint committees hardly provides satisfactory results, and that is a euphemism".

The independent *Combat* expressed fear that the overriding of the Senate's opinion raised the prospect of a single chamber parliament.

#### CURRENT FUNCTIONING OF THE NEW STATUTE

When the statute for the new O.R.T.F. had finally been adopted, the government, as might be expected, took steps to implement the new plan of organization. The Administrative Council declared its intention to carry out the intent of the new Statute by establishing management policies, deliberating its budget, assuring the quality and morality of programmes, watching the objectivity and exactitude of information, assuring that the principle tendencies of thought and the main currents of opinion may be expressed through the radio and television media.<sup>9</sup> In spite of the objection of certain members of parliament, the government of course retained the power to appoint or select as representatives of the State, 8 of the 16 members of the Administrative

<sup>9</sup> *Le Monde*, July 24, 1964, p. 1.

Council plus the Director General, as well as two "adjoints" in the Council of Ministers. For the latter three positions the following names were proposed:

M. Astoux

M. Jacques Bernard Dupont

• M. Claude Contamine<sup>10</sup>

It is not necessary to list the full composition of the Administrative Council by detailing names and previous affiliations of members. Suffice it to say that an effort was made to achieve representation from the major interested groups, including the clientele. We might well ask, however, whether or not dependence on the government has now increased rather than diminished. No definitive answer can be given at this time to this interesting query. For the average Frenchman—if there is such a person—there has probably been no appreciable change in the manner of his television or radio programming. He has very likely seen the "open letters" in *Le Figaro* from one of the executives of a station to another, complaining in a scathing tone of one thing or another. As a result of this and other publicity, he may be inured to the successive announcements concerning re-organization and conditioned to the continuing discussion regarding the artistic life of the country which artistic life, according to "post re-organization" criticism, is alleged to be suffering under the economy drive to reduce the number of orchestras and curtail expenditure of funds to support regional musical associations in the provinces.

Perhaps as a response to the newer criticism, the O.R.T.F. Council has given publicity to its regionalization policy. Symptomatic of the renewed attention to the cultural life of the provinces is the first regional festival of the O.R.T.F., held on October 27, 1964.<sup>11</sup> At this festival, the "best works" developed by 11 stations in the provinces in the realm of information and art were presented before two juries (one for radio and one for television) which decided which station had undertaken its role best. Primary goals of the festival were to draw attention to the activities of each province and to encourage efforts appropriate to the peculiar needs of the various provinces.<sup>12</sup>

The regionalization policy is officially built around the nine administrative regions already in existence prior to the recent reorganization. New centres are being added at present and more are scheduled for 1965.

<sup>10</sup> *Le Monde*, June 14-15, 1964, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Le Monde*, October 27, 1964, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

In its second working meeting, on October 7, 1964, the newly elected President of the O.R.T.F. conseil d'administration, M. Wladimir d'Ormesson, sought to reassure past and present critics by citing evidences that "les grands courants de pensee" are allowed ample opportunity for expression over the airwaves and, conversely, that publicity advertisements would not be desirable. As reported on the first page of October 10, 1964 issue of *Le Monde*, M. d'Ormesson indicated that all nuances of opinion are reproduced through the media of radio and television, including that of the political opposition.

In a final paragraph, which might well serve to characterize the still ambiguous position of the O.R.T.F., M. d'Ormesson declared that internal structural re-organization was dependent solely on the action of the Director General:

"We must not interfere; otherwise we would come to confusion of powers. We have been told; it is indicated in the texts.

On the other hand, for the programmes, it is our right and our duty to make observations if they are needed. Thus, we have pointed out that there were too many 'revolver shots' on the television this summer."



## BUREAUCRATS—THE LOSS OF VISION

R. P. Khosla

PROF. WALLACE SAYRE in a recent article\* published in this Journal refers to the two common types of myths about bureaucracies which occur in Western political thinking; one viewing this type of organization as the ideally efficient structural form and the other seeing in it a system which by its very nature defeats the operation of democratic safeguards. He argues that perhaps neither of these views is wholly correct but that bureaucracies display a mixture of both types of features, depending on the nature of the choice made in the construction of the organization.

In the article it is proposed to discuss some of the essential characteristics common to most bureaucratic organizations and to analyse the factors which tend to emphasize both its vices and its virtues. It will not be concerned with the interaction of bureaucratic realities upon democratic ideals or the nature of bureaucracies in authoritarian political systems but with certain generic qualities which are fundamental to bureaucracy as an organizational form and which are independent of the social or political milieu in which it exists.

It has been said that bureaucracies inhere in large organizations. When an organization attains a size where all of its members cannot effectively be supervised by one man, a multi-level pyramidal structure necessarily has to be created, with its natural concomitant, the delegation of authority and responsibility to successive levels. A contributory factor in the growth of bureaucracies is the complexity of the problems with which an organization is called upon to deal. This complexity is a function of the number of variable factors that require to be taken into account, the aspects of human activity affected and the types of external pressures to which an organization is subject.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of a bureaucracy is the presence within it of specialists of various types. The word "specialist" is used here in the broadest sense of the term. It is intended to cover in the first place persons who have in a particular field acquired the intensive knowledge which is essential to the performance of the duties attached to the position they occupy; and in the

\* Wallace S. Sayre, "Bureaucracies—Some Contrasts in Systems", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, April-June, 1964, Vol. X, No. 2.

second place those members of an organization who through their exclusive preoccupation with a small segment of the activity of the organization acquire a depth of experience in that limited field which endows them with expert knowledge of that field. The impact of a highly complex pattern of forces and factors produces the steady growth of such a cadre of specialists to deal with the problems that confront the organization. It then becomes possible to break down a policy decision into a number of smaller components each one of which can be dealt with by an individual possessing special qualifications in that particular field. This process of fragmentation is an integral part of the way bureaucracies deal with issues. The complexity of the problem it has to deal with imposes this course on a bureaucracy, which, therefore, equips itself with a body of men with the requisite specialist knowledge. The development of specialists in a bureaucratic organization is the means by which the organization attains a high degree of efficiency in achieving its aims. To a certain extent, therefore, the efficiency of bureaucratic organization is a function of the degree of specialized knowledge possessed by its members.

From the existence of specialists follows another characteristic of a bureaucracy—its essential rationality. Decisions are taken on the basis of the specialized knowledge possessed by its members and are the result of a careful marshalling of facts and arguments. They are independent of the whim or personal preference of the bureaucrat and even where extraneous factors come to play a part in a decision, every effort is made to clothe the reasons for decision in the garb of logical argument. The element of personal preference is ideally reduced to an absolute minimum in all exercises of choice. This does not, of course, mean that an ideal system deprives the bureaucrat of all discretion but that the system compels this discretion to be exercised with reference to demonstrably rational and objective criteria. The rational approach also results in the proneness of bureaucracies to categorization. They have through the very nature of their work to deal with large numbers of people or situations. To make this possible, these people or situations are grouped into categories and decisions are taken in respect of these categories and not the individual persons who comprise them. The inevitable result of this is the depersonalization of the relations of the bureaucracy with the public which is the cause of some of the strongest criticisms against bureaucrats.

Bureaucracies attach a great deal of importance to conformity. Decisions must conform to precedent, procedures must conform to rules and bureaucrats themselves must conform to codes of conduct. In a way this insistence on conformity to precedent is an aspect of

the rationality of bureaucracies. A rational decision is one that not only takes into account the whole range of relevant facts but also earlier decisions taken in similar circumstances. Precedent thus becomes important not only as a justification for the decision after it has been taken but also as one of the factors that require to be taken into account in the process of arriving at the decision itself. Decision making in a bureaucracy is, therefore, informed by the quality of predictability which reflects the essential rationality of the process.

Members of a bureaucratic organization are for good reasons required to regulate their conduct according to certain prescribed norms. Deviation from these norms is penalized by disciplinary measures which may go as far as the removal of the misdeedant from the membership of the organization. A bureaucrat is expected to be "methodical, prudent and disciplined" and these qualities find an extremely high place in the hierarchy of bureaucratic virtues. Apart from the stick of castigation for those who depart from the precepts of bureaucratic virtue there is also the carrot of reward for the orthodox bureaucrat. The prospects of promotion, increments in pay, pensionary and other miscellaneous benefits are powerful incentives to conform with accepted canons of conduct and adopt approved attitudes. These rewards come in the normal course to all those who possess the negative virtue of not being undesirably different. They are not conferred particularly on those bureaucrats who are found to possess positive qualities of exceptional merit. In fact the bureaucratic system on the whole neglects the outstanding individual. For such rewards as it offers it ignores the shades of differences between the individual who conforms minimally and one who possesses the desirable bureaucratic qualities to an outstanding degree. On the whole it ignores variations in the performance of its members provided the performance of a bureaucrat is not so poor as to discredit the organization itself. In fact one of the criticisms that has been levelled against the bureaucratic system is that it devises elaborate procedures to select individuals of the highest calibre for entry into its ranks and having done so proceeds to reduce them all to a uniform mediocrity. It is not as though the pressures towards conformity are consciously felt. New entrants into a bureaucratic organization sense the unspoken requirements very quickly and soon imbibe the prevalent mores. They become aware of the community of interest that binds them together and themselves become staunch upholders of the discipline. Since advancement within a bureaucracy is largely a product of the efflux of time and the acquisition of seniority, internal competition is minimized and bureaucracies become closely integrated organization strongly resistant to external pressures.

There is another fundamental quality which is characteristic of bureaucrats. This is an awareness of the limitations of the authority and competence of each individual bureaucrat. Interrelationships within a bureaucracy are fixed and formal and quite independent of changes in the office bearers themselves. The powers of each bureaucrat are clearly defined since it is essential to prevent any overlap of functions among members of the organization and also to ensure that none of the functions of the organization are omitted from the distribution of functions and responsibilities. It is also necessary to ensure that major decisions whose consequences may be far reaching are not taken by individuals who are too low in the bureaucratic hierarchy and thus not in a position to see the situation as a whole. In the higher echelons of a bureaucracy precise definitions of the limits of power are comparatively rare. The area of jurisdiction of bureaucrats is also always clearly defined. A vivid awareness of the circumscriptions of individual jurisdiction is a uniform feature among members of a bureaucratic organization. The consciousness of the dangers of transgressing these formal delimitations of authority and responsibility leads them to place great emphasis on the reduction to writing of orders or communications on all matters which do not obviously lie within the formal boundaries of their authority.

What has been briefly discussed so far are certain characteristics which are intrinsic to the bureaucratic form of organization. They cannot really be the subject of value judgments since they form the very essence of bureaucracy. The specialized knowledge of the bureaucrat, the clear definition of interrelationships, the conformity to fixed norms of procedure and conduct all combine to enable the aims of administration to be more efficiently achieved.

In actual practice, however, bureaucracies do not function in as logical and efficient a way as an analysis of their characteristics might lead one to expect. There is invariably a distortion of these characteristics which tends to defeat the purpose of the existence of a bureaucracy. A bureaucracy is not an organic entity independent of its constituent parts, but an orderly collection of human beings each performing specified functions according to ordained procedures. The degeneracy of a bureaucracy is, therefore, a human failure and not an inherent defect in the organizational form.

The human failure is basically the result of a loss of vision. A lone bureaucrat surrounded by the four walls of his office room enmeshed in the complexities of his small world of problems and responsibilities loses all awareness of the world outside and the ultimate aims of the organization of which he forms a part. This influences his conduct in a variety of ways. Regard for precedent, desirable

as an ingredient in decision-making becomes uncritical veneration of all earlier decisions. Precedent thus no longer remains one of the ingredients in a rational decision but degenerates into a means for avoiding fresh thinking and becomes an excuse for refusing to break fresh ground. The other aspect of the rationality of bureaucracies—the careful marshalling of all facts which have a bearing on the situation all too often becomes a means of deferring the decision indefinitely. The bureaucrat cautious as he is by nature, becomes reluctant to take a decision without exploring a multitude of alternatives, many of which a cursory application of his critical faculties would reveal to be worthless.

The specialist in a bureaucracy, through his exclusive preoccupation with a small segment of the activity of the organization, acquires an intensity of experience of that limited segment which not only makes him highly competent in his own field but relatively incompetent in other fields. He loses sight of the programme as a whole and finds it difficult to relate his particular function to the goals of the organization as a whole. Thus a junior inspector entrusted with the verification of the quality of lead pipes delivered may not be able to see the significance for society as a whole of the work he is doing. This is not because his work is devoid of social significance but because he has failed to relate the significance of his job to the aims of the organization and the function of the organization to the aims of society. He loses the vision of the social ends served by his organization as a whole.

At a higher level, this loss of vision produces an excessive preoccupation with the importance of an individual bureaucrat's own field of activity and a refusal to recognize the relative importance of the other constituent parts. There is an attempt to increase the power and influence of one segment of an organization until it distorts the shape of the whole bureaucratic structure. The growth is generally out of all proportion to the actual increase in work load of the segment concerned and some bureaucrats acquire a reputation for "empire-building" as a result of their success in this field.

There is in bureaucracies an ever present tendency to elevate means to the level of ends in themselves. An excessive preoccupation with immediate problems obscures the more distant image of the purpose of bureaucratic organization. Whatever regulations and conventions exist in a bureaucracy are intended to facilitate the achievement of ends of a bureaucracy as efficiently and economically as possible. The average bureaucrat, however, comes to regard these regulations with a respect bordering on veneration and in doing so develops an inflexibility of approach which destroys the very reason


for his existence. Financial control tends, therefore, to become a means not of ensuring that what is spent is spent as usefully and productively as possible but of ensuring that as little is spent as possible, quite regardless of the purpose sought to be achieved. Weekly statements initially designed to provide a means of controlling certain specific activities in an organization continue to grow in complexity and elaborateness long after the purpose for which they were conceived has been achieved or has lost all importance. Matters are not helped by the reluctance of the bureaucrat to modify a practice hallowed by nothing more weighty than time.

The awareness of the importance of clearly defined formalized internal relationships and the boundaries of authority can make a bureaucracy inflexible. It is rarely possible for a bureaucracy to define the duties of its members so precisely and exhaustively as to cover all cases that would possibly arise in the future. Situations do arise where more than one bureaucrat is involved in the action to be taken. A problem that falls across the field of jurisdiction of more than one individual instead of producing the co-operation of both in its solution, results in a constant endeavour to push the burden of responsibility on to the other. A pattern of formal interrelationships evolved primarily for the purpose of preventing the overlapping of jurisdiction is misused to deny jurisdiction altogether.

Perhaps the worst consequences of the bureaucrat's loss of vision is the attitude of the bureaucrat to the exercise of the power he possesses. Each member of a bureaucracy is given certain specified powers to enable him to discharge the duties entrusted to him. This may vary from the power to regulate the entry into an office room of visitors given to a peon, to the power to regulate the licensing of imports given to a bureaucrat at a much higher level. Power is a heady thing and the most detached of men is liable to succumb to the temptation to use it not so much for the attainment of the objectives for which it is conferred as for personal glorification. The extent to which this takes place is a measure of the failure of the bureaucrat to fulfil the ideal of service to which he should owe allegiance. Mention has been made earlier of the closely integrated nature of a bureaucracy and its ability to withstand external pressures. Much of the powers wielded by a bureaucracy is the result of its closely knit structure. This quality which ideally is an important factor in its independence, very easily degenerates into indifference to legitimate pressures. The bureaucracy becomes wooden and unresponsive and once it loses its ability to respond to social needs it can no longer function as an efficient tool for the attainment of social ends. There develops a contrast between the concept of service which should motivate the

bureaucracy and the arbitrary exercise of power which forms such an important part in the picture of bureaucracy in the public mind.

In this way, a small shift in emphasis, a slight distortion of perspective or the blurring of the clarity with which the aims of an organization are viewed all too easily leads to degeneracy in a bureaucracy. Within the organization the bureaucrat becomes over cautious, avoids responsibility, loses all initiative and tends to over emphasize the importance of his own sphere of activity. Towards those outside the bureaucracy who have dealings with him he is inflexible, unsympathetic and excessively impersonal. The power to regulate becomes the power to harass and a refusal comes to his lips, very much more easily than words of assent. The bureaucrat is ever eager to avoid dangers however remote the possibility of their arising and rarely willing to take risks for the achievement of a possible good. In arriving at this condition he has lost a vision, the vision of the social goals of bureaucracy and the immense power it possesses to attain these goals. What a bureaucrat constantly needs is a pause for reflection, a pause during which he can escape from the various pressures that the organization exerts upon him from day to day and gain a heightened awareness of the wider goals that the organization of which he forms a part in striving to achieve, and view them with greater clarity through the tangled brushwood of regulations and procedural formalities which loom so large immediately before him.



## MEASURING EFFECTIVENESS OF VILLAGE LEVEL WORKERS

*K. N. Singh and T. Sen Gupta*

**P**ERSONNEL effectiveness is like life energy to any organization, be it public or private. India's Community Development Organization, which is the largest of its kind in the world, cannot afford to ignore this fact. If it has to achieve its objective of bringing about socio-economic transformation of India's rural masses, it has to maintain the effectiveness of the different functionaries working within its framework at high level and keep a watch on it. Of all the functionaries, the Village Level Workers occupy the most important position. Their large number, as well as multi-purpose nature of role, present a difficult problem in maintaining a high level to proficiency. But this is the challenge the administrators have to face and overcome.

Uptil now, quite a lot has been done to maintain and raise the level of effectiveness of the Village Level Workers. But what really needed is a scientific and systematic approach to the problem, which may be resolved into a few pertinent questions, e.g., "What are the critical requirements for Village Level Workers?", "To what extent they fulfil these requirements?", "What are the specific areas in which the Village Level Workers are generally deficient?", and "How can these deficiencies be measured and compared?". These are the basic questions that are to be answered in any attempt to tackle the problem of Village Level Workers' effectiveness. Only scientific field studies, specifically designed for this purpose can bring out the desired answers to these questions. The rating instrument developed for measuring the effectiveness of Village Level Workers, which forms the thesis of this paper, is the product of such a field study and is a modest attempt to put forward the answers to the vital questions raised above.

### *Review*

The need for evaluating the merit of Village Level Workers and developing some criteria for the same, has been felt from the beginning of the Community Development Programme. The Programme Evaluation Organization of India<sup>1</sup> in its "First Reaction",

<sup>1</sup> Programme Evaluation Organization, *Community Projects : First Reaction*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1954.

specified ten aptitudes and eight criteria of success for ranking of Village Level Workers all over India. Among these aptitudes mention may be made of understanding village social organization, and customs, cooperativeness, ability to gain confidence, aptitude of rural development work and social participation. The criteria for success included: Personal acceptance by the villagers, developing balanced programme, enlisting people's participation, bringing programmes to all groups of villagers, stimulating individual villagers to adopt recommended practices, contributing to overall project programme, planning, educating villagers to reason why improved practices are better, development of local leadership and initiative. Rahudkar<sup>2</sup> used a checklist schedule as a measure of effectiveness of Village Level Workers. The important items included in this checklist were age, education, marital status, rural background, aptitude and past service experience. But the most commonly used method for evaluating them, had been on the basis of their physical achievements. The Block, District and State level competitions furnished another method of their evaluation. In addition to these, the administrators had been using their day-to-day observations as a basis for evaluating the Village Level Workers. But these methods or measures of evaluation, could not be considered as free from subjective views and opinions.

### *Selection of Respondents*

The five Community Development Blocks of Delhi Territory, namely, Alipur, Kanjhawla, Najafgarh, Mehrauli and Shahadra formed the main area for this study. However, the data were also collected from Block Development Officers and Instructors of Extension Training Centres from the adjoining districts of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan States. The respondents were selected by purposive sampling technique. Thus, 45 Village Level Workers, 65 Villagers, 14 Extension Officers, 8 Block Development Officers and 8 Instructors from Extension Training Centres constituted the total sample of respondents. The main consideration for selection of respondents from these five categories was that they had the opportunity of observing the Village Level Workers in their real job situation as required by the technique used in this study.

### *Technique used*

The Critical Incident Technique developed by Flanagan<sup>3</sup> was used in this study for collection of critical incidents which are incidents

<sup>2</sup> W.B. Rahudkar, "The Relationship of Certain Factors to the Success of Village Level Workers", *Rural Sociology*, 1962, Vol. 27, No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> J.C. Flanagan, "The Critical Requirement Approach to Educational Objectives", *School and Society*, Vol. 71, No. 1849, May 27, 1950.

revealing the qualities of Village Level Workers in regard to their effectiveness in terms of observable job behaviour rather than generalized traits. This technique essentially "consists of a set of procedures for collecting direct observations of human behaviour in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems and developing psychological principles". A critical incident, however, must be an accurate, comprehensive, objective and unbiased description of behaviour taken from observation from a specific situation. The described behaviour should also appear to the reporter either clearly effective or ineffective. Keeping these criteria in view the instrument was developed in four phases.

In the first phase, the critical incidents were collected from the five groups of respondents, *e.g.*, Villagers, Village Level Workers, Extension Officers, Block Development Officers and Instructors of Training Centres. While personal interview was used as the basic method for collecting data, it had to be supplemented with mailed questionnaires. The Villagers, Extension Officers, Block Development Officers and Instructors were asked to think of a Village Level Worker whom they thought most effective and then they were requested to describe one incident relating to that Village Level Worker which impressed them most and made them to think that he was a very effective Village Level Worker. The respondents were helped to describe such incidents in detail and descriptions were written down verbatim on the schedule.

They were similarly requested to think of the most ineffective Village Level Worker and to recollect and describe one incident that made them believe that the Village Level Worker was so ineffective. They were helped to describe the incident in detail and descriptions were written down on a schedule.

The Village Level Workers were also asked to recall the occasions when they thought they were very effective. They were asked to describe the situation in detail and what they actually did. Likewise, they were also requested to recollect an occasion, when they thought, they behaved like an ineffective Village Level Worker. They were then asked to describe the situation and what they did, in detail. Both types of information were recorded on the prescribed schedule.

The incidents collected were read and only those incidents were finally retained which fulfilled the criteria of critical incidents as discussed earlier and the rest were rejected. Thus, 157 critical incidents out of 200, were finally retained.

In the second phase, each of these critical incidents were transferred on a 5" x 8" card and analysed and the specific behaviours involved in making the Village Level Worker effective or ineffective,

were separated. These specific behaviours were then classified and generalized into statements of job behaviours which are critical for the success or failure of a Village Level Worker. They were termed as critical requirements for Village Level Workers. The procedure, how from a critical incident specific and job behaviour were derived, is described below:

### *Critical Incident*

The Village Level Worker was trying to introduce improved variety of wheat seed. He told to the farmers that with the improved variety, good tillage, irrigation and also fertilizer were to be applied. He assured that he would arrange for supply of fertilizer in time. According to his advice, the farmers prepared the land, arranged for irrigation and had collected the seed of improved variety. But at the time of sowing, fertilizer was not available in that locality. Sowing was getting delayed. The Village Level Worker contacted all local sources for supply of fertilizers, he rang up the district authorities and got the information that it was available at a place 20 miles away from the village. He accompanied the farmers to that place and helped them in getting the fertilizer.

### SUMMARY TRANSCRIPTION

Sl. No.	Respondent	V.L.W.	Block	Effective or Ineffective	Interview or Questionnaire
42	Villager	No. 2	Mehrauli		

### *Specific Behaviour*

The Village Level Worker tried all local sources for fertilizer, located the source of supply at a place 20 miles away and then accompanied the farmers to that place and helped them in getting the supply.

<i>Situation</i> :—According to Village Level Worker's advice the farmers had collected improved seeds, prepared land and arranged for irrigation. But for want of fertilizer they were not able to sow the seed. Sowing was getting delayed.	<i>Reporter's inference</i>
	1. The Village Level Worker kept his promise. 2. He was helping. 3. He was sincere.

Sixty-six items of such critical requirements, falling into fourteen categories, were thus obtained. These categories were: (1) working

through leaders, (2) working with group, (3) introducing ideas and getting acceptance, (4) motivating people, (5) putting community into action, (6) introducing improved practices, (7) conducting result demonstration, (8) giving method demonstration, (9) executing programme, (10) follow up of this programme, (11) helping people in problem solving, (12) building confidence, (13) maintaining relation with villagers, and (14) maintaining office and discipline.

In the next phase the instrument was developed from these 66 items of critical requirements by the process of item selection and standardization. For this purpose 66 items of critical requirements, were presented in a random order before 50 judges comprising Block Development Officer, Village Level Workers and villagers. The items were rated by the judges on a 5 point scale on the basis of their importance, and were assigned (+) or (—) signs as they appeared to be indicative of effective or ineffective job behaviours. Items which received both (+) & (—) signs or blanks (0) were eliminated. Out of the remaining items which were distinctly positive or negative items, those scoring below 3.5 on average were eliminated, as they were considered of lesser importance. Again items, which appeared to be overlapping were also eliminated. In this way, 25 items were finally selected for construction of the rating instrument.

In the last phase the instrument was constructed and tested for its validity. It was given to four Block Development Officers for rating 35 Village Level Workers working under them. The rating scores for these 35 Village Level Workers were utilized for finding out the internal consistency of the instrument. The overall consistency or the stability of the instrument was demonstrated by the fact that in case of all the four groups of Village Level Workers rated with this instrument, the rank orders based on rating scores were in agreement with those maintained by the Block Development Officers from their day-to-day observations. Further, the correlation between the rating scores of the Village Level Workers and their achievement or performance scores in field work. The coefficient of correlation was found to be .46 which was significant at 5 per cent level of significance.<sup>4</sup> These tests suggested that the instrument had a good concurrent validity. For the purpose of testing the construct validity of the instrument, one of the groups of the Village Level Workers was taken as a reference criterion group, which could be clearly distinguished from their performances into "most effective", "effective", "average" and "below average" categories. These categories were found to be quite in agreement with

<sup>4</sup> That is the probability is less than 5 in 100 that a correlation of this size could have arisen purely by chance.

those formed on the basis of the rating scores, *e.g.*, most effective (scoring 80 per cent and above), effective (scoring from 65 to 79 per cent), average—(scoring from 50 to 64 per cent) and below average (scoring below 50 per cent). This agreement was an evidence towards the construct validity of the instrument.

The content validity, which is very important for such an instrument and is concerned with the coverage of the critical job behaviours of the Village Level Workers by the items of the instrument, has been ensured by the very process of item collection from critical incidents and their selection by expert rating. The fact that, during the later stage of collecting the incidents, practically no further new type of job behaviours was forthcoming, proved that the coverage had been quite adequate for the area under study.

#### THE INSTRUMENT

The instrument is composed of 25 items of selected job behaviours of Village Level Workers, which may be regarded as their central requirements. They are effective to the extent they fulfil these requirements by performing the effective behaviours more often and the ineffective behaviours less often. Each of the items has, therefore, been placed on a frequency scale with 5 points, denoted by "most-often," "often", "sometimes", "seldom" and "never". The system of scoring followed was as follows:

					(+) statement	(-) statement
Most often	..	..	..	..	4	0
Often	..	..	..	..	3	1
Sometimes	..	..	..	..	2	2
Seldom	..	..	..	..	1	3
Never	..	..	..	..	0	4

In rating a Village Level Worker, a tick mark is to be put against each of the items in the appropriate column depending on how often the job behaviour expressed in the item is performed by the Village Level Worker. After rating is complete against all the items, the score values for each of the items are added up, to get the total scores. The maximum, that a Village Level Worker can score by performing all of the effective behaviours "most often" and avoiding altogether the ineffective items, is one hundred.

The instrument and method of its use for rating a Village Level Worker is illustrated below :

## INSTRUMENT FOR RATING V.L.W.

Name of the V.L.W.....X..... Name of the Block....Y.....

Headquarters.....Z.....

<i>Items</i>	<i>Most often</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Some- times</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never</i>
1. Identifies local Leaders, gives due importance to them and involves them in discussing problems and taking decisions.		✓			
2. Motivates the people by making appeals to their sentiments and values.		✓			
3. Identifies root cause of conflict and helps in removing it.			✓		
4. Introduces new ideas, explains the need for working on them and convinces the leaders and the people to accept them.		✓			
5. Identifies prejudices and removes them through discussion.		✓			
6. Organizes the youth and channelizes their activities through clubs, library, games, competitions and useful projects.			✓		

<i>Items</i>	<i>Most often</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never</i>
7. Helps in building up village organization and mobilizes the people through the leaders and organizations.			✓		
8. Raises contributions from the people in cash and labour and helps in getting aid from the Government for community work.			✓		
9. Works with own hands alongwith the people during community action programmes.			✓		
10. Is prepared himself to make sacrifices and takes risks for the people and thereby persuades them to make sacrifices for common cause.			✓		
11. Succeeds in completing community works once undertaken.			✓		
12. Arranges for publicity of the success and appreciation of it by important persons.				✓	
13. Indulges in habits and practices disliked by the people.				✓	

<i>Items</i>	<i>Most Often</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Some- times</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never</i>
14. Lays out demonstration plots correctly and does the important operations himself and takes timely actions all along.		✓			
15. Shows how to do thing or handle tools and equipments by actually doing himself and explains during demonstrating.			✓		
16. Takes interest in introducing useful things and makes propaganda for it.		✓			
17. Gives complete and timely informations stressing on precautions and explains clearly step by step using suitable aids and illustrations.		✓			
18. Helps people in getting loans, services and supplies and solving their immediate problems.		✓			
19. Alerts people about future calamities and during emergency identifies himself with the villagers and works with them.			✓		

<i>Items</i>	<i>Most Often</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Some- times</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never</i>
20. Causes loss to the farmers by giving wrong advice or supplying unsuitable material.					✓
21. Makes false promises to get things done.					✓
22. Absents himself or reaches late on occasions of visits by high officials and supervisors or on days of functions and inaugurations.					✓
23. Does irregularity in making bills and in keeping records and submits wrong report.				✓	
24. Takes care in involving individual families in the programme.		✓			
25. Makes adequate preparations and arranges equipments and materials before starting any programme.		✓			

The total score for a Village Level Worker may be worked out by summarizing the ratings in a tabular form as shown below. Such a table besides helping in calculating, serves as a good check also.

TABLE FOR CALCULATING TOTAL SCORE

Scale	Effective Items			Ineffective Items			Total
	Number of items scored	Score Value	Points scored	Number of items scored	Score Value	Points scored	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(4+7)
Most often	..	4	..	..	0	..	..
Often	10	3	30	..	1	..	30
Sometimes	9	2	18	..	2	..	18
Seldom	1	1	1	2	3	6	7
Never	..	0	..	3	4	12	12
Total	20	..	49	5	..	18	67

*Effective Items*

The Village Level Worker scored "often" in 10 items, "sometimes" in 9 items and "seldom" in 1 item; and on the ineffective side he scored "seldom" in 2 items and "never" in 3 items. His total score comes to 67 and he is just effective on the basis of the norms fixed for the purpose of their categorization.

An element of subjectivity involved in the process of rating, is in deciding on "how often" any of the job behaviours constituting the items is performed by the Village Level Worker. The results of rating done by 4 Block Development Officers on 4 groups of Village Level Workers indicated that this limitation does not offset the validity of the rating. It is, however, obvious that the person using the instrument must be familiar with the performance of the Village Level Worker to be rated, for a considerable period of time. It is expected that the Block Development Officers, the extension officers and even the Village Level Workers themselves should be in a position to use the instrument. On the other hand, it is required that the Village Level Worker to be rated, should have had enough opportunities to display the kind of job behaviours which form the items

or criteria for judgment in the instrument. For all practical purposes a Village Level Worker with a minimum of one year's experience in a particular place or even in a Block may be taken as a subject for evaluation.

#### *Purposes to be Served by the Instrument*

The basic purpose of rating the Village Level Workers would, of course, be to have an objective measure of their effectiveness in quantitative terms. On the basis of their rating scores, the Village Level Workers may be ranked and classified into various categories of most effective, effective, average and below average. These categories indicate the effectiveness status of the Village Level Workers and improving their effectiveness would mean raising them from a lower to a higher status of effectiveness. This improvement is possible only when the area or areas in which a particular Village Level Worker is deficient, is known specifically. The effectiveness profile, which may be constructed from rating of a Village Level Worker would clearly indicate such areas in which he is deficient.

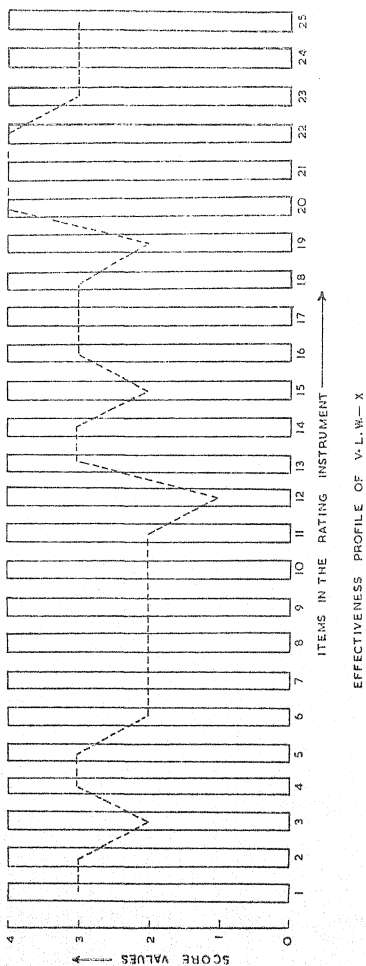
#### EFFECTIVENESS PROFILE OF A VILLAGE LEVEL WORKER

The columns numbered 1 to 25 in the graph on page 54 represent the items in the instrument and the 5 point vertical scale from 0 to 4 on the left, indicate the score values. The points scored in the 25 items may be plotted in the 25 respective columns and the lines passing through these points would give the effectiveness profile of the Village Level Workers. The ideal condition is attained when the line passes through the tops of all the columns. The gap between this top horizontal and the actual profile of any Village Level Worker would indicate the area of deficiency for him. The depression from top in respect of any particular column would represent the extent of deficiency in the specific job behaviour expressed in that item. Making up of these deficiencies would result in pushing the profile further and further upwards until it coincides with the top horizontal.

The profile constructed for different Village Level Workers may be utilized for comparing their effectiveness. Even for the same Village Level Worker the profiles drawn at different period over time would be able to indicate his movement in effectiveness on an overall basis and also in specific areas of job behaviours.

#### CONCLUSION

Progress of community development programme depends largely on the effectiveness of Village Level Workers. So improving their




effectiveness is one of the ways to accelerate the rate of progress of the programme. But for any deliberate attempt to improve their effectiveness, an objective and quantitative measure of their effectiveness would be the first prerequisite. So far no such measure developed on scientific field studies was available.

To meet this need, an instrument has been developed for objective evaluation of the effectiveness of Village Level Workers. The instrument was developed from a field study conducted in the Delhi state in 1963. The steps involved in the construction of the instruments were collection of critical incidents, finding out the critical requirements for Village Level Workers, item selection and standardization, and validation. On testing, the instrument was found to satisfy the requirements of reliability and validity.

The instrument comprises 25 items out of which 20 are positive (effective) and 5 are negative (ineffective). The Village Level Worker to be evaluated has to be rated against each of the items on a 5 point scale. The summated scores over all the items give the measure of effectiveness.

The person using the instrument should be thoroughly acquainted with the performance of the Village Level Worker to be rated. On the other hand the Village Level Worker to be rated should have had adequate opportunity to display the behaviours included as items of the instrument.

It has been indicated that the instrument may be used to measure the effectiveness of Village Level Workers objectively and quantitatively, to rank them, to categorise them and to prepare a scheme for their improvement. The effectiveness profile designed in this study offers a means for graphical comparison of effectiveness among Village Level Workers and even between the status of effectiveness of the same Village Level Worker over time.



## MAINTAINING THE SUPPLY LINE

*Arum Sinha*

ON OCCASIONS when the supply of essential commodities becomes scarce and prices begin to soar high, either because of the genuine difficulty in procuring the commodity for sale or because of trade manoeuvrings, it becomes essential for the Government to take upon itself the task of maintaining adequate supplies to the community at a reasonable price. The Government's decision to enter the trade can be either of short or long duration. It might even have an element of permanency about it. Looking at it from another angle, the Government's entry into the trade can be either prohibitory, regulatory or of all controlling nature. Whatever be the decision, it must take into account a few essential factors without which any policy would founder on the rocks of impracticability.

The very first requirement is of laying down a sound policy; expressing in clear-cut terms goal to be achieved and the manner of its achievement. In the first stage of policy-making, therefore, it must state clearly the end sought to be realized and the duration for which the policy is likely to be operative. For instance, if there is shortage of wheat or sugar or rice then the policy at the highest level must state that the wheat or sugar or rice is to be supplied to the community for such and such duration and also whether by complete substitution of existing trade channels or in co-ordination with existing trade channels or just by regulating the present trends.

Once the decision is taken as to what is the commodity that requires Government's attention, and if possible for how long a period, then a detailed planning becomes necessary. As a preliminary to that, certain data will have to be assembled. This preparatory data will have to be collected very carefully, all the time keeping in mind those factors which contribute a great deal towards the success or failure of a policy. The data to be collected would include tangible as well as intangible factors. Thus, for instance, while the "economics" of the trade to be entered in, "tools" necessary to secure the entry and retain the hold, the machinery for implementation, etc., are some of the tangible factors to be considered, equally important to be considered are intangible factors like reaction of the various parties involved, reaction of the Courts and of the political parties and people. If correct information can be collected on these points a sound policy is likely to result.

Once the information is collected, shifted and assimilated, it would be necessary and possible to give more concrete shape to the goal to be pursued. Thus, for instance, after collecting the information and statistics regarding the trade to be entered in, the practices prevalent therein, it would be possible to say with some amount of certainty whether the problem is for a short duration or a long duration and also which of the prohibitory, regulatory or complete control measures should be applied. If the problem has already assumed alarming proportion, would not complete rationing be the only answer? The capacity and resources of the Government in terms of trained men, knowledge of the trade and money will be other decisive factors in determining the goal. Once the data on relevant points have been assimilated the legal position also would be more or less clear, suggesting the feasible and the possible. Of course, what is feasible may not be entirely desirable. Here, therefore, the desirable will have to be given preference so far as it can be made feasible.

In determining whether the Government's policy should be prohibitory, regulatory or of the nature of control or rationing, one important factor to be considered is the reaction of the people. Distinction, of course, will have to be drawn between various classes of people, viz., consumers, retailers, whole-salers, millers and manufacturers, side-business people who depend upon the commodity partially or wholly for their own trade and if farmers are also interested then farmers as well. Over and above all these groups of people, the various States and the Central Government also form a party. The reaction of all such classes and groups is necessary to determine the type of policy that is to be pursued and its duration.

One more consideration and that is that the policy should not suffer from the weight of the adage "too little and too late". On the other hand it should avoid the other extreme as well where it unnecessarily precipitates more problems than it is able to solve. A balancing trick is necessary to decide whether the policy is going to be simply prohibitive or something more like regulatory or even controlling. Each one of them is more complicated than the other in terms of skill required, staff, resources, meeting opposition, etc., but if the end is likely to be met more adequately through control or regulatory measures, then there should be no hesitation in adopting that method only, instead of experimenting with less complicated to more complicated processes.

Once this aspect of the policy is taken care of attention should be given to matters like the "tools" and the agency for implementation. The "tools" cover the laws and the orders that will be necessary to support the policy when it comes to implementation.

Any form of control sought to be exercised by the Government is likely to curb the individual enterprise and his right to profession. In order, therefore, that the Government's policy may be implemented, it is necessary that it should have the necessary legal backing for its enforcement. The enforcing hand also, if not already strong, has to be strengthened. In some cases it might even be desirable that certain provisions of the enforcement law be kept outside the purview of the Courts as, for instance, the Detention provisions in the D.I.R. Such provisions have to be exercised with great caution but at times they are very essential in cases where, for one reason or the other it is likely that the punishment through courts may not come through despite the fact that the person may be guilty of the charge put up against him. Sufficient to say that the policy makers must also decide how the administration can be ensured the requisite provisions in law for enforcement and implementation of the desired policy.

The policy makers have also to decide whether the existing State machinery is sufficient enough to introduce and implement the Government resolution or whether a new machinery would be needed. Most of the States already have a small supply organization. However, keeping in mind the urgency, the scope and duration of the new problem, the policy makers would do well to consider whether existing machinery can deliver the goods even after being strengthened or supplemented by the services of some other existing organizations or it would have to be a separate organization completely. The new agency, wherever it is contemplated, would have to be assigned some proper role and the problem of its integration and co-ordination with other existing agencies will also have to be worked out. The multiplicity of command lines and needless duplication of work will have to be eliminated as far as possible. It will also be necessary to consider whether or not at the district level the authority and control of various existing and new functions can be unified in the hands of one officer—be it Collector or somebody else. Some sort of homogeneous, integrated working will have to be devised to give maximum attention to the problem with minimum of additional effort and expenditure.

Last but not the least important consideration would have to be given to the setting up of a consultative body to act as a feeler and collector of opinions of merchants, traders, consumers, producers, etc. This would supplement the information obtained through the official agencies. Also the opinion expressed by various members of this body, if pertinent to and bearing upon the results to be achieved from the policy, can be tested and verified by officials at their respective levels. Thus for instance, if the consumers say that a measure

suggested by producers to alleviate their misery without adversely affecting consumers is not quite correct in its approach, its veracity can be tested by the local officers who have the first hand knowledge of field conditions and who are quite sensitive to the local reactions. This kind of contact or consultative body can be of significance for two reasons (i) it helps in the shaping of public opinion, and (ii) by airing its views, which differ from member to member as their interests are different and often at cross-purposes, (particularly when the impact of policy is likely to be heavy on one or the other say, for instance, between producers, manufacturers, millers, whole-salers, retailers and consumers) the body as a whole tends to provide a complete picture of the conditions existing or likely to exist. It is, however, not necessary that a formal consultative body as such should be created. An informal body perhaps has an advantage over the formal body in that the former may be consulted only as and when the Government desires without discussing its full policy in the body. The composition and role of this body, however, has to be determined by the policy makers only. How much weight and credence is to be given to its opinion is also for the policy makers to determine.

Once the policy has taken shape, timing of its execution becomes very important. Here the planning body, *i.e.*, the Secretariate or Directorate, whatever it be, assumes the pivotal role. The very first of its task becomes to work out secretly comprehensive and specific instructions regarding the implementation of the policy. It has also to see that legal orders empowering the executive to carry out its allotted task, are ready and have had the approval of legal department, for, on their validity the fate of the entire operation may come to depend. All this has to be got ready secretly with as little of pilfering of news allowed as possible. The Secretariate or the Directorate has also to alert the key figures in the whole operation. It might even be necessary to forestall actions taken on the part of business community, probably on the basis of guess or some leakage of news. The district authorities can under many a guise, for a day or two, stop the movement or lifting up or removal of commodities from one area to another. But this must be done only when the Government policy is to be implemented imminently. The signal is to be relayed by the planning body and the ulterior knowledge is to be confined only to the key personnel in each sphere. The planning body has also to decide the preliminary moves that must precede the actual order. Whether the orders are to be executed simultaneously or there has to be concentration on some points first and then the activity should spread, are also points to be decided by the planning body. The timing of actual execution and the signal for "go-ahead"

also has to be determined in advance and conveyed to the key personnel. Finally, the ensuring of the transmission of instructions and "go-ahead" signal marks the end of the first phase of planning body's work.

The second stage of planning body's work comprises of being in constant touch with the various key personnel, clarifying the instructions, supplementing, modifying and transmitting them to relevant authorities as and when the need arises, getting reports and data, arranging and assimilating it for purposes of assessment of the needs of the situation and if possible bits of alteration in the policy through the support of policy makers.

The implementation of the policy, in the spirit in which it is formulated is the special responsibility of the executive body selected for this task. The Chief Executive of a region or the local boss will have to ensure that by the time implementation process reaches the lowest functionary, it should not become a mockery of the policy because of lack of proper understanding of the instructions or guidance. At this level instructions will have to be communicated not only from a distance but also as far as possible at the time of on-the-spot inspections, frequent touring by senior officers, initial guidance to lower functionaries and easy accessibility for clarification of doubts is very essential in order to achieve the desired goal. Also as far as possible general perspective and the framework of policy with its objectives should be impressed upon the functionaries so that they may be able to interpret instructions properly.

From the point of view of execution, the channel of communication becomes very important. The information and suggestions must flow upwards even as instructions and guide points make their way downwards. Not only that, at all levels, calculated give and take of information with various sections of people is also very essential. On the one hand it gives vital knowledge of reactions of various classes of people to Government measures and on the other, it enables people, whom the policy seeks to benefit, to steer clear of mischief mongers and trouble-makers. The sharing of information, whenever it is possible, also brings in its wake people's trust and confidence in the officer.

As a corollary to sharing of information with people, it also becomes the responsibility of the field officer to keep his superiors informed about the local conditions. He has also to inform his superiors how much of the policy can be implemented and in what measure without creating other problems, the law and order problem. Thus while administering the doses of policy, the pulse of the people has to be watched closely.


On the senior officers involved in the implementation of the policy falls also the task of balancing their local view-points and needs with the state or national policies and programmes. What is more difficult is the task of eliciting local people's support in a measure which people consider as being undertaken for the welfare of other people at the cost of their own. The tact and firmness both are of course necessary to deal with any such contingency.

A successful implementation of the policy demands that secrecy and surprise should be duly maintained in carrying out the orders. A well-guarded secret and prompt action is possible only if the officers are trustworthy, intelligent and ready to take responsibility. Their hold on local people and their ability to gauge the difficulties of the situation and find solution thereof, will reflect the measure of their success.

In order that the policy may be executed successfully, it is necessary that a good deal of manoeuvrability should be left to the local officers. Since all situations can neither be visualized, nor provided for by means of specific instructions, the local officers should be given a discretion to use their power and authority within the framework of policy and towards the promotion of the accredited objectives. It will help speeding up the process of implementation.

Side by side, as the process of implementation goes on there should also go on a process of examination and evaluation. The defects of the policy, the difficulties of implementation, shortcomings of officers and administrative practices need to be reviewed and modified almost constantly. The aim, however, should always be to bring about more and more of rationalization and not a plethora of ill-conceived, contradicting orders creating more confusion than setting things right. Also, from time to time, it is necessary to review whether the policy need continue or it should give way to a new or modified policy.

These in brief, are some of the points that need the Government's consideration when it sets out to maintain supply line to the community at a reasonable price. Success depends as much upon the preparatory work and the thought that has gone into the formulation of the policy as on the willingness and ability of the executive to execute the policy in the proper spirit. The deviations can be set right with the help of a continuous review and evaluation of not only the policy, inherent difficulties of implementation but also of the manner of its implementation. And when all has been said it is people's support alone that can make any attempt on the part of the Government to maintain supply line successful.



## WORK PROGRAMMING IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

*J. Madhab*

*and*

*A. Van Huyck*

FOR over a decade India has been embarked on one of the most gigantic planning programmes the world has ever known. Great stress has been placed on the formation of schemes and the setting of targets. Vast amounts of data have been collected at all levels of Government by the ever increasing number of people involved in this planning process. The success of this effort is apparent in the great progress of the country, but most people agree that even greater success might have been achieved. Still more startling gains were possible and will continue to be in the future. In trying to assess the cause of this difficulty one is invariably led to some aspect of management.

Management is a complex and difficult field. There are techniques, however, which can be applied to achieve results. The future success of planning in India may well depend on how quickly these techniques are mastered. Planning is a complicated process which constantly demands estimation and choice. Each person charged with the responsibility to make choices should utilize an orderly and rational procedure to maximize the ability to choose wisely.

It would be unthinkable for an individual to plan a holiday if he only had funds to pay for this transport one way. Yet, in the more complicated planning processes of the country this phenomenon occurs. Sometimes the targets are set beyond any possibility of achievement. Sometimes the time allocated for the task is not realistic. Sometimes the necessary inputs which are essential are not available. All of these factors, and many more, can doom a plan to failure.

The Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization has had to face these kinds of management problems. It has been CMPO's experience that many of these problems can be avoided or at least minimized by the use of the clear work programme stated before the initiation of a project.

### THE CONCEPT OF WORK PROGRAMME

A work programme is an essential technique for the orderly process of completing the necessary work of any organization. Essen-

tially all involved tasks require a series of decisions that effect manpower, talent, time and choice of subject. This must be the responsibility of the senior administration. Sound decision-making, however, requires a full knowledge of all the relevant facts. A work programme presents these facts in an organized way so that the completing elements of the work-load can be understood.

Various work items have different degrees of importance and ease of accomplishment. By using a work programme it is possible to identify the critical task which because of their time requirement, essential nature, or because they are pre-requisite steps to other tasks must be completed as soon as possible. Conversely, it is possible to identify those jobs which are not critical because they will not be needed until sometime in the future, or can be done independently of other work. This fundamental breakdown of work is the key to successful work programming. It permits the assignment of priorities to the critical jobs, the massing of talent and effort where it will accomplish the most, and it clues the administrative leadership to weaknesses of manpower or talent long before the problem has been encountered.

A work programme is not a rigid framework. On the contrary, a work programme is flexible and is ever changing to meet the needs and new demands upon the organization. It is impossible to know from one day to the next in a planning organization what new assignments may have to be undertaken. It is for this very reason that the work programme is so important. If the present situation is fully understood it is possible to incorporate new work within the context of the old in the most logical and efficient manner. By having a complete work programme it is possible to see at a glance where manpower can be obtained from non-critical jobs for the new assignment and at the same time which staff members can not be utilized because of the importance of their present assignments.

The work programme is not a substitute for administration; it is only a tool for better administration and to get things done according to priority and time schedule. There are, therefore, certain fundamental rules of work programming which must be obeyed if the effort is to be effective. These are:

- (1) The senior leadership of the organization must follow their own programme faithfully by not making changes in personnel or job assignments without making concurrent changes in the overall work programme. For instance, if a task is scheduled to last three months with four full time men assigned to it and it is necessary to remove one of them, the ramifications to the original

job must be completely worked out and a new schedule drawn which will reflect the decrease in manpower.

- (2) The senior leadership must be prepared to take strong measures to insure that deadlines are met and the product adequate.
- (3) The professional assigned the responsibility for a given work item must also be given sufficient control over the personnel and the work to permit him to successfully meet his assignment.
- (4) The work programme itself must be an accurate representation of the work to be done. It must contain all the items of work and account for all the personnel in the organization. It must be realistic in the time estimates required and it must assign the available staff in accordance with the work that can be expected of one man during a working day.
- (5) The personnel of the entire organization must accept the concept of work programming for what it is, namely, an aid to obtaining better work in a short time. It is essential that the staff experience the pride and pleasure of meeting the requirements of the work programme as well as the professional satisfaction of doing the task completely.

#### THE BLOCK SYSTEM OF CRITICAL PATH PROGRAMMING

There are many systems of programming work ranging from the very simple to the very complex computer oriented techniques. For CMPO there is a need for a programming system which shows the relationship between tasks and can identify the critical jobs to be done. Yet the overall system must be easy to read and readily available to monitor progress. It is felt that the Block System of Critical Path Programming is well suited to these needs.

The use of a single system to graphically illustrate the work of a planning organization is essential if the relationship between jobs are to be readily seen. It is important, therefore, that all key personnel become familiar with the system and the methods of constructing a block diagram. The following are the basic techniques in using the Block System of Critical Path Programming:

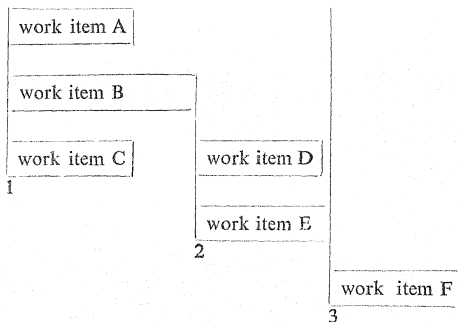
The first task is to lay down the planning objectives as precisely as possible. From the objectives, various work tasks have to be identified. Each work task should have a work programme to accom-

plish the objectives. To successfully make the programme it is necessary to understand the overall job that is to be attempted. Once all of these separate tasks have been listed a logical time estimate should be assigned to each one. The time estimate should be based on a certain number of men working full time on the job with all the necessary pre-requisite data available. Then the sequence of steps must be carefully thought through. In this it is sometimes best to work from the finished report backwards constantly asking, "what data inputs are necessary before this particular work item can be accomplished?" From this analysis a sequence of steps will suggest itself and can be set forth in a Block System Critical Path Programme which is explained below.

### DIAGRAM I

#### Diagram of the Block System of Critical Path Programming

*time scale in months or weeks across the top*



(1) A *work item* is any separate piece of work that has to be done for a project or report. In the beginning these should be identified in broad terms such as a "population study" or "economic base study". As the work gets underway and the various elements of that particular study are identified the work item can be broken down into a small Block System Critical Path Programme of its own. For major studies lasting several months this further detailing will be extremely useful both to assist in monitoring progress and in helping to clarify the critical elements of the study.

(2) The *line bar* represents the relationships between various items. No work item to the right side on the line bar can start until all the work items to the lefthand side of the line bar which intersects with it are complete.

(3) The *critical path* of the project is the shortest time possible from the start of work to the end of the project. It can be easily identified by linking the longest intersecting work items together. In the case of Diagram I the critical path consists of work items B, E and F. If the project is to be done in a shorter time than the programme set forth it is essential that one or more of these work items be shortened. It would do no good, for instance, to reduce the time it takes to accomplish work item C as it is not on the critical path. On the other hand if by doubling the manpower assigned to work item B it was possible to reduce the time by 50 per cent the entire time saving to complete the project would be something less because work item C would now become the new critical path as it would be the last study to be finished and since work items D and E can not get started until both work items B and C are accomplished.

(4) A work item which is not on the critical path enjoys a certain amount of *lag time*. In other words, it can start later than it is scheduled and still not delay the project. In the Diagram work item A has the most lag time. It can be started immediately along with work item B and C, however, it does not have to be finished until work item is complete at the point of intersection with line bar 3. This means that anytime during this period between line bar 1 and line bar 3 work item A can be done without delaying the project.

The four key elements in making the Block System of Critical Path Programming are the work items, the line bars, the critical path, and lag time.

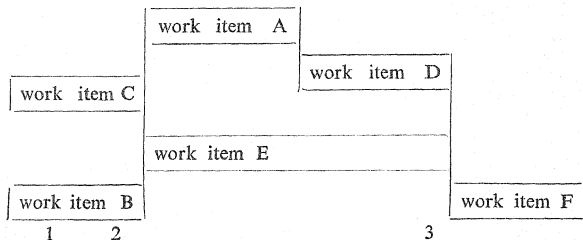
It may be obvious that in certain places the overall work programme requires more men than can be made available for a given project. In the diagram used here it can be seen that work items A, B, and C can all start at the same time by the logic of the work, but this would require a minimum of three men to accomplish this work and let us say that only two men can be assigned to the project because of other commitments. This means that one of the three work items can not be started immediately. The work programme itself gives the answer as to what is the best course of action. Obviously work item B must start as it is on the critical path and since work item C is also required before work items D and E can start, it is logical that the other man should work on it and work item A be postponed. Furthermore, there is a lag time between work item C and line bar 2 which suggests that work item A could be started as soon as work item C is

finished. Since work item D also has lag time it is possible to postpone it until work item A is complete and still not add to the overall critical path. The new diagram would look like this:

DIAGRAM II

**Revising Diagram of the Block System of Critical Path Programming**

*time scale in months or weeks across the top*



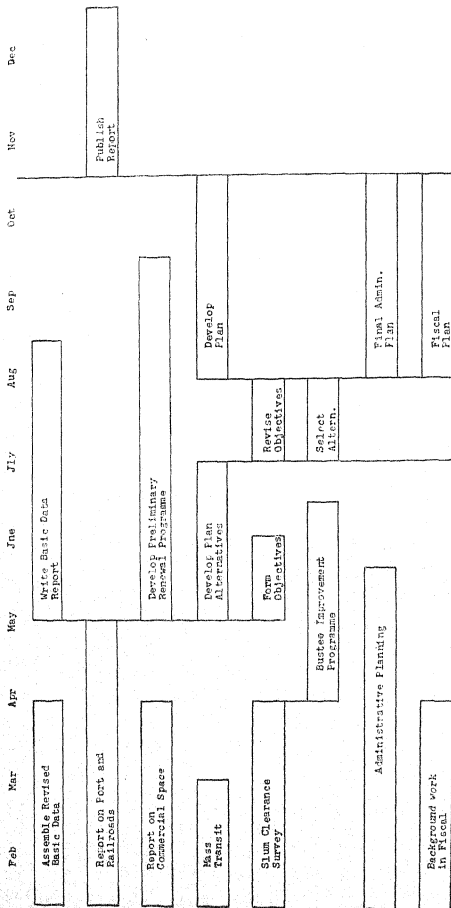
Two new line bars have been added to the diagram and the non-critical work items have been rearranged. The flow of work among work items C, A and D is still compatible with the logic of the project. Now two critical paths exist in that the time required to accomplish work items B and E which were on the old critical path is now equalled by the time required to accomplish work items C, A and D. It is, therefore, apparent that there would be no gain in adding one more man to work on the project as to shorten one of the critical path lines would not have any effect on the total time required to complete the final work item F.

This description of the techniques of applying the Block System of Critical Path Programming has indirectly pointed out the advantages of the system but they are worth summarizing here:

1. It is easy to read and understand.
2. It identifies the critical path immediately which permits the efficient distribution of manpower and effort among a series of competing projects.
3. It is not difficult to monitor progress as each work item is directly related to the time scale.

DIAGRAM III.

## HOUSING PLAN 1955 PROGRAMME



4. It is flexible, yet quickly shows the ramifications of various decisions upon the progress of other work.

The main disadvantage of this and any other work programming systems is that it is not better than the accuracy of the estimates of time set into it and the logic of the sequence of activities. Since this is true, it becomes of the utmost importance for each of the key personnel of a planning organization to develop his work programmes with the greatest care.

#### THE TEAM APPROACH TO WORK

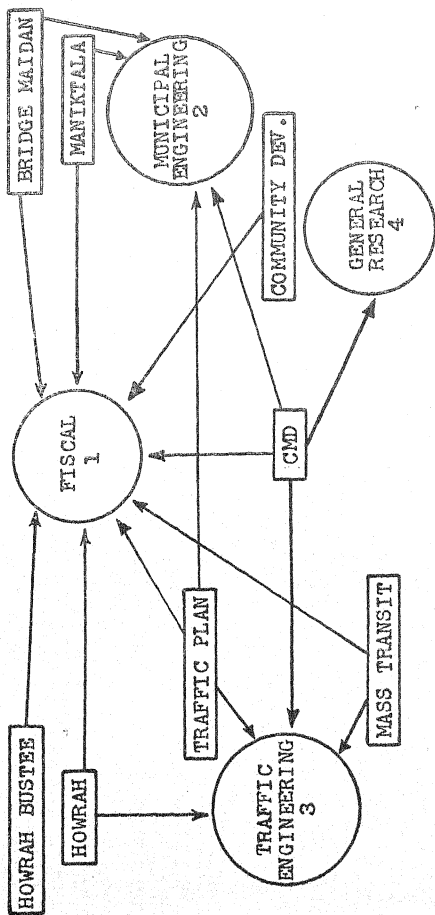
The method of assigning work in an organization can take many forms. It is difficult to say which is clearly the best as there are relative advantages and disadvantages to all techniques. It is essential, however, that one method be adopted and followed consistently if confusion and misunderstanding are to be avoided. The technique used in the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (CMPO) can be called the work team approach. It is the grouping together of the skills necessary to accomplish a clearly defined piece of work in a given period of time.

The members of a team do not merely represent one discipline section or another doing some small study which someone else must put into a usable form. They are instead all planners who may be from different backgrounds, but who are in this instance dedicated to the whole project. In this way talent becomes interchangeable as the project requires. This is both possible and desirable in a planning project, as opposed to pure research, for planning is the synthesis of data, ideas, and values derived from a variety of sources which in final form can not be broken down into neatly defined disciplines.

A work team has been set up for each of the main work tasks of CMPO. Each team is under the responsibility of a team leader. The team leader is held responsible for accomplishing the programme. The members of the team in turn are responsible to the team leader. Wherever possible the team member will have only that one assignment. Upon completion of the team's assignment the team will be disbanded and the members returned to their original discipline sections for reassignment on other teams. Each team is working under its own critical path block diagram. Diagram III represents the Howrah City Planning Programme which illustrates the principles. A large control board places all the various team programmes together to permit co-ordination between teams.

DIAGRAM IV

Relationship of Resource Teams to  
Project Teams Indicating Lines of  
Possible Demand for Assistance



#### ESTABLISHING PRIORITY AND POLICY RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TEAMS

At the moment CMPO has established sixteen teams within the framework of the work programme. These teams are dealing with a wide ranging series of projects and research. Each team is working independently of the others. At a work policy level, however, there is a constant need for co-ordination and decision-making between teams. This activity must take place automatically and regularly so as to minimize possible policy conflicts. It is, therefore, essential that these policy relationships between teams be decided in advance so that all teams can adjust their work accordingly.

Nine of the sixteen work teams can be considered to be engaged in the production of specific plans or programmes. The seven are resources teams working in support of the project teams by providing data and consulting services. Since the basic objectives of CMPO in the coming year is plan production, the project teams can generally be thought to take a higher priority rating than the resource teams.

The need for priority of projects within the organization stems from a variety of sources. First, it is obvious that all teams must compete for materials and to some extent personnel and the priorities give a logical way to solve this competition. Secondly, the resource team will be greatly extended to meet all their commitments and the priorities will be used to establish their order of work. Thirdly, it is very likely that the press of other business plus the basic under estimation of time will lead to the falling behind of some schedules. The priorities will provide a means by which judgment can be applied as to how men can be shifted from project to project and which projects should be terminated or postponed if necessary to insure the maintenance of higher priority schedules. The basic priorities of CMPO project teams are shown in Diagram IV.

Besides the basic priorities which are important for largely administrative reasons there is a need to clarify the policy relationships between the teams. It is obvious that only chaos will exist if each of the teams is left alone to establish its own objectives and policies for its project. A simple case in point is that the CMD (Calcutta Metropolitan District) Planning Team cannot produce a different traffic plan than the Traffic Planning Team, the Howrah team cannot suggest a different basic land use pattern for the city than the CMD team, and so on. In short, there must be a framework for policy-making which is established and followed so that the end products of all the

teams will be a mutual compatible set of proposals for the areas concerned.


Naturally among professional personnel there should be full and free discussions as to what the policy should be. All ideas should be given a fair hearing. There comes a time to choose, however, and someone must make that choice. In the policy relationships between teams there must be a Dominant Team and Recessive Team. The final determination of policy must rest with the Dominant Team and the Recessive Team must stand steady to fulfil these policy decisions once they are made. The burden of insuring that a coordination policy is being maintained falls on the Dominant Team. It is expected that regular meetings will be held with the Recessive Team to keep them fully informed of policy and to reach mutually satisfactory agreements on all policy matters.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

The work programme is a flexible statement of the various tasks that CMPO will perform in the coming months. It is well recognized that it will change with the changing opportunities and demands upon the organization. It is equally understood that the tentative programmes for some of the work tasks will prove to be inappropriate in one way or another and will have to be changed. It is for these very reasons that some mechanism for the maintenance of the comprehensive programme must be developed. The system selected by CMPO works as follows:

The Executive Director is responsible for the basic policy decisions. A Programming Committee works directly under the Executive Director. This Committee is responsible for preparing a comprehensive monthly report on the work programme of the organization and the maintenance of the Programme Control Board. The Committee has been authorized to obtain information from any team leader as to the status of work under this responsibility at any time and to be available to any team leader for consultation about possible revisions in the work programme. Each team leader has to submit a monthly progress report in detail: the work accomplished by the team in relation to the programme set forth in the previous month's report; proposed detailed work programme for the coming month. The form of presentation reflects the critical path block system of work programming. Monthly staff meetings are held to discuss the progress on the work programme and to deliberate on any policy decisions which affect the work of more than one team. At this time, the progress is recorded on the Programme Control Board.

CMPO has been using the work programming techniques described here since August 1, 1964. The results have been most encouraging and though various problems have been encountered in getting progress reports in order, it is apparent the concept has been accepted throughout the organization. It is hoped that other large planning organizations will find these methods useful in obtaining better control over the production of work also.



## RANKING CANDIDATES AT A COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION

J. R. Rao

Several organizations and institutions in India are coming to rely more and more on competitive examinations for the selection of administrative personnel. These examinations are generally open to candidates of different backgrounds and training, and involve, among others, the choice of a fixed number of subjects from a list of optional papers. It is a well-known fact that all the subjects are not equally mark-fetching. This being the case, it is likely that some subjects would have an advantage over others, unless the method adopted for ranking provides scope for adjustment on scientific lines.

Various methods have been developed in recent years to make ranking more scientific.<sup>1</sup> Some of these are being used extensively in grading students at university examinations in countries like the U.S.A.<sup>2</sup> But in most of the Indian universities scientific grading systems are yet to be introduced.

Coming to the question of competitive examinations for entry into the administrative services in India, a large number of young men and women invest money, energy and time to get into these cadres, which are highly coveted. The introduction of a scientific method of ranking in examinations for entry into such services is an urgent necessity. It would ensure that an equal chance is provided to candidates choosing subjects of varying mark-fetching character. From the available information such a method does not appear to be in use in our country.

The object of this article is to draw the attention of decision-makers in government and leaders of public opinion to the possibility of adopting an objective method of ranking.

Before this method is described, it may be useful to examine the present method and its deficiencies in the matter of ranking.

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<sup>1</sup> For some of these methods see: Henry E. Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education*, New York, Longman's Green & Co; 1957, Chapter 12. Also see George A. Ferguson, *Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1959, Chapter 14.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the University Bulletins give an idea of the grading system used.

## THE PRESENT METHOD

Candidates are required to appear for an examination in a prescribed number of papers to be chosen from a given list. The answer papers are valued and marks are awarded. Ranking is done on the basis of the pooled marks of each candidate.

The deficiency in this method is that it treats all subjects alike in the matter of ranking. Because of the differences in the very nature of subjects, the achievement of candidates of comparable competence and intellect cannot be assessed properly on the basis of percentage marks alone. Differences in the scoring nature of subjects have to be taken into account. If candidates are required to take a particular set of papers, one can at least say that candidates of comparable competence have an equal advantage. But in most of the competitive examinations a candidate can choose any combination of papers within the framework of the scheme of the examination. The marks in his papers are added before ranking is done. The advantage (or disadvantage) due to the selection of subjects gets compounded if ranking is based on such aggregates. If this happens, students of some subjects are likely to be at a disadvantage compared to others. It is possible that some brilliant candidates who are really well trained in less scoring subjects would not get a place in the merit list.

The assessment of a candidate's performance and his position would be more scientific, if we take into account the general performance of candidates. An example is given below to make the idea clear.

"It is not possible to interpret a mark unless something is known about the marks of pupils who sat the examination. For example, 50% may be good in one case and poor in another. Take the following :

Set A	20	30	40	<u>50</u>	60
Set B	<u>50</u>	60	70	80	90

In set A, 50 appears to be a good mark whereas in set B it is the lowest. Reference must be made to the average mark in each case. In set A 50 is above the average whereas in set B it is below the average.

Even in two sets of marks with the same average, identical marks may have a different meaning. For example:

Set E	10	20	30	40	<u>50</u>	60	<u>70</u>	80	90
Set F	30	35	40	45	<u>50</u>	55	60	65	<u>70</u>

In both sets the average mark is 50, but the mark 70 has a different interpretation in each: it is the third best mark in set E whereas in set F it is the highest mark.

Further, one must know something about the spread or scatter of marks in order to assess the value of a mark. In set E marks are much more widely spread than in set F."<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing example illustrates that a mere percentage does not give enough information to assess the capabilities of a candidate. Something should be known about the general performance also. The mean and the spread of marks in each subject would give us some information about this.

#### AN OBJECTIVE (UNBIASED)<sup>4</sup> METHOD

In evaluating a performance it is a general practice to say that the performance is above average, average, or below average. In all such cases the person evaluating has an idea of the average performance and is trying to place the performance in question on a scale based on the average.

Adopting a similar method it can be said that an individual candidate's performance in a particular subject is above average, average or below average. By the help of a statistical device specifically intended to measure the spread of a distribution, known as the standard deviation (the formula for which is given below), it would be possible to say that a candidate is so much above or below the average in a particular subject. Each candidate can be given a score in each of his subjects on the basis of the number of standard deviations he is away from the average (known in statistical terms as the mean) in that subject.

When a candidate's position in the subjects of his choice is thus known, his total score can be obtained by adding the scores in the individual papers.

When the total scores of all the candidates are available, ranking based on these will be unbiased.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The example is taken from Douglas M. McIntosh, *Statistics for the Teacher*, London, Pergamon, 1963, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> The method is unbiased in the sense that it does not give an undue advantage to any subject.

<sup>5</sup> The procedure can be split into a few steps.

*Step 1.* Papers are valued and marks awarded for each candidate in each of his

Such a method would remove the advantage arising out of the differences in the mark-fetching nature of the various subjects in the sense that each candidate would be evaluated on the basis of his performance in each of the papers in relation to other candidates. The average mark and the spread of marks are both taken into account. A candidate is judged on the basis of the level he has attained in comparison with the others and not on an absolute scale.

### CONCLUSION

The advantage of the standardized method is that it eliminates the bias due to selection of subjects. With increasing facilities in the form of electronic computers, the application of this method should not raise any practical difficulty. The additional expenditure involved is not likely to be enormous and would be justified by the objectivity it introduces into the system as far as differences in the nature of subjects are concerned.

This method would also be useful in cases where there is a choice of the medium in which a candidate can answer his papers. If there are ten subjects to choose from, and if there are two optional media A and B, standardized scales can be obtained for 20 sets of marks (that is,

papers. For convenience in computation the marks can be arranged in a two-way table with subjects in the columns and candidates in the rows.

*Step 2.* Calculation of the means and the standard deviations to give an idea of the level of the general performance in each subject: The mean and the standard deviation in each subject are obtained by using the formulae:

$$\bar{x}_i = \left( \sum_{j=1}^N x_{ij} \right) \div N$$

$$s_i = \sqrt{\left( \sum_{j=1}^N x_{ij}^2 \div N \right) - (\bar{x}_i)^2}$$

Where  $x_{ij}$  is the percentage mark of candidate 'j' in subject 'i',  $\bar{x}_i$  the mean in subject 'i',  $s_i$  the standard deviation in subject 'i', and N the number of candidates taking the subject.

*Step 3.* Standardization (obtaining an estimate of the level of a candidate in each subject): Each percentage mark  $x_{ij}$  is deviated from the mean  $\bar{x}_i$  and expressed in units of the standard deviation  $s_i$ . This new variable may be denoted

by  $y_{ij}$ .  $\left\{ y_{ij} = \frac{x_{ij} - \bar{x}_i}{s_i} \right\}$ . This is the standardized score corresponding to  $x_{ij}$ .

$y$  is the level of performance. The suffixes denote the subject and the candidate. The bias due to the selection of subjects is absent in the 'y' scores.

*Step 4.* Ranking: All the 'y' scores of a candidate are added and ranking is done on the basis of these totals.

sets of marks in 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, . . . . . 10A and 10B, where 1, 2, . . . . 10 are the subjects) as opposed to only 10 sets if there is only one medium. The position of the candidates can be fixed on these scales and scores awarded. Ranking can be done on the basis of the total scores. Such a method would also eliminate the bias arising from differences in evaluation standards for various optional media.

## II

In this section an attempt is made to illustrate how the suggested method is different from the one that is currently used, by drawing upon the results of the Indian Administrative Service examination held in 1957.<sup>6</sup> The year 1957 appears to be the most recent for which detailed results are available in published form regarding the IAS examinations. It is not known whether some adjustment has already been made in the marks by the Union Public Service Commission before they are tabulated and published. Hence it is assumed that the published marks are raw and unadjusted.

Excluding those who opted for the Indian Foreign Service alone, there were 549 candidates who took the IAS examination in that year (76 who got selected, 174 who were called for interview but did not get selected, and 299 who were not called for interview). All of them had to answer eight papers (three compulsory, three optionals at the lower level, and two optionals at the advanced level). At the first instance, six papers (3 compulsory and 3 lower optionals) were valued. Advanced papers of only those, who obtained more than a certain minimum in all these papers put together, were valued. This minimum was 525 in the case of general candidates. It was lower for candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes/Tribes.

In the analysis that follows new scales have been constructed for the compulsory and lower optional papers. It is shown that if these had been made use of there might have been different results.

For each subject the mean and the standard deviation mark have been computed and set out in Table A below. Those who were absent have been left out.

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<sup>6</sup> Union Public Service Commission, New Delhi, India, *Pamphlet Part II for the Indian Administrative Service, etc., Examinations held in 1957*.

TABLE A

*Means and Standard Deviations of Marks in the Compulsory and Lower Optional Papers at the IAS Examination, 1957.*

Subject, or code <sup>7</sup>	Mean Marks corrected to the nearest integer	Standard deviation	Number of candidates	Absentees
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Compulsory:				
Essay ..	70	22.8	549	..
General English..	73	20.1	549	..
General Knowledge	72	18.1	549	3
Lower optional:				
04 .. ..	122	46.1	39	..
05 .. ..	116	38.2	36	..
06 .. ..	100	43.8	21	..
07 .. ..	112	35.5	41	..
08 .. ..	83	24.0	5	..
09 .. ..	103	21.2	6	..
10 .. ..	110	11.8	7	..
11 .. ..	97	24.8	65	1
12 .. ..	96	32.5	224	6
13 .. ..	92	26.2	220	5
14 .. ..	89	20.1	80	2
15 .. ..	107	20.6	140	6
16 .. ..	98	31.4	165	1
17 .. ..	98	28.0	229	4
18 .. ..	116	20.2	102	1
19 .. ..	109	22.8	25	..
20 .. ..	99	16.3	15	..
21 .. ..	..	....	..	..
22 .. ..	125	30.0	2	..
23 .. ..	120	23.1	24	2
24 .. ..	..	....	..	..
25 .. ..	83	44.0	5	..
26 .. ..	..	....	..	..
27 .. ..	72	62.5	3	..
28 .. ..	101	17.0	3	..
29 .. ..	..	....	..	..
30 .. ..	109	28.8	64	1
31 .. ..	116	17.5	32	1
32 .. ..	96	31.5	89	3
33 .. ..	75	45.5	3	..
34 .. ..	90	25.0	2	..

<sup>7</sup> The code for the optional papers is explained in the UPSC publication cited earlier.

The maximum mark for each of the compulsory papers is 150, whereas for the optional papers it is 200. This does not, however, affect the standardized scales because, what we are interested in is the relative level of each candidate in each of his subjects and not his actual marks. The standardized scales for each subject are constructed on the basis of the mean and the standard deviation in that subject.<sup>8</sup>

The mean mark in each subject is deducted from each candidate's mark in that subject and divided by the corresponding standard deviation mark to give his equivalent score in that subject. Each candidate's scores in his subjects are tabulated and these are added up to yield his total score. If a candidate is absent for one paper he is treated as being absent for the entire examination.<sup>9</sup>

Table B below gives in summary form the final outcome of the computations mentioned above. 493 general candidates who took the examination in the six papers (compulsory and lower optional papers) are classified in the Table on the basis of their actual total and the standardized scores. (56 candidates either belong to the Scheduled Castes/Tribes or were absent. This figure deducted from 549 gives 493.)

The advanced papers of all those getting less than 525 marks were not valued. All those above the 'thick' line in Table B obtained less than 525.

On the basis of the available information, it was found that the lowest score among those whose advanced papers had been valued is  $-1.66$  and the highest score among those whose advanced papers had not been valued is  $1.30$ . Two lines have been drawn in Table B to indicate these scores. Those candidates to the left of the double line scored less than  $-1.66$ , and those to the right of the single line scored more than  $1.30$ . Those between the double line and the single line have scores between  $-1.66$  and  $1.30$ . If ranking is to be objective it is necessary that all those falling in a particular range on the basis of scores should be treated equally. But it can be seen that among those candidates falling in the range  $-1.66$  to  $1.30$ , the advanced papers of 16 were not valued. If  $-1.66$  is taken as the minimum required for

<sup>8</sup> A zero on the standard scale in any subject indicates a mark equivalent to the mean. A score of  $+1$  shows that the candidate is one standard deviation above the mean. A score of  $-1$  means that the candidate is one standard deviation below the mean.

<sup>9</sup> This became necessary because, at the time of calculation of means, absentees were eliminated. If absentees are treated as obtaining a zero percent and if this information was made use of when the mean and standard deviation were being computed, we can give them a score corresponding to zero per cent.

the advanced papers being valued, the papers of these 16 candidates (marked 'a') should have been valued.

TABLE B

Total Score →	-16.51	-13.54	-10.57	-7.60	-4.63	-1.66	1.31	4.28	7.25
Actual total ↓	to -13.55	to -10.58	to - 7.61	to -4.64	to -1.67	to +1.30	to 4.27	to 7.24	to 10.21
75-124	1								
125-174	2	1							
175-224		8	1						
225-274		3	3						
275-324		1	15	3					
325-374			2	8	2				
375-424				7	13				
425-474				1	12	4 <sup>a</sup>			
475-524					2	12 <sup>a</sup>			
525-574						131 <sup>b</sup>	105		
575-624						2 <sup>b</sup>	94	16	
625-674							7	29	
675-724							2	3	2
725-774									1

On the other hand, if 1.30 is accepted as the minimum required for the valuation of the advanced papers, these papers of 133 candidates (marked 'b') need not be valued.


If either of these two courses was adopted, the results might have been entirely different.

It is possible that such a difference would arise in the case of the Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidates also.

It was not possible to study the change in the rank structure for the entire examination because the advanced papers of some candidates were not valued. If that had been done, similar scales could have been constructed for the advanced papers and a fresh set of results obtained on the basis of the standardized scores.

At this stage it is necessary to point out a limitation of the new method. It depends upon the assumption of normality. If there are only a few candidates taking the examination in a particular subject the application of this method becomes unsafe. In such cases, a possible way out would be to club together the marks in that subject for a few years until the assumption is satisfied and then proceed with the computations.

Within this limitation, the method can fruitfully be employed at competitive examinations to make ranking more objective.



## ESTIMATES COMMITTEE REPORTS ON PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

J. P. Sharma

From its very inception in April 1950 the Estimates Committee of the Indian Parliament has played a unique role as an instrument of parliamentary supervision and control over public expenditure in state enterprises under the Central Government. Since May 1st, 1964, the responsibilities of the Committee in regard to all Government companies and most of the corporations established by Central Acts, have, *inter alia*, been transferred to the newly set up Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings. As against 6 enterprises or subjects normally covered in a year by the Estimates Committee in the past, the new Committee has, it is understood, taken up 9 for examination during the first year of its tenure extending over the rest of the term of the present Parliament. The terms of reference of the new Committee differ substantially from those of the Estimates Committee. At this juncture it seems therefore appropriate to analyse the various recommendations with respect to state enterprises made by the Committee in its several reports and study their impact on Government policies in the matter.

### *Purpose of Study*

For purposes of such a review a content analysis has been made of over 90 reports out of a total of nearly 131 reports<sup>1</sup> on public enterprises submitted by the Estimates Committee. The analysis is mostly confined to the Committee's reports on statutory corporations and Government companies. With a few exceptions, it does not cover ordnance factories and port trusts. It does, however, include railways and telegraphs which are departmentally managed in India but are owned and operated by the private sector in some foreign countries. The term state enterprise has been interpreted in a broad sense to include undertakings under departmental management.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee's recommendations have been analysed under three broad heads: "problems of organization", "personnel administration"

<sup>1</sup> Six of these reports contain a general treatment of specific problems of all public enterprises; 74 reports deal with particular enterprises, and 51 enumerate the action taken or proposed to be taken by the Government on the Committee's recommendations. The reports covered by the analysis include 42 'main reports', 38 'action taken' reports and some other reports which are still under consideration.

<sup>2</sup> Such a broad interpretation of the term is based on Prof. William A. Robson's treatment of the subject in his classic book *Nationalized Industry and Public Ownership* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1960). It may, however, be noted that a state undertaking for purposes of examination by the Estimates Committee had been defined by the Speaker in a Direction as follows: "A public undertaking means an organisation endowed with a legal personality and set up by or under the provisions of a statute for undertaking on behalf of the Government of India an enterprise of industrial, commercial or financial nature or a special service in the public interest and possessing a large measure of administrative and financial autonomy". *Directions by the Speaker under the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha*, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1962, p. 61.

and "financial management". However, for reasons of shortage of space, findings of the analysis concerning "problems of organization" alone are dealt with in this issue.

In undertaking the analysis the aim has been to find out: (1) What is the nature, scope and major content of the Committee's recommendations; (2) how far has the Committee followed a consistent approach; (3) how far its recommendations have been pragmatic, considering the commercial character of the enterprises; and (4) what has been the Government's reaction to the more important of the Committee's recommendations?

To understand the Committee's more important recommendations on different organizational aspects of public enterprises in the correct perspective, it seems necessary first to take note of its composition, terms of reference, methods of enquiry and overall approach.

### *Functions of the Committee*

The Estimates Committee consists of 30 members (initially the membership was 25) who are elected exclusively from the Lok Sabha on the basis of proportional representation by single transferable vote for a period of one year under the Rules but by convention only one-third members retire every year to maintain continuity. The functions of the Committee, as laid down in the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, are: "(a) to report what economies, improvements in organization, efficiency or administrative reform, consistent with the policy underlying the estimates, may be effected; (b) to suggest alternative policies in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration (c) to examine whether the money is well laid out within the limits of the policy implied in the estimates; and (d) to suggest the form in which the estimates shall be presented to Parliament".<sup>3</sup> A "Direction" of the Speaker clarifies that the term "policy" relates "only to policies laid down by Parliament either by means of statutes or by specific resolutions passed by it from time to time". However, "it shall be open to the Committee to examine any matter which may have been settled as a matter of policy by the Government in the discharge of its executive functions". Further, "...the Committee shall not go against the policy approved by Parliament; but where it is established on evidence that a particular policy is not leading to the expected or desired results or is leading to waste, it is the duty of the Committee to bring to the notice of the House that a change in policy is called for".<sup>4</sup>

### *Methods of Enquiry*

The methods of enquiry followed by the Committee mainly are:

1. Examination of published annual reports and accounts and other documents;
2. solicitation of the views of non-official experts, public leaders and others on particular problems;
3. collection of special information from the officials in Government and enterprises through a detailed questionnaire;

<sup>3</sup> *Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha*, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1962, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Directions by the Speaker, op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

4. on-the-spot observation to study local (including production) problems of the enterprises; and
5. oral evidence of non-officials and officials before the Committee.

The above tools of data gathering provide the Committee with wide opportunities to gain some real insight into the working of the public undertakings, to diagnose their difficulties and deficiencies and to elicit suggestions and ideas for remedying them. Thus at times suggestions put forward by the Committee may not necessarily be original; the Committee must, however, be given credit for its open mindedness in utilizing new ideas originating from different quarters.

The Committee works through a number of study groups appointed for intensive study of subjects allotted to each. The Committee as a whole takes evidence and then comes to conclusions. As a rule no note of dissent is permitted and the majority views are presented as the unanimous recommendations of the Committee. The Committee has also made use of sub-committees with powers of the full Committee. Their report must, however, be approved by the whole Committee. A Standing Sub-Committee on Public Undertakings consisting of 15 members was appointed in May 1959 to facilitate a thorough examination of state undertakings. The Committee is neither empowered nor is it feasible for it to oversee the actual implementation of its recommendations. It is satisfied if the Government informs that its recommendation has been accepted or agreed to in principle. The Committee, however, has taken every opportunity to reiterate its views, if not accepted by the Government, in "action taken" reports and subsequent reports on allied undertakings; only in a few cases it could take up the same undertaking for re-examination.

### *The General Approach*

In making its recommendations on public enterprises the Committee seems to have been guided by the following considerations:

1. Public undertakings, to be successful, must be run on efficient business principles and practices;
2. public enterprises need to be managed by capable managerial personnel with business acumen and aptitude; and
3. the public character of enterprises calls for parliamentary and governmental control to avoid waste in expending of public funds and to ensure the fulfilment of the general and particular objectives of the enterprises. The operation of the enterprises on business principles, on the other hand, necessitates the maximum possible internal autonomy. Both these considerations need to be properly balanced in setting policies, determining organization and relationships and laying down procedures for the enterprises.

### PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

#### *(a) The Forms of the Enterprises*

Public undertakings are organized broadly under four forms of organization, viz., statutory corporations, government companies (though

at times designated as corporations), departmental concerns, and control boards (in case of multi-purpose river valley projects only). During its examination of the form and organization of public undertakings the Committee observed in April 1960 in its 80th Report (II Lok Sabha) that no well-defined principles had been followed in determining the form of organization of the public undertakings, e.g., while air corporations had been created as statutory corporations under specific Acts of Parliament, the Eastern and Western Shipping Corporations, which also were transport undertakings, had been incorporated as companies under the Companies Act. There was no justification in the Committee's view for the Bharat Electronics, primarily intended to meet the defence needs and controlled by the Defence Ministry, being run as a company while other defence factories were established as departmental undertakings.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the Committee added, agencies in the nature of development bodies had been set up both as corporations and companies. The Committee felt that the corporate form combined in it the advantages of suitability both for parliamentary control and internal autonomy. The extent of the accountability of a corporation and the nature of parliamentary control over it, were invariably indicated in the statute under which it was set up. The Committee, therefore, recommended that wholly Government owned undertakings should ordinarily be organized in the form of statutory corporations, and in the form of departmental management only where justified by special reasons, e.g., defence, strategic or security needs or for purposes of economic control. The company form should be an exception to be used only for organizations of a specified nature, viz., where the Government had (i) to take over an existing enterprise in an emergency, (iii) to launch an enterprise in association with private capital, or (iv) to start an enterprise with a view to eventually transferring it to private hands.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> II, 80th, 4. (The mode of citation adopted in this reference and subsequent references is : Second Lok Sabha, Eightieth Report, Para 4. "P" stands for page number in 'Action Taken Reports' which do not bear any paragraph numbers as do the main reports. A list of the reports of the Estimates Committee which are referred to in this Note is given at the end.

<sup>6</sup> II, 80th, 6-7.

A.D. Gorwala, in his *Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprises*, had held the view that the departmental management was in many ways a direct negation of the requirements of autonomy and militated against flexibility and initiative, i.e., sound "state enterprise tradition." It must, therefore, be a rare exception to be resorted to when dictated by the need of secrecy, strategic importance, etc. However, such cases must be defined, isolated and kept down to the minimum. (Planning Commission, 1951, pp. 13-14). He generally favoured the company form for substantially commercial functions because of greater flexibility. Corporations should be used where the undertaking was to discharge what in effect were the extensions of Government functions, e.g., irrigation and hydro-electric projects, broadcasting, etc. (*Ibid.* pp. 18-19).

The First Five Year Plan in this connection had recommended in 1952 that industrial undertakings under the State Governments also should be organized as joint stock companies and operated on business lines with the internal management entirely under the control of the Board of Directors, at the same time ensuring technical efficiency and responsiveness to public needs which formed the *raison d'être* of Government initiative and management in this field. *First Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, 1952, pp. 429-30.

The Second Five Year Plan noted in 1956 that during the preceding years the joint stock company form of public enterprises had been increasingly adopted. The Plan added "In determining appropriate forms of organisation for public enterprises the main consideration to be kept in view is that the normal administrative and financial procedures customary in departmental administration are not suitable for commercial and industrial

With a view to keeping the Parliament fully acquainted with all the aspects of a projected enterprise to be set up in the form of a Government company, the Committee recommended in April 1960 that a resolution seeking the Parliament's approval to set up the company should be moved. However, if this procedure could not be followed, for any reasons, the Committee suggested: "(a) The provision in a Demand for Grant for investment in a Joint Stock Company might be indicated in Part I of the estimates. (b) A notification may be issued by Government for the setting up of a Government Company and a draft of the same might be laid on the Table of the House before a Company is registered. (c) The Memorandum and Articles of Association of a Government Company as also any subsequent amendments thereto might be laid before the House."

The Committee also proposed that an expert committee should be appointed to examine the whole question and advise the Government on the principles which should determine the appropriate form of organization for the various types of undertakings. The Committee added, "While it is most desirable to have all the public undertakings conform to a common pattern or patterns both from the point of view of efficient administration and of accountability to Parliament, the Committee feel that some individual variations are inevitable due to the special characteristics and functions of a particular undertaking. Such deviations should not, however, affect basically the overall pattern of organization and responsibility. It is, therefore, desirable to lay down a framework of such an overall pattern." Referring to the legislation obtaining in the U.S.A. and Canada on the subject, the Committee recommended that a similar law governing statutory corporations and Government companies

enterprises. These enterprises have to fulfil business criteria and standards... The general policy, therefore, is to confer upon their managements the largest measure of financial and administrative autonomy consistent with the overall responsibility of Government and accountability to Parliament." At the same time, the Plan recognized that greater experience was required before a clear view of the relative advantages of different forms of organization could emerge. *Second Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, 1956, pp. 137-38.

The Government, in its reply to the recommendation pointed out in September 1962 that the company form had the advantages of allowing necessary flexibility and autonomy needed for the successful operation of commercial enterprises. As to parliamentary control over the companies, it was being exercised under the special provisions of the Companies Act (relating to the submission of the annual reports to Parliament, audit by the Comptroller and Auditor General, etc.). Further, a separate Joint Committee of Parliament on State Undertakings was to be appointed soon to examine, *inter alia*, that the affairs of public undertakings were being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices. The reply was accepted by the Committee. (III, 56th, p. 4).

7 II, 80th, 17.

The Government replied in September 1962 and said that it was in agreement with the basic idea underlying the recommendation and proposed to evolve a suitable system on the basis of the second alternative. (III, 56th, p.6). However, while issuing the instructions for the implementation of the recommendation, the Government, *inter alia*, stated that it might not always be practicable to lay down a draft notification announcing the setting up of a company on the Table of the House before it was registered. It was further stated that it was legally not necessary to issue such a notification. This, the Committee felt, did not ensure full compliance with its recommendation and it therefore reiterated the earlier recommendation and hoped that early action would be taken to implement it fully. III, 56th, 3-4.

should be enacted in India also to secure uniformity in the structure, regulation, etc.<sup>8</sup>

The Committee also emphasized the need for thinking out properly in advance the organizational form that will be most appropriate so as to obviate the necessity of frequent changes.<sup>9</sup> The Committee preferred statutory form of organization where intensive policy control was to be exercised by the Government. In its 86th Report, April 1960 (II Lok Sabha), the Committee recommended the conversion of the State Trading Corporation of India from a company into a statutory corporation with necessary autonomy and flexibility, on the ground that intensive policy control was necessary over the activities of the Corporation which was mainly intended to serve as an instrument of the foreign trade policy of the Government.<sup>10</sup> In its 125th Report, April 1961 (II Lok Sabha), the Committee favoured the transformation of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation from a company into a statutory corporation. The Government had chosen the company form for administrative convenience and the Committee insisted that in accordance with the policy enunciated by it in its 80th Report, the Neyveli Lignite Corporation should be re-established as a Government corporation.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 15-16. About the proposal for legislation suggested by the Estimates Committee, the Government said that each statutory corporation was set up under a separate enactment of Parliament and that it would not be possible to bring under one statute diverse entities like the Life Insurance Corporation, Damodar Valley Corporation, Indian Airlines Corporation, etc. As regards companies, the general provisions of the Indian Companies Act applied and in addition there were special provisions in the Act which applied in common to all Government companies. Although this still left scope for individual Memorandum and Articles of Association, they, by and large, followed a general pattern as required under Section 9 of the Act. (III, 56th, pp. 4-6).

The reply did not fully convince the Committee which felt that it would be desirable if a uniform procedure in the matter of form, content and manner of presentation of budget, maintenance of bank accounts, loans, reserves, etc. were followed by all the undertakings. The Committee, therefore, suggested that the relevant provisions of the Companies Act should be suitably amplified and/or a Government directive, providing for these matters, issued to all public undertakings. (*Ibid.*, p. 1.)

<sup>9</sup> This recommendation related to the National Small Industries Corporation, where three regional offices—one each at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were set up in the year 1956-57. It was decided early in 1957 to convert these branches into subsidiary corporations and also to set up a separate subsidiary corporation at Delhi to secure active cooperation of the State Directors of Industries and collaboration with the Small Industries Service Institutes. After a year it was decided to reconvert the subsidiary corporations into branches II, 79th, 11.

The Government agreed with the view in principle. (II, 151st, p. 2)

<sup>10</sup> The Government did not readily accept the idea and said that it would like to gain more experience before deciding on the issue. The reply was accepted by the Committee. (II, 149th, p. 13)

<sup>11</sup> II, 125th, 32.

The Government did not subscribe to the Committee's views and said in March 1963 that the company form was more suitable to allow flexibility and autonomy to commercial enterprises. As regards parliamentary control over them the Government pointed out that there already existed special provisions in the Companies Act (relating to submission of annual reports, audit, etc.) and that a Joint Committee of Parliament on State Undertakings was going to be set up soon to examine whether their affairs were being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices. In view of the Government's reply the Committee did not desire to pursue the recommendation. (III, 54th, p. 11)

The Government, while admitting that the form of management should be determined by requirements of each case, has decided to prefer the company form of management in the interest of flexibility of operations. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. X, No. 3., p. 535.

The Committee in its 13th report (I Lok Sabha), *inter alia*, considered in June 1955 the question of ownership of the Nahar Foundry and suggested that since the Foundry was of a 'local character' it should be more appropriately owned by the Government of Himachal Pradesh. The Committee, therefore, called upon the Central Government to examine the possibility of transferring the ownership of the Foundry on mutually agreed terms.<sup>12</sup>

### (b) Parliamentary and Government Control

The relationship between the form of enterprise and parliamentary control has already been noted. In its 16th Report (June 1955, I Lok Sabha), the Estimates Committee suggested, and the Government agreed in principle, that each public undertaking should be required to publish separately a detailed and exhaustive annual report about its activities during the past year, progress made during the current year, the financial working of the enterprise, administrative changes, matters relating to staff, and its future plans.<sup>13</sup> In several subsequent reports the Committee regretted to note that the existing machinery and methods of keeping Parliament fully apprised to enable it to express its views on the different aspects of the working of various enterprises were still neither adequate nor satisfactory. The picture presented to the Parliament was incomprehensive<sup>13a</sup> and no consolidated information about the total investment by the Government in public undertakings and the net effect of their operations on the national economy as a whole, was available.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> I, 13th, 94.

The Government replied in January 1956 and said that owing to legal and constitutional difficulties, it was not feasible to transfer the ownership of the Foundry to the Himachal Pradesh Government (created as a centrally administered area). (II, 1st., pp. 19-20)

<sup>13</sup> I, 16th, 30.

The Government was in general agreement with the recommendation and said that the annual reports should give as much information as possible consistent, of course, with the nature of the undertakings, *i.e.*, the undertakings, under the Ministry of Defence should give information keeping in view the needs of the security of the country. (II, 19th, p. 47)

<sup>13a</sup> I, 43rd, 44; II, 11th, 78; II, 134th, 93-94; II, 167th, 156; III, 32nd, 264; III, 36th, 110; III, 47th, 142; III, 57th, p. 32; etc.

<sup>14</sup> II, 20th, 25; II, 73rd, 2 and 25.

In its reply to the 20th report (II Lok Sabha) the Government stated that it was not possible to bring out within the limited time available in a separate volume the balance sheets, etc. of all statutory units and limited companies. Moreover, this would only duplicate the information already given in the Explanatory Memorandum on the General Budget and efforts would be made to give therein a full picture of the financial results and prospects of individual undertakings, schemes, etc. The Committee still felt that the information contained in the Explanatory Memorandum was not adequate and it, therefore, reiterated the recommendation. (II, 60th, p. 38). In reply to para 2 of the 73rd report the Government again said that the necessary information was available in the Explanatory Memorandum and "*Principal Public Sector Undertakings in India*", a brochure published by the Central Statistical Organisation. The Committee again pointed out that the information given in the publications was not adequate and "did not fulfil the purpose envisaged by the Committee". However, in reply to para 25 of the same report, the Government stated and the Committee felt satisfied to note that it was proposed to start a consolidated Financial and Economic Review of Industrial Undertakings of the Government. The Committee also hoped that the publication, covering all the public undertakings properly classified, would be brought out as early as possible. (III, 9th, pp. 1-2)

From 1961 onwards the Comptroller and Auditor General has made comprehensive reviews as part of his annual audit reports of the financial working of Government companies, and some statutory corporations and departmental undertakings, for three financial years, viz., 1961-62, 1962-63, and 1963-64. *IJPA*, Vol. X, No. 3, p. 545.

The Committee repeatedly urged that there should be a uniform practice in the matter and mode of presentation of annual reports; that they should be submitted with the least possible delay after the expiry of the accounting year before the general budget for the current year was taken up for consideration; and that the Government should lay down a time limit for submission of reports and ensure that it was strictly adhered to.<sup>15</sup>

The Committee throughout stressed the necessity of viewing state undertakings as separate entities from administrative departments and giving the enterprises full measure of autonomy within the framework of the overall policies so as to enable them to function on business lines with flexibility both in administration and operation. The Committee strongly deprecated the increasing tendency in certain cases to treat state undertakings as extensions or part of Government departments subject to the control of the secretariat through the appointment of its officers on their Boards of Directors.<sup>16</sup>

Further, the Committee many a time urged the need for specifying in unambiguous terms the circumstances in which the Government might interfere in the affairs of an undertaking. A still more useful proposal of the Committee in this connection concerned the making of a distinction between the Government's suggestions for consideration and those in the nature of directives to be followed and instructions to be complied with. Such instructions, along with information as to how they were carried out and with what effect, should, the Committee felt, be incorporated in the annual report of the undertaking for the information of the Parliament and the public at large.<sup>17</sup> With regard to cases in which an undertaking was required to make a reference to the Government, the Committee pleaded for clearly listing them down with a view to

<sup>15</sup> I, 16th, 30; II, 73rd, 20; II, 93rd, 25; II, 167th, 157.

In paras 16 and 17 of its 73rd (February 1960) report (II Lok Sabha) the Committee pointed out that the time taken in presentation of annual reports and accounts to the House had ranged from 3 months to 2 years and 11 months in the case of statutory corporations and 4 months to 2 years and 11 months for Government companies. In reply the Government stated in December 1962 (III, 9th, p. 18) that while no time limit had been specified, every effort would be made to present the annual reports, within the least possible time after the close of the financial year. This made the Committee reiterate the recommendation subsequently. (III, 9th, 4; III, 49th, 189 (March 1964); III, 57th (April 1964) p. 32)

<sup>16</sup> I, 9th, 23; I, 16th, 8; I, 39th, 47; I, 41st, 15; II, 19th, 5; II 38th, 35-37; II, 79th, 5; II, 110th, 5.

In the case of Air India International the Committee said : "It is necessary that the authorities in charge of the undertaking should at their level proceed entirely on business and commercial principles while the authority of the Government should prevail only where overriding considerations of national policy over commercial principles arise. Within these limits, the corporation should not only retain its autonomy technically, but should be so constituted as to possess the business outlook". I, 41st, 12. The Government accepted the suggestion. (II, 34th, p.3)

The Committee welcomed the large delegation of powers to the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Aircraft Limited. It added that besides giving large powers to the Board it was also necessary to see that the climate for full exercise of such powers was provided for. I, 67th, 18. The Government noted the recommendation. (II, 65th, p. 2)

<sup>17</sup> II, 33rd, 40; II, 86th, 25-26; II, 134th, 34-36.

The suggestions of the Committee were accepted by the Government and it was decided to include the directives, etc. in the annual reports. (II, 149th, p. 5; III, 2nd, p. 7)

avoiding unnecessary references on routine matters and consequential long delays and for ensuring the autonomous character of the enterprise.<sup>18</sup> In this connection the Committee recommended that powers of the management of enterprises in regard to the incurring of capital expenditure, borrowings or making advances and other similar matters, should be incorporated, desirably on a uniform pattern in the Articles of Association in the case of Government companies and in the relevant statute in the case of public corporations, rather than vesting the enterprises with "hypothetical powers" expected not to be exercised.<sup>19</sup> The Committee suggested recently that the Government should prepare a Handbook on Public Undertakings for the guidance of project authorities, containing directions, instructions, and decisions of Government on all matters relating to the organization and management of industrial undertakings, e.g., agreements with foreign collaborators, siting of projects, organization, delegation of powers, relationship with Government, accountability to Parliament, procurement of plant and machinery, raw materials and components.<sup>20</sup>

### (c) Boards of Directors

The Estimates Committee all along opposed the appointment of Ministers, Secretaries and other senior secretarial officials of the administrative Ministry concerned either as chairmen or members of the Boards of Directors on the ground that such an arrangement tended to mix the responsibility of initiation and planning of the project and setting of broad policies with the responsibility for their execution.<sup>21</sup> If a Minister

<sup>18</sup> In its report on the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Committee pointed out that the Corporation had referred to the Government for its approval 90 per cent and 84 per cent of amount of loans advanced by it during 1959-60 and 1961-62 respectively. III, 36th, 86.

<sup>19</sup> II, 79th, 5-6.

In its reply the Government admitted in August 1961 that the powers of public undertakings in regard to these matters varied from unit to unit according to their size, nature of operations (e.g. manufacturing, promotional and commercial) and special needs. The enterprises had been vested with adequate powers according to the needs of each case and it was not desirable or practicable to have any uniform powers or limits applicable to all the undertakings. The reply was accepted by the Committee. (II, 151st, pp. 15-16)

<sup>20</sup> III, 35th, 291.

<sup>21</sup> I, 16th, 39th, 41st; II, 33rd, 38th; III, 28th, 32nd, etc.

In 1951 A.D. Gorbala had vehemently opposed the placing on the Boards of autonomous organizations Ministers, Members of Parliament and departmental representatives in order to avoid overlapping of responsibilities, maintaining integrity of political life, and ensuring autonomy for the enterprises. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, pp. 19-20.

A perusal of the Government's replies to the Committee's recommendations concerning the demarcation of policy and executive functions shows that the Government accepted in principle the views of the Committee and assured an early disassociation of secretariat officers from the Boards of public undertakings. However, in the case of the Bharat Electronics it said that the presence of the Defence Secretary on the Board of Directors was necessary to "secure the greatest possible measure of support and cooperation from the three Services during the initial, difficult and formulative stages of the factory" and that it proposed to continue the present system for sometime more before reviewing it to gain sufficient experience (II, 68th, p. 40). The reply did not satisfy the Committee and it followed the recommendation up in subsequent reports.

The Krishna Menon Committee had made a similar observation: "We are against the practice of appointing as Chairmen or Managing Directors of the Boards of Directors, Secretaries or senior officers of Government while they are still functioning in Government". *Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings*, 1959, p. 14.

happened to be the chairman of the Board of Directors, as he actually once was in cases like the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and the National Industrial Development Corporation, the autonomous character of the enterprise was adversely affected. Besides, the absence of experienced technical personnel at the top could lead to wrong direction which might result in infructuous expenditure.<sup>22</sup> Further, the officials, being full-time employees of the Government, could neither devote sufficient time to direct the affairs of the enterprise nor gain specialized experience in the field. The Committee also felt that in suitable cases the presence of officials of the administrative Ministry and the Finance Ministry, known for their administrative abilities and qualities of leadership, could be of definite advantage to public undertakings.<sup>23</sup> What it was opposed to was the tendency of placing at a time on the Boards of as many as 20 and even more undertakings an official who was already fully occupied with his normal secretariat functions and did not have sufficient time to attend to the added responsibilities. The Committee urged that as long as the existing system continued, matters emanating from the enterprises should be examined in the Ministry by officers independent of and different from those who were on the Board.<sup>24</sup>

The Government decided in November 1961 not to appoint the Secretary of the Ministry or Department to the Boards of public enterprises. Similarly, no officer who was assigned with normal secretariat duties should be Director of not more than 3 or 4 companies. The decisions however have not been fully carried out and Secretaries and other secretariat officers continue to be Directors of 5 to 8 undertakings. III, 52nd, 34.

<sup>22</sup> II, 22nd, 10; II, 103rd, 3; II, 122nd, 6-8.

In its 22nd (April 1958) report on the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, etc., the Committee said that a full-time Chairman or Vice-Chairman, preferably with technical qualifications, should be appointed to execute the policies laid down by the Government and the Minister, then Chairman of the Commission, should not be burdened with the day-to-day work and management of the Commission. (para 10). In its reply (II, 103rd, pp. 40-42) the Government, while agreeing to the appointment of a Vice-Chairman, still favoured implicitly the continuance of the Minister as the Chairman. In its comments on the Government's reply the Committee reiterated its earlier views (II, 103rd, 3). However, in the case of the N.I.D.C. the Government readily accepted the Committee's recommendation.

Paul H. Appleby earlier in 1956 was prepared to give greater latitude to civil servants. But he conceded that a departmental Secretary could not be an effective Chairman of a large number of Boards. It depended on "his ability to think and to act one way for a corporation and another way for the Ministry proper. The two hats are not likely to be worn with grace if they are too extremely unlike." *Reexamination of India's Administrative System with special Reference to Government Industrial and Commercial Enterprises*, 1956, p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> The Committee pointed out that the composition of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission did not conform to accepted pattern inasmuch as it comprised only non-officials who in the opinion of the Government had full faith in the Gandhian ideas and principles. The Committee was not very much sure whether an exception from the Government's decision to appoint one representative of each of the Ministry of Finance and the administrative ministry had to be made in the case of Khadi Commission. II, 167th, 114.

In its reply (57th report, III Lok Sabha) the Government said that in actual practice the representatives of the Ministries of Finance, and Commerce and Industry attended all the meetings by invitation and having regard to the special position of the Commission "it was neither desirable nor necessary to have officials as members of the Commission". (p. 20). Against this the Committee contended that since large Government funds were disbursed by the Commission, it was but proper to have representatives of Government as fullfledged members of the Commission to ensure an effective say in all matters that came up before the Commission. III, 57th, 11-12.

<sup>24</sup> II, 33rd, 39; II, 38th, 34.

In reply to the 33rd report (II Lok Sabha) the Government pointed out in January 1961 that at that time there were no secretariat officers on the Board of Directors of the

The Estimates Committee also suggested that the area of selection to the Boards should be widened so as to include, with the approval of chairman of the Board, prominent non-officials drawn from public and business life with special aptitude, technical qualifications and business experience provided they did not have any direct or indirect business interest in the concern.<sup>25</sup>

• The Committee further stressed the need for giving representation on the Boards to special interests.<sup>26</sup> In the case of the Hindustan Antibiotics, the Committee suggested that a representative of the State Government of Bombay should also be associated with the Board.<sup>27</sup>

The Committee generally favoured a functional board, especially in the case of multi-unit concerns, and recommended that more full-time Directors should be appointed to look after and be responsible for the efficient working of the particular departments of the concern, e.g., technical, personnel, planning, finance, etc. It recommended this type of top manage-

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Hindustan Steel and so no question of implementing the suggestion of the Committee arose. (III, 2nd, p. 8) In regard to the 38th report (II Lok Sabha) on the Shipping Corporations, the Government stated that the arrangement under which the Joint Secretary to the Government functioned at the same time as Director General of Shipping was justified in the interests of economy and expeditious disposal of work. It, however, agreed to review the position at a later stage if such combination were found unsatisfactory and the financial position permitted creation of two separate posts. (II, 135th, p. 54)

<sup>25</sup> In its 27th Report (I Lok Sabha), the Committee was not satisfied with the constitution of the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Insecticides which had as its member a person who was also the Director of the Managing Agents who supplied the raw material and consumed the waste products and was an interested party in the dispute about the proprietorship of the land over which the D.D.T. factory was situated. (I, 27th, 74). The Government replied in January 1957 that the recommendation of the Committee would be borne in mind and later on informed the Committee in July 1957 that then there was no such Director. (II, 13th, p. 12)

The Krishna Menon Committee also, though opposed to placing on the Boards men drawn from public who might have "considerable other interests and often rival interest", did not preclude appointment of a person, businessman or civil servant or legislator who had considerable experience and had no such encumbrances. It said, "...it is inadvisable to have men on Board with power but without responsibility and of divided loyalties". *Report, op. cit.*, 1959, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> For instance, it recommended that the Fertiliser Corporation should have at least one member from among the agriculturists who were the ultimate consumers of the Corporation's products (I, 13th, 47). The Committee similarly advocated appointment of one representative each of the C.W.P.C. and State Electricity Board on the Board of Directors of the Heavy Electricals (III, 35th, 183); more than one representative of the shipping interests on the Shipping Corporations; and of specialized agencies like the C.S.I.R., Indian Cotton Committee, and the State Governments on the Khadi Board (II, 167th, 118). In the case of the Khadi Board, the Government replied that since the outlook and spheres of work of the agencies suggested by the Committee were different from those of the Khadi Board, their representation on the Board was not necessary. The Committee was not convinced with the reply and remarked that such representatives could be of positive advantages to the Board and if they could not be taken as members, their services should be more frequently utilized in advisory and consultative capacity than had been done hitherto. (III, 35th, p. 30)

<sup>27</sup> I, 27th, 43.

The Government agreed to have on the Board a representative of the State Government. (II, 13th, p. 7)

A.D. Gorwala in 1951 recommended that there was no place for representatives of interest on the Boards of autonomous authorities. Such Boards were not a forum for the settling of points of difference among various interests and their responsibilities were to the public as a whole and the Boards and their officers must regard themselves as the high custodians of the public interest. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, pp. 19-20.

ment, among others, for the Hindustan Steel (II, 33rd, 33), the State Trading Corporation (II, 86th, 28), the Neyveli Lignite Corporation (II, 125th, 35), the National Mineral Development Corporation (II, 156th, 8), the National Coal Development Corporation (III, 32nd, 152), and in its general report on "Personnel Policies of Public undertakings" (III, 52nd, 28). The advantages visualized by the Committee under such an arrangement were better coordination, collective leadership and speedy attainment of production targets.<sup>28</sup>

The Committee, while not opposed to mixed Boards of full-time and part-time members (preferably less over-worked), favoured an increase in the number of full-time directors for reasons of better administration and coordination.<sup>29</sup> It was also favourably inclined to the idea of interlocking or common directorships in the case of concerns like the air corporations operating in the same or closely allied fields.<sup>30</sup>

The Committee highly deprecated the frequent fluctuations in the number of directors on the Boards, among others, of the Heavy Electricals where there were 12 members in 1957-58, 14 in 1960-61 and only six

<sup>28</sup> A.D. Gorwala held a different view from the Committee. In his opinion a policy board was likely to be more effective in the case of joint stock companies. Even in the case of corporations, a policy board was seemingly the best, though in the selection of personnel more attention could be given to the functional element. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 20.

The Krishna Menon Committee also held that the Board should normally consist of a chairman, the managing director (if there was one) a financial expert from within the concern, one or more of the senior executives, the chief production executive, a representative wherever possible of labour and one of staff. *Report, op. cit.*, 1959, p. 10.

The Government accepted the Committee's recommendation contained in the 33rd report. (III, 2nd, p. 7) As to the 86th and 156th reports the Government agreed to review the matter (II, 149th, p. 23 and III, 40th, p. 11). However in its reply to the 125th report, the Government stated that the functional board suggested by the Committee would result in the Corporation's business being transacted on a compartmental basis instead of in an integrated and co-ordinated manner. Besides, too large a number of Directors might make the Board unwieldy and less efficient. Also, the work-load on the Board would be reduced substantially when the schemes entered the production phase. The Government therefore considered that the objectives behind the Committee's proposals could be more conveniently achieved by paid heads of constituent schemes who need not be Directors on the Board. The Committee did not accept the reply and reiterated the earlier recommendation. (III, 54th, p. 19)

The Government declared in the Lok Sabha on November 21, 1961 that the Boards of public enterprises would in future be policy boards with a full-time chairman. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Appendix I, Annexure 3, pp. 4-6.

<sup>29</sup> II, 33rd, 32; II, 86th, 28; III, 34th, 77; III, 36th, 72; III, 52nd, 26.

In reply to the 33rd report (II Lok Sabha) on the Hindustan Steel, the Government stated that there were 5 full-time Directors of the Hindustan Steel and that the work had been divided among them. (III, 9th, p. 7) With regard to the 86th report on the State Trading Corporation the Government said that the question of constituting a mixed Board of full-time and part-time directors was under consideration. The Committee wished to be intimated of the final decision when reached. (II, 149th, p. 23)

<sup>30</sup> I, 41st, 34-35; III, 34th, 8; III, 52nd, 47.

In reply to the 41st report (I Lok Sabha) the Government pointed out that it had always been the endeavour to provide for as many as possible common members on the Boards of the two corporations and that then there were 7 common out of a total of 9 members. It also assured to keep in view the Estimates Committee's recommendation when fresh appointments to the Boards were to be made. The Committee accepted the reply. (II, 34th, pp. 21-22)

in 1961-62.<sup>31</sup> Such wide variations were considered unconducive to the sound administration of the undertaking. Similarly, the Committee was utterly dissatisfied with the frequent changes that had taken place in the membership of the Boards of Eastern and Western Shipping Corporations, Indian Oil Company, etc. It felt that the directors should have a fixed and fairly long tenure of service, say five years, to ensure continuity of guidance and leadership on the boards.<sup>32</sup> The Committee, however, emphasized that continuance of a member on the Board must be related to actual performance, *i.e.*, sound and effective management of the projects under the member's charge.<sup>33</sup>

As to the qualifications of the chairman of the Board the Committee supported in April 1964 the recommendation of the Krishna Menon Committee.<sup>34</sup> on the matter, *viz.*, he should be a person between 30 and 50 years of age, with maturity of judgment, experience of the particular type of concern or of similar kind of industry, the capacity to work with a team and a personality that would enable him to give a lead by his example to both staff and labour.<sup>35</sup> Further, the Committee insisted that the Government, should, keeping in view the tasks to be performed, define in broad terms the qualifications, terms of service, etc. of the chairmen and directors of public undertakings so as to attract capable men.<sup>36</sup> The Committee in March 1963 urged that the Government should lay down in specific terms the tasks expected of a Board of Directors. The Committee suggested that the functions of the Board should include: (a) formulation of policy; (b) coordination and progressing of its execution effectively; (c) evaluation of the performance of management; (d) stimulating development; (e) raising the standards of management; (f) collecting information and introducing and disseminating new ideas; (g) estab-

<sup>31</sup> III, 35th, 177.

A. D. Gorwala in this connection had suggested in 1951 that it would be desirable to fix the number of members to be appointed on the Boards of public enterprises from the very beginning and not to leave it variable. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> II, 38th, 31; III, 52nd, 45.

In reply to the 38th report (II Lok Sabha) the Government stated in November 1960 that the recommendation was under consideration. The Committee did not receive any final reply in the matter from the Government till April 1961 when it submitted the 'action taken report.' (II, 135th, pp. 116-17)

A. D. Gorwala had recommended in 1951 a four or five years' tenure for service on a Board. He had also suggested a staggering of appointments so that all the members did not retire at the same time and a continuity of policy and administration could be maintained. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 22.

<sup>33</sup> The Committee regretted to note that it took the Government a long time to realize the unsuitability of one of the ex-Managing Directors of the Indian Oil Co. and he could be removed only 2½ years after such realization. (III, 28th, 64). With a view to avoiding recurrence of such instances, it suggested that there should always be a provision of termination of services of unsuitable directors at a 3 months' notice. III, 52nd, 46.

A. D. Gorwala also envisaged a provision for removal of members of Boards on grounds, among others, of misbehaviour and ill health. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> *Report, op. cit.*, 1959, pp. 11-12.

<sup>35</sup> III, 52nd, 7.

<sup>36</sup> II, 33rd (February 1959), 30.

The Government replied in September 1960 and said that the recommendation which concerned the Government as a whole was under consideration. (III, 2nd, p. 68) The Committee reiterated the recommendation in March 1963. III, 32nd, 145.

lishing common executive and administrative practices; and (h) ensuring proper accounting and efficient utilization of finances."<sup>37</sup>

As to the management of day-to-day affairs of an enterprise the Committee recommended that it should be entrusted to a Managing Director or a Board of Management consisting of three or four experienced directors, depending upon the size and importance of the enterprise. The members of the Board of Management should include, besides the chief executive (whether he was the Chairman or the Managing Director), heads of principal departments of the concern selected on the basis of their expert knowledge and experience. Constitution of such a body would facilitate better co-ordination and administration and would involve collective and to that extent considered decision-making, and encourage joint responsibility among senior officers.<sup>38</sup>

Lastly, the Committee from time to time urged the combination of the posts of the Chairman and the Managing Director in the same person.<sup>39</sup> In case, however, it was absolutely necessary to retain the two posts separately, the Committee suggested that their respective functions should be clearly demarcated in the interest of co-ordination and control.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding multi-purpose river valley projects, the Committee recommended that there should be one authority responsible for the overall control and watching of progress of all the schemes as well as the individual schemes at the same time. The Committee further contemplated a three-tier organization for planning, execution and completion of projects, with clearly defined functions for each. The three tiers would be: (1) the Cabinet advised by the Planning Commission, Central Water and Power Commission, etc., for policy decisions; (2) the administrative Ministry in consultation with the C.W.P.C. and the Ministry of Finance for initiation of schemes and giving the plans and estimates a final shape; and (3) semi-autonomous Boards created under statutes of Parliament which should consist of three persons: one experienced administrator (to act as the chair-

<sup>37</sup> Earlier in 1956 Paul H. Appleby had in his report said that the functions reserved for the Boards should be primarily two, viz., the development of the reports which constitute for themselves, their Minister and the Government at large, basis for making intelligent overall appraisal of the effectiveness of the organization (i.e., the function of evaluation); and the making of decisions which in their nature required consideration of the functions and responsibilities of other enterprises or ministries (i.e., the function of coordination). *Report, op. cit.*, 1956, p. 54.

<sup>38</sup> I, 16th, 7; I, 41st, 55; I, 43rd, 11; II, 11th, 38.

The Government in its reply to the 16th report (I Lok Sabha) on the "Organisation and Administration of Nationalised Industrial Undertakings", said that it would like to gather some more experience before reviewing the existing system of Boards of Directors. (II, 19th, p. 21) In the case of air corporations the Government accepted the recommendation. (II, 34th, pp. 38-39; II, 62nd, p. 5) However, in the case of Indian Telephone Industries (11th report, II Lok Sabha) the Government hesitated to appoint a Board of Management on the H.A.L. and B.E.L. pattern and was satisfied with the holding of informal meetings of the Managing Director and the principal heads of departments to discuss problems of individual departments. The Committee, while commenting on the Government's attitude, reiterated its earlier recommendation. (II, 105th, pp. 67-68)

<sup>39</sup> For instance, it did not see any justification for the continuance of the post of the Managing Director in the Air India International (I, 43rd, 8), a view which was also accepted by the Government (II, 62nd, p. 4) and also in the National Coal Development Corporation (III, 32nd, 139). The two posts have already been combined in some other mining enterprises, viz., the Neyveli Lignite Corporation and the Indian Oil Company under the Ministry of Mines and Fuel which is also in charge of the National Coal Development Corporation.

<sup>40</sup> III, 52nd, 13.

man), one engineer, and a financial adviser. The Board should be homogeneous and there should be only one appointing authority. The Board should have full administrative and financial powers within the broad frame-work of plans and estimates.<sup>41</sup>

(d) *Rationalization of Multiplicity of the Enterprises*

The Estimates Committee was constrained to observe several times that the multiplicity of agencies operating broadly in the same or allied areas had led to overlapping and duplication of functions and was not at all conducive to efficient and economical functioning of public undertakings. The Committee strongly felt that normally the existing units should be utilized to start new activities and that the creation of new bodies should be avoided as far as possible. The Committee was not "quite convinced" of the desirability or advisability of having two separate shipping corporations to operate the small fleet at their disposal and it recommended their amalgamation into one corporation.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the Committee was opposed to the bifurcation of the State Trading Corporation into two independent corporations: one for minerals and metals and the other for the remaining items. The Committee, instead, suggested the setting up of two units in the S.T.C. each with a separate General Manager. The Committee visualized that such an arrangement would have the advantages of better coordination, unified policy direction, lesser delays and difficulties in operations, and lower administrative and overhead expenses.<sup>43</sup> For enterprises operating practically in the same field like oil prospecting, oil refinery, iron ore, etc., the Committee suggested their merger into one agency for pooling together resources, technical skill, experience, plant and machinery, and research and training facilities. In the case of oil refineries, for instance, the Committee observed in April 1963, "It is very essential for the rapid development of this complex industry in the public sector that there should be utmost coordination and integration between the three wings (exploration, refining and marketing). The Committee, therefore, recommend that with a view to achieving economy, efficiency and coordination as also to eliminating duplication of effort and wasteful expenditure the question of merging these agencies under one organisation may be

<sup>41</sup> I, 5th, 103-105.

The Government accepted all the recommendations and a Directorate was set up in the C.W.P.C. for watching the progress of work and expenditure on projects under execution and carrying out technical examinations of project estimates, etc. As regards the precise nature of the organizational set-up, the Government said that a decision would be taken only after a full examination of the facts. (I, 49th, pp. 11-13)

<sup>42</sup> II, 38th, 24.

The Government agreed with the views of the Committee and decided in April 1961 to amalgamate the two corporations to form the Shipping Corporation of India. (II, 135th, p. 1)

John Kenneth Galbraith, in a report on *Industrial Organization and Economic Development*, submitted to the Ceylonese Government, had observed that with a view to making use of the "going concern value and accumulated experience," a relatively small number of multi-purpose enterprises was the ideal form of public industrial organizations and that an existing and successful industrial enterprise was by far the best bet for launching a new enterprise. (cited by the Estimates Committee. II, 80th, 3)

<sup>43</sup> III, 49th, 192-95.

examined by Government at an early date".<sup>44</sup> Similar views were expressed by the Committee in its report on the National Mineral Development Corporation where it suggested the creation of one single corporation for mining of iron ore in the public sector.<sup>45</sup>

#### (e) Internal Delegation

With a view to ensuring that the operational autonomy enjoyed by the enterprise was meaningful and effective, the Estimates Committee emphasized the need for adequate internal delegation within the enterprise and, as pointed out earlier, clear-cut definition of functions of the headquarters organization and the field offices. The Committee pin-pointed the desirability of delegating sufficient powers to departmental or sectional heads for the convenient transaction of business and prompt decision in the matter of creation of posts below a certain salary limit, sanction of capital expenditure within the budgetary provisions and negotiating on and entering into contracts up to a suitable financial limit. Similar delegation below the departmental heads was also necessary.<sup>46</sup>

With the insistence on internal delegation the Committee visualized the role of the headquarters organization and the Board of Directors in

<sup>44</sup> III, 34th, 8.

The Government decided in August 1964 to amalgamate the Indian Oil Company and the Indian Refineries into one agency called the Indian Oil Corporation. *Gazette of India*, Extra-ordinary, Part II, Section 3—Sub-section (ii), dated 31 August, 1964. In September 1964 the Government decided to amalgamate the Hindustan Aircraft and the Aeronautics India into one company viz. Hindustan Aeronautics. *Gazette of India*, Extra-ordinary, Part II, Section-3, Sub-section (ii), dated 28 September, 1964.

<sup>45</sup> At the time of the report (March 1962) iron ore was being exploited by or with the participation of the Central Government by three undertakings, viz. the H.S.L. and the N.M.D.C. (both wholly owned by the Central Government) and Bolani Ores in which the Central Government had 50.5 per cent shares. II, 156th, 4-6.

The Government, however, deferred any decision till the Fourth Five Year Plan for 'purely practical reasons' viz. to ensure uninterrupted supply to meet the additional requirements during the Third Plan and utilization of the familiarity with the particular mines which a new organization would take some time to acquire. (III, 40th, p. 10)

In the wider context of public enterprises as a whole, A. D. Gorwala had earlier recommended in 1951 constitution of one central board, consisting of 5 to 6 full-time members, including the Chairman and one member drawn from Government, for purposes of running all the state enterprises through out the country and thereby effecting coordination at the highest level and maintaining common services needed by all state enterprises regardless of their location. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 30. The conception has, however, been discarded as "cumbersome and unpracticable". D. S. Ganguli : *Public Corporations in a National Economy*, Bookland Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1963, p. 81.

The First Five Year Plan also recommended in 1952 the early establishment of a single central board which could give detailed attention to and advise the Government on larger problems of policy, management and organization for the industrial undertakings of the Central Government. *op. cit.*, p. 127.

A similar suggestion was made in 1956 by Paul H. Appleby when he said that through the years to come there should be persistent movement of consolidation of special organizations in particular fertilizer plants, steel plants, air services, etc., according to some scheme of "coherent missions". *Report, op. cit.*, 1956, p. 13.

The Third Five Year Plan in this connection has stated : "It has now been recognised that proliferation of special organisations of such number and variety as to be unmanageable should be avoided and there should be a definite policy of consolidating these organisations so as to bring together enterprises functioning broadly in the same field". *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>46</sup> I, 43rd, 21-23; II, 11th, 33.

The Government in both the cases accepted the recommendation. (II, 62nd pp. 5-6; II, 105th, p. 7 respectively)

terms of concentration on policy matters, measures to improve efficiency, effect economy, increase production; overall direction, coordination and supervision; provision of finances, etc.<sup>47</sup> To facilitate better discharge of responsibility and watching progress of work, the Committee advised that the headquarters office should be located near the site of the project, e.g., the office of the Heavy Electricals should be shifted from Delhi to Bhopal and Eastern Shipping Corporation's office transferred from Bombay to Calcutta wherefrom all but one of its services began and ended. Similarly, the Area Headquarters of the I.A.C. at Delhi should be 'eliminated' and air operations controlled from Calcutta and Bombay; and the desirability of shifting the Central Office of L.I.C. from Bombay to some central place might be examined by the Government for better coordination, etc.<sup>48</sup>

The Committee disapproved of the four-tier system prevailing in the L.I.C. for reasons of duplication and overlapping of functions. It suggested setting up of Zonal Offices in each State and establishment of direct relations between the Branch Office and the Zonal Office, with the consequent elimination of the Divisional Office. The Committee recommended for the L.I.C. a federal structure with autonomous field units and a clear demarcation of functions between the Central and field offices and wider delegation of powers to the field offices in matters like writing of business, grant of loans, payment of claims, servicing, etc. This was to help reduce the size of the central organization and facilitate concentration of its attention on matters of policy and overall supervision.<sup>49</sup>

#### (f) *Reduction in Hierarchical Levels*

The Estimates Committee was highly critical of the tendency on the part of public enterprises to develop internally excessive hierarchical layers, at times five to six, which though appropriate in Government departments to provide checks and balances, were neither necessary nor desirable for commercial and industrial undertakings. In its report on the State Trading Corporation, the Committee deprecated "the tendency on the part of public undertakings to follow Government pattern in creating a hierarchy of officers."<sup>50</sup> Similar views were expressed by the

<sup>47</sup> II, 11th, 33; II, 134th, 10; II, 167th, 126; III, 36th, 84.

The Government agreed in principle with the suggestions of the Committee. (II, 62nd, pp. 5-6; III, 41st, pp. 24-25; and III, 57th, p. 9)

<sup>48</sup> I, 5th, 114; I, 43rd, 18; II, 38th, 39; II, 134th, 31.

The Government accepted in principle the Committee's recommendation in the case of the D.V.C. and the Eastern Shipping Corporation. However, in the case of I.A.C. and L.I.C. the Government declined to agree with the Committee's views for technical reasons like work-load in the Engineering, Operations and Traffic Departments, non-availability of sufficient accommodation and reasonable transport facilities, administrative difficulties and enormous financial costs involved in the shifting with no commensurate advantages likely to accrue from it. The arguments advanced by the Government satisfied the Committee. (II, 62nd, p. 24; III, 41st, p. 26)

<sup>49</sup> II, 134th, 10-13.

The Government did not wholly agree with the views of the Committee and sought to justify the continuance of the existing tiers on the ground that there was no duplication of functions except to a strictly limited extent which was unavoidable in the very nature of the organization. This made the Committee reiterate its earlier recommendation. (III, 41st, 1-2)

<sup>50</sup> The S.T.C. was termed by the Committee as a top-heavy organization which had in March 1963, 231 supervisory personnel out of the total strength of 2,053 and had five layers of officers. III, 49th, 158-60.

Committee in the case of Eastern and Western Shipping Corporations which had four tiers and the L.I.C. where there were two Managing Directors, four Executive Directors and a Zonal Manager in addition to the Secretaries to look after each Department in the Central Office.<sup>51</sup> By eliminating some of the layers and introducing the level jumping system, the Committee hoped, it should be possible to improve distribution and expeditious disposal of work.

The Committee specifically recommended the abolition of the post of Chief Personnel Officer and transfer of his work to the Secretary in the I.A.C. as a permanent arrangement. In the case of the Hindustan Antibiotics, the Committee did not feel any need for the interposition of an official between the Managing Director and the departmental or sectional heads.<sup>52</sup> About the Hindustan Steel, the Committee said that instead of three Secretaries looking after three steel plants, one Secretary could be entrusted with the overall charge of coordinating the work of the three plants. He could, of course, be assisted by deputies, if necessary.<sup>53</sup>

The opposition of the Committee to the excessiveness of hierarchical layers seems to be based on a pragmatic approach. This is evident from a different proposal which it made in the case of the Heavy Electricals. The Committee noted that no less than 12 departmental heads were working directly under the Resident Director of the Heavy Electricals. Such a wide span of control tended to give rise to "procrastination, indecision, misunderstanding, irritation and strained relations." The Committee was doubtful if a Resident Director charged with the task of controlling an industrial enterprise of the size of the H.E.L. could do the whole job by himself, unless he was assisted by deputies who could share some of his burden or who could advise him on various matters.<sup>54</sup>

(g) *The Problem of Delays and Methods of Work*

The Committee's reports abound in observations about inordinate delays as regards the initiation, planning and completion of projects. The most notable delays were pointed out by the Committee in its reports on the Hindustan Steel and the Shipping Corporations. As regards Hindustan Steel, the Committee observed in February 1959 that

<sup>51</sup> II, 38th, 151 and III, 34th, 26.

The Government agreed to review the position from time to time and make such changes as would help improve the efficiency of the shipping corporations. (II, 135th, pp. 98-99)

<sup>52</sup> I, 27, 22 and I, 43rd, 12 respectively.

With regard to the abolition of the post of Chief Personnel Officer in I.A.C., the Government pointed out that the experiment of combination of the posts of Chief Personnel Officer and the Chief Administrative Officer had not proved entirely satisfactory and many important and urgent matters concerning personnel and their welfare could not be given undivided attention. Therefore, it had been decided to revive and retain the post of Chief Personnel Officer. The Committee accepted the reply. (II, 62nd, pp. 23-24). In the case of the Hindustan Antibiotics the Government agreed with the recommendation in principle and said that it would be kept in mind at the time of re-organization of the administrative set-up of the company. This did not, however, satisfy the Committee and it pursued the matter further. (II, 13th, p. 25)

<sup>53</sup> II, 33rd, 247.

The suggestion was accepted by the Government who said in September 1960 that there was then only one Secretary in the Hindustan Steel. (III, 2nd, p. 29)

<sup>54</sup> III, 35th, 195-97.

the completion of the Rourkela Steel Plant lagged behind the schedule by 7 years from the date of signing the memorandum, 5 years from the date of the final project report and 3 years and 11 months from the placing of orders for the plant and machinery. The completion, of the Bhilai Steel Plant had been delayed for about 5 years from the date of the agreement, about 4 years from the date of acceptance of the project report and 3 years and 8 months from the placing of orders for the plant. Long delays had also occurred in the case of the Durgapur Steel Plant. In the case of the Eastern and Western Shipping Corporations the Committee noted in April 1959 that it had taken the Government 3 years to set up the first Corporation and 9 years to set up the second. Similar delays were noticed by the Committee, among others, in the National Mineral Development Corporation, Indian Refineries, Heavy Electricals and Heavy Engineering Corporation.<sup>55</sup>

The Estimates Committee during the examination of the L.I.C. found that in all 73,082 claims (3 to 13 months old) for a total of Rs. 14.04 crores were outstanding on January 1, 1960. In the case of the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Committee noted in April 1961 that on an average 30 applications (from 3 to 12 months old) had been pending with the Corporation at the end of the last 5 years.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, the P & T Department took an "excessive time" (on an average 53 days to finally dispose of a complaint regarding delays in delivery of postal articles in rural areas or misconduct or misbehaviour of staff.<sup>57</sup> About the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, the Committee was constrained to observe that the Commission had obtained utilization certificates for Rs. 1.47 crores only out of Rs. 22 crores made available to State Boards either as loans or grants and it was therefore not possible to make any assessment about the proper and purposeful utilization of the funds. The Committee also found that about 50 per cent of the total disbursements were made in the month of March. Rush of disbursements in the last quarter, the Committee observed, besides imposing a severe strain on the organization of the Commission, was "fraught with the risk of funds being released without scrutiny, resulting in irregularities and infructuous and nugatory expenditure." It, therefore, recommended that effective and specific measures should be devised to ensure that the disbursements during the year were evenly spread out.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> II, 33rd, 121-126; II, 38th, 17; II, 156th, 24-25; III, 34th, 13; III, 35th, 11-13 and 110-112; III, 51st, 9.

<sup>56</sup> II, 134th, 159-60 and III, 36th, 15 respectively.

The Government noted the observations of the Committee with regard to the L.I.C. (III, 41st, p. 21)

<sup>57</sup> II, 110th, 18.

The Government took note of the observations of the Committee and instructions were issued to officers dealing with complaints to dispose them of with greater promptness. (III, 16th, p. 154)

<sup>58</sup> II, 167th, 21-23 and 28.

The Government stated that steps like strengthening of internal audit and accounts staff of State Boards, etc. were being taken to obtain the certificates as early as possible. The Committee did not consider the reply of the Government quite satisfactory and suggested adoption of a clear policy for withholding of fresh disbursements until certificates for previous disbursements had been furnished. The Government while attributing partly the heavy rush of disbursements in the month of March to the seasonal character of several industries under the Commission's purview, assured to make every endeavour to spread the disbursements evenly throughout the year. (III, 57th, pp. 1 and 6)

The Committee stressed that state undertakings should operate strictly on business principles in their dealings even with the Government departments. Both delivery of goods and payments in cash should be prompt. The administrative measures, suggested by the Committee from time to time, included streamlining of procedures, fixing of time limits for disposal of a certain amount of work; itemized analysis of pending work; laying down of norms and work-loads, specially for technical workers; framing and advertising widely rules of procedure; proper marking of goods dispatched; maintenance of basic statistics; progressive mechanization and rationalization of workshop operations; etc. In the case of railways, the Committee recommended the setting up of a Job-Analysis Wing in the Efficiency Bureau of the Railway Board to direct and control the job analysis machinery on the individual railways.<sup>59</sup> The Committee was highly impressed with increased production and economy achieved by the Integral Coach Factory as a result of the Method, Time and Case Studies conducted to improve methods of production and promote better utilization of material and plant, equipment and manpower, and the efforts of the Efficiency Cell at the workshop in the matter of improved material handling, provision of suitable equipment and the like. The Committee advised that the system should increasingly be introduced in other large workshops and emulated by other public undertakings.<sup>60</sup>

#### (h) Promotion of Inter-Enterprise Coordination

In cases like oil refineries, river valley projects, communications, electrical equipment, where a large number of public and private sector enterprises were functioning side by side, the Committee suggested setting up of liaison committees or holding of inter-industry meetings at periodical intervals to discuss problems of common interest. For multi-purpose river valley projects, the Committee advocated constitution of an overall authority like the C.W.P.C. to control, coordinate and simultaneously watch the progress of all and individual projects.<sup>61</sup> About industrial financing institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, etc., the Committee proposed their representation on the Investment Committee of the L.I.C. in the interest of closer coordination in under-writing operations.<sup>62</sup> In fields like promotion of exports, small scale industries, etc., the Estimates Committee recommended that a committee consisting of representatives of Central and State Governments and small industries should be constituted to review thoroughly the existing organizational set-up and methods of operations with a view to reducing multiplicity of organizations, eliminating overlapping

<sup>59</sup> I, 24th, 111.

The suggestion was welcomed by the Railways and a pilot scheme was instituted on four railways with a view to examining ways and means of rationalizing work by eliminating infructuous or superfluous correspondence, noting, returns and other types of work at various levels. The scheme also envisaged continuous inspection of work and detailed work studies of branches on a programmed basis. The Efficiency Bureau was entrusted with the work of effecting coordination. (II, 29th, pp. 22-23)

<sup>60</sup> III, 45th, 38.

<sup>61</sup> I, 5th, 103.

As pointed out elsewhere (*fn. 41 supra*) the Government accepted the recommendation and the Central Water and Power Commission, reorganized as a statutory body, was entrusted with the task. (I, 49th, pp., 11-13)

<sup>62</sup> III, 36th, 68.

of functions by clearly demarcating sphere and duties of each of them, avoiding delays, procedural or otherwise, and providing, as far as possible, unified services.<sup>63</sup>

*(i) Planning, Execution and Evaluation of Projects*

In its 5th report (March 1952) the Estimates Committee impressed upon the Government the necessity of having a realistic blue print and working out of the total economics of a project before venturing upon it actually. The Committee suggested that the Government should conduct a comprehensive and systematic survey of the availability of finances, technical and managerial personnel of the type required, training of manpower, procurement of stores, plant and machinery, prospects of development of the industry, utilization of the accruing benefits and by-products, etc.<sup>64</sup> Similar recommendations were made by the Committee in its subsequent reports.<sup>65</sup>

In its various other reports the Estimates Committee also drew attention to cases of inadequate planning of projects by the Government and the project authorities and the consequential rise in capital cost, cost of production and wastage of manpower, money and material.

The Committee emphasized that for proper planning and execution of projects it was essential to prepare as early as possible and adhere to definite time schedules of construction and commissioning of projects.

In its report on the Heavy Electricals, the Committee recommended that the Central Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries should set up at an early date a Technical Planning Cell which should continuously keep abreast of the developments in the various industries abroad and evaluate the execution of the various stages of the projects under its administrative control.<sup>66</sup> The Committee also urged that the Government should examine all the cases of delays in the commissioning of plants and consequent loss to the national economy apart from the infructuous expenditure involved. It hoped that such a review would reveal many valuable lessons for future planning of projects.<sup>67</sup>

The Committee was also critical of the poor estimating of expenditure on the part of the public enterprises, which invariably resulted in wide variations between the estimated costs and the expenditure actually incurred. In the case of Rourkela Plant the increase was to the tune of Rs. 14 crores; in the N.C.D.C. the increase amounted to 60 per cent (from Rs. 101 crores to Rs. 166 crores); and in the Heavy Electricals, within a period of 18 months (June 1955 to November 1956) the variation

<sup>63</sup> II, 77th, 17.

The Government accepted the recommendation and gave an assurance to constitute a committee on the lines suggested by the Estimates Committee. (II, 150th, p. 3)

<sup>64</sup> I, 5th, 102.

The Government accepted the recommendation and said that the points made by the Committee would be borne in mind while formulating schemes. (I, 49th, pp. 10-11)

<sup>65</sup> II, 86th, 29; II, 125th, 22; II, 155th, 39; III, 35th 109, etc.,

The Government accepted the Committee's recommendation in principle and assured that every endeavour would be made to work out programmes well in advance and explore resources and venues for the utilization of the by-products. (II, 149th, p. 5; III, 37th, p. 11; III, 54th, pp. 4-5)

<sup>66</sup> III, 35th, 223.

<sup>67</sup> III, 51st, 21.

of estimates of capital cost touched a mark of 77 per cent. Such unusually wide variations, a feature common to most enterprises, the Committee felt, rendered effective financial control difficult.<sup>68</sup>

As regards location of new plants, the Committee suggested in June 1955 that public undertakings should be dispersed throughout the country and in order to facilitate the development of neglected areas a comprehensive survey of geological, besides economic, factors should be undertaken. Other considerations should be availability of the necessary raw material, transport, power and water supply, and sound foundations and soil conditions. The Government should weigh the comparative advantages and disadvantages of alternative locations and should lay down definite criteria to guide the selection of sites for factories in future.<sup>69</sup>

The Committee also offered several suggestions for improvement of production processes. An important recommendation in this regard concerned the progressive introduction of the statistical quality control techniques.<sup>70</sup> The Committee also recommended fixation of realistic field-wise and year-wise targets of production, as frequent major changes in the production schedule had in the past interrupted the work-flow and impeded the efficient use of manpower and machine.<sup>71</sup> Also, if detailed schedules of completion of various stages of development of a project were prepared and the actual progress watched against them, delays and difficulties, if any, could be remedied in time. The Committee further suggested that the annual production targets should be related to the investment made.<sup>72</sup> In its report on the Heavy Electricals, the Committee made the following notable suggestions of interest to all state enterprises: (1) establishment of a Cost Reduction Unit as part of the construction organization at each project under the exclusive control of the Chief Engineer to carry out work-studies, analyse factors affecting costs, recommend from time to time suitable adjustments in materials, techniques, procedures and organization, evaluate the result of such adjustments, and keep a watch on the progress in achieving economies in construction costs, and (2) setting up of special units to assist the management in keeping down production cost, and raising productivity, setting norms and checking performance.<sup>73</sup> The Committee also recommended the undertaking of "time and motion studies" and fixing of norms for different categories of workers in some factories.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup> I, 48th, 128; II, 11th, 74; II, 33rd, 151; II, 119th, 7; II, 156th, 40; III, 32nd, 217; and III, 35th, 139.

The Government replies to the various reports on which action has already been taken show that the Government generally noted the Committee's suggestions for future guidance.

<sup>69</sup> I, 16th, 17-18; III, 34th, 18; III, 35th, 273.

This actually, and as pointed out in March 1957 by the Government also (II, 19th, p. 6), is the accepted policy of the Government as enunciated in the Industrial Policy Resolution of April 30, 1956.

<sup>70</sup> I, 15th, 114; II, 113th, 36; II, 155th, 13.

A. D. Gorwala had in 1951 said that statistical quality control had given good results abroad and furnished "a very good check at small cost and should certainly find its way into all suitable state enterprises" in India. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> III, 32nd, 31.

<sup>72</sup> III, 32nd, 43 and 92.

<sup>73</sup> III, 35th, 175.

<sup>74</sup> I, 14th, 73; II, 113th, 39.

The Government replied that time and motion studies had already been conducted in the workshops and that action for fixing norms was being taken.

The Committee was fully cognizant of the need for periodical evaluation for ensuring speed and efficiency in the administration and improvement of technical and financial working of the enterprises. For instance, the Committee recommended in April 1959, in its report on the Eastern and Western Shipping Corporations that a regular organization on the pattern of the Committee on Plan Projects of the Planning Commission, should be set up for watching the progress made and ensuring utmost economy in all industrial and commercial undertakings.<sup>75</sup> In April 1961 the Committee reiterated the need for a systematic audit of physical performance of all public enterprises at the construction and subsequent stages, and recommended the constitution of a regular Evaluation Unit in the Neyveli Lignite Corporation.<sup>76</sup> In April 1963, the Committee noted with regret in its report on the Heavy Electricals that although Government had accepted the recommendation of the Committee and issued instructions two and a half years ago, the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries had taken no action to arrange for the evaluation of any undertaking under its control. The Committee hoped that the Ministry would lose no further time in implementing the recommendation.<sup>77</sup>

#### (J) Foreign Collaboration

The Estimates Committee devoted considerable time and thought to administrative aspects of the problems of foreign collaboration and other connected matters. As early as March 1952, in its 5th report on the "C.W.P.C. and the Multi-purpose River Valley Schemes", the Committee deprecated the practice of appointing consultants also as contractors for the execution of works, suppliers of equipment and stores and even as an agency for the inspection of stores supplied by them to some of the multi-purpose river valley projects. The Committee regarded this as a serious defect which should be avoided forthwith. Similar observations were made by the Committee subsequently in its 8th report (May 1954) (on the D.V.C., and 33rd report (February 1959, II Lok Sabha), on the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel (with particular reference to the Rourkela Steel Plant). The Committee feared that under such an arrangement the advice of the consultants might not be purely objective. It also held that the rise in cost of production of Rourkela Plant could be attributed to a significant extent to this factor.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> II, 38th, 143.

The Government accepted the recommendation and said in June 1960 that instructions had been issued to the administrative ministries to set up, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, inspection teams for making periodical inspection of public undertakings not only from the point of view of financial propriety but also general efficiency. (II, 135th, pp. 41-42).

<sup>76</sup> II, 125th, 26.

The Government pointed out in March 1963 that a committee had already been effectively functioning to consider economy in construction cost and review monthly the rates adopted by the Corporation for the execution of works. (III, 54th, p. 6)

<sup>77</sup> III, 35th, 224.

<sup>78</sup> I, 5th, 61; I, 8th, 15; II, 33rd, 52.

The Government appointed in September 1952 the D.V.C. Enquiry Committee (known as Rau Committee) in pursuance and for the examination of the recommendations of the Estimates Committee contained in its 5th Report. The Rau Committee, while admitting that the criticism of the Estimates Committee in regard to the appointment of consultants as suppliers of stores, etc. was "factually correct", did not take a "too serious view of

In the case of the Hindustan Steel, the Estimates Committee was surprised to find in February 1959 that the agreement with M/s Krupp & Demag was defective in regard to loans in the form of investment at nearly 12 per cent interest and this arrangement had to be given up subsequently. Furthermore, the agreement did not clearly include or exclude civil engineering works and the consultants furnished only general plans of the plant and the township without any detailed plans for the various units. The Committee doubted whether the reduction of \$200,000 in the fees of \$1,600,000 payable to the consultants on account of the contract being given as a package deal was quite commensurate with the reduction in the duties of the consultants. Another deficiency noted by the Committee was the appointment of the International Construction Company (ISCON) as general consultants after separate consultants for each project had been appointed. The Committee added that the different terms and conditions of the agreements with the three consultants made it difficult to compare the fees for consultancy for the three projects. Such a comparison by an expert technical committee was necessary with a view to laying down the broad principles on which the fees of consultants should be determined in future. The Committee also complained that Indian engineers had not been adequately associated with planning and designing work of the consultants<sup>79</sup>

In June 1955 the Committee noted that the agreement in regard to the Hindustan Machine Tools had specifically devolved the responsibility for training of technical personnel including training in designing on the consultants (M/s Oerlikon, a Swiss firm), but somehow the Ministry of Production had advanced a sum of Rs. 5,31,515 towards salaries of certain European technicians for their preliminary training and the production planning work done in Switzerland. The Committee considered the payment as irregular and desired a thorough investigation in the matter.<sup>80</sup>

With regard to the foreign collaboration agreement entered into for the Heavy Electricals, the Estimates Committee pointed out in April 1963 the following deficiencies: A.E.I. had been preferred to Siemens as its estimate of capital investment was considered to be more accurate but in actual practice this estimate proved to be equally unrealistic; in seeking Cabinet's approval only the fees, on a percentage basis, were mentioned

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this departure from principle' and was content "to allow it to rest at that." (para 30, Chapter VI). The Estimates Committee was still not inclined to condone "the irregular and improper action" and urged the Government to revise the decision, if any, taken in the wake of the Rau Committee report. I, 8th, 15.

In its reply to the points raised by the Estimates Committee in its 8th report, the Government said in August 1954 that instructions had been issued to the D.V.C. not to assign usually the designing and construction work to one and the same agency. (I, 50th, p. 4)

In the case of the Rourkela Steel Plant, the Government simply noted in January 1961 the recommendation of the Committee. (III, 2nd, p. 9)

<sup>79</sup> II, 33rd, 53-83.

The Government in its reply in August 1962 simply noted the observations of the Committee. In regard to the setting up of an expert committee, the Government said that the recommendation concerned the Government of India as a whole and the matter was under consideration. (III, 2nd, p. 39)

<sup>80</sup> I, 14th, 18.

The Government in pursuance of the Committee's recommendations took up the matter with the Consultants and the agreement of 1949 was revised and a fresh one concluded subsequently. (II, 2nd, p. 15)

in the note without stating the total commitments; subsidiary agreements were entered into with the consultants (A.E.I.) against the stipulation in the main agreement to the effect that the lump sum of \$400,000 payable to them would not be increased; the necessary foreign exchange was not secured before entering into the agreement which later on necessitated the appointment of consultants as purchase agents also and the making of credit arrangements with a consortium of British Bankers at heavy service charges; certain payments made to the consultants were not related to the progress of the factory as stipulated in the agreement; the increase given in the fees of the consultants to provide for the payment of income-tax was not justified as exemption from income-tax was not specifically provided for in the original agreement; and the foreign resident engineer and his assistants in India were being maintained by the Heavy Electricals at its own cost though not stipulated in the original agreement.<sup>81</sup>

With a view to sustaining the consultants' interest in the work and ensuring timely completion of projects, the Committee suggested that (i) payment of fees should be spread over the entire consultancy period; (ii) quantum of payment should be related to quantum of work actually done and legitimate expenses incurred; and (iii) the last instalment should be a substantial one and paid only after the plants have been commissioned.<sup>82</sup> In its report on the National Coal Development Corporation, the Committee had earlier recommended that the number of foreign technicians should be kept to the minimum and a ceiling of expenditure on them should be fixed and incorporated in the agreements.<sup>83</sup>

The Committee deplored many a time the lack of foresight in proper planning and designing, which had often resulted in increased cost of production and frequent revisions. It emphasized that the consultants should be asked to submit as detailed and realistic project reports as possible. In the case of Indian Telephone Industries where no detailed project report had been prepared the Committee insisted that the project report should have been so prepared as to serve not only as a short-term and long-term plan but also as a means of watching and judging the progress made from time to time.<sup>84</sup> Similar views were expressed by the Committee in its report on the Indian Refineries.<sup>84a</sup> The Committee urged that the Government should have a clear idea of the total payments to be made to the consultants before appointing them and the terms of their appointment should also be settled beforehand. Once the agreement had been entered into and the report accepted, the terms and conditions specified clearly should be strictly adhered to.<sup>85</sup> The Committee had

<sup>81</sup> III, 35th, 20-62.

<sup>82</sup> III, 35th, 41-42.

<sup>83</sup> III, 32nd, 81.

<sup>84</sup> II, 11th, 7.

The Government did not wholly agree with the views of the Committee that the initial difficulties could have been considerably eliminated had there been a project report from the very beginning. Instead, to the surprise of the Committee, the Government replied that the project report would have led to purchase of plant and machinery much in excess of what was actually purchased in its absence. The Committee was still of the opinion that as a matter of normal and prudent practice project reports should be obtained from the collaborators before actually launching a project. (II, 105th, p. 2)

<sup>84a</sup> III, 34th, 66.

<sup>85</sup> III, 35th, 36-66.

earlier suggested in March 1958 that a record of the discussions at the time of the acceptance of the various clauses and provisions in the agreements should invariably be kept in the Ministry concerned for future guidance and for reducing the chances of misinterpretation and ambiguity to the minimum.<sup>86</sup>

The Committee was highly critical of the tendency to depend too much on foreign consultancy and to go in for collaboration on "turn-key basis". It emphasized the desirability of laying down certain general principles to govern the extent and nature of foreign collaboration which should be invariably limited to the planning and designing of the main projects, and development of ancillary factories should be increasingly undertaken by the Indians themselves. The Committee recommended that before seeking foreign technical collaboration, the indigenous talent should be fully explored and utilized to prepare the project reports. With a view to further fostering indigenous talent and utilizing the experience in various fields gained so far, the Committee suggested the early establishment of a strong central consultancy organization.<sup>87</sup>

The Committee had earlier suggested in February 1959 that a team of experts comprising persons well-versed in industrial, financial, technical and legal matters, might be appointed for making a comprehensive study of the problems of foreign collaboration in regard to the steel projects with special reference to agreements, project reports, arrangements for the training of personnel, etc. not necessarily for picking holes but for enabling the Estimates Committee with the help of the experts' reports to make suggestions for avoiding difficulties in future.<sup>88</sup>

The Committee in two cases (H.M.T. and Hindustan Shipyard) suggested that the losses resulting either from defective planning or undue delay in the setting up of the factory or impropriety of the technical advice rendered or avoidable lapse, should be realized from the consultants.<sup>89</sup> It felt that progress reports on the working of the agreements at regular intervals from the consultants were necessary to keep the undertaking and the Government fully informed about the various stages of development. Such reports would facilitate a better appraisal of the

<sup>86</sup> II, 11th, 15.

The Government noted the recommendation of the Committee for future guidance. (II, 105th, p. 4)

<sup>87</sup> III, 32nd (March 1963), 78-79; III, 35th (April 1963), 266-69; III, 51st, 124.

<sup>88</sup> II, 33rd, VII (Preface).

The Government accepted the suggestion and agreed to undertake an examination of the working of the agreements for the three steel plants as soon as the bulk of construction work was completed. (III, 2nd, p. 3)

<sup>89</sup> I, 14th 14; I, 14th, 66.

In the case of the H.M.T. the Government said that the consultants alone could not be blamed for the inordinate delays; the Government of India and other factors were equally responsible for them. As regards the recovery of losses the Government said: firstly, the losses were not substantial (only about Rs. 66 thousands) considering the total investment of Rs. 60 lakhs up to January-February 1952, and the importance of the project. Secondly, the delay could not be made an issue of in the interest of maintaining good relations with the foreign consultants, so essential for the successful operations of this project in particular and other projects in general. The Government, therefore, suggested that the Committee should reconsider its recommendation. (II, 2nd, pp. 10-14). The Government's reply was acceptable to the Committee. However, in the case of the Hindustan Shipyard, the Government expressed willingness to take up the matter with the consultants. (II, 2nd, p. 29)

achievements in terms of (i) timely completion and commissioning of the plants, (ii) achieving the estimated targets of production, (iii) control over the cost of production, (iv) training of Indian personnel, and (v) self-sufficiency in the matter of raw materials and components.<sup>90</sup>

The Committee had recommended sufficiently early in June 1955 (16th Report, I Lok Sabha), the setting up of a Section, preferably in the Cabinet Secretariat to scrutinize the agreements with foreign firms and maintaining up to date information and comparative data on their working. The Section would, the Committee visualized, evolve uniform principles to govern the terms and conditions of agreements, advise the Ministries and vet all future agreements.<sup>91</sup> In its 33rd report (February 1959, II Lok Sabha) on the Hindustan Steel, the Committee, while cautioning that agreements should be negotiated and entered into by a negotiating committee consisting of officials, non-officials and experts, instead of individual officers, again urged the need for a special screening agency.<sup>92</sup> The recommendation was repeated by the Committee in March 1963 and March 1964 in its reports on the National Coal Development Corporation and Heavy Engineering Corporation respectively.<sup>93</sup>

#### (k) *Advisory Bodies and Relations with Clientele*

In June 1955, in its first general report (I, 16th) on the "Organisation and Administration of Nationalised Industrial Undertakings", the Committee recommended the establishment of advisory bodies comprising representatives of official and business interests, labour, consumers, etc., to aid and advise the Managing Director on various matters from time to time. Such advisory bodies should be kept informed by the Managing Director or Directors through progress reports, balance sheets, development plans, etc. and should have the right of unlimited criticism and of offering advice on any matter they deemed fit.

For undertakings like the warehousing corporations, Employees State Insurance Corporation, Exports Risks Insurance Corporation, air corporations, L.I.C., etc., which have a number of field agencies at the central, regional and local levels, the Committee suggested setting up of consultative bodies at each level. The main advantages of such bodies

<sup>90</sup> III, 35th, 65.

<sup>91</sup> I, 16th, 22.

The recommendation did not find favour with the Government who in its reply stated that, in the interest of unexceptionable coordination which the Committee had in mind, the matter was being dealt with by a Committee of Economic Secretaries to the Government and it was, therefore, not necessary to set up a separate section. The Committee was not satisfied with the reply and reiterated the recommendation. (II, 19th, pp. 33-35)

<sup>92</sup> The Committee here pointed out that in the case of the Rourkela Steel Plant, the agreement with a group of German firms was negotiated and signed, of course with the Government's information and approval, by the then Secretary, Ministry of Production, singly unassisted by any technical, financial or legal adviser. (II, 33rd, 12) The Government stated in September 1960 that the matter which concerned the Government as a whole was under consideration. (III, 2nd, p. 68)

<sup>93</sup> III, 32nd, 86; III, 51st, 122.

In April 1963 during its examination of the Heavy Electricals, the Committee was informed that a Projects Co-ordination Division had been set up in the Ministry of Finance to analyse the various kinds of agreements and collect the necessary data to provide reference and consultancy service, during the stages of establishment of industrial units in respect of contracting for collaboration, construction, etc. The Committee expressed the hope that the Division would be manned by suitable personnel and the agreements would be routed through it. III, 35th, 67.

visualized by the Committee were: securing cooperation of the local people; popularizing schemes; maintaining liaison between the Government, the undertaking and the private sector; watching the progress of schemes; eliciting advice and suggestions on programmes and problems of production, distribution, scientific research, and training; and development of indigenous know-how. With a view to realizing these advantages to the full, the Committee recommended that the consultative machinery should be sufficiently broadbased to include prominent public men with business experience, retired public servants, members of Parliament and State legislatures, and corresponding organizations in the private sector.

The Estimates Committee also showed concern for protecting the consumers' interests in state undertakings which, the Committee emphasized, were primarily service agencies catering for the needs of the public at large.<sup>94</sup> For enterprises like the railways, petroleum industry, S.T.C., E.S.I.C., the Committee suggested the constitution of consumers' councils or advisory committees on which representation could be given to the beneficiaries. Such bodies would help in and advise the undertaking on matters like improving the quality of service, fixation of price, allocation of priorities, redress of complaints, etc.<sup>95</sup> In some other cases like air services, posts and telegraphs, warehouses, etc, the Committee suggested that complaint and suggestion books should be maintained and displayed conspicuously at the service centres. The complaints should be screened by a committee of experts at periodical intervals and the action taken on each complaint should be recorded, as far as possible, on the complaint book itself and the complainant informed of it in writing.<sup>96</sup> Further, complaints regarding misbehaviour or lack of courtesy on the part of employees should be taken serious note of. In the case of the postal services and the R.M.S., the Committee even proposed that "behaviour towards the public" should be one of the important points to be commented upon in the confidential reports of the postal employees dealing with the public.<sup>97</sup> The Committee urged upon transport undertakings like shipping corporations and railways that their senior officers should develop personal contacts with the users of their services and coordinate and watch the physical progress and timely completion of schemes for providing amenities to them.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> A similar suggestion was made in 1951 by A. D. Gorwala. He commended Consumers' Councils composed of capable individuals to provide a forum for the ventilation and remedying of grievances. For some enterprises, he suggested constitution of price tribunals to examine all rates charged and to entertain complaints. The tribunals could also offer valuable protection and objective external check against undue charges, inferior quality and invidious preferences. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 26.

<sup>95</sup> I, 25th, 41; II, 22nd, 30; II, 86th, 88; and II, 90th, 34 respectively.

The Government accepted the views of the Committee. (II, 30th, p. 47; II, 103rd, p. 50; II, 149th, p. 12, etc.)

<sup>96</sup> I, 43rd, 107; II, 90th, 34; II, 111th, 41; II, 128th, 34.

Here also the Government accepted the suggestions of the Committee. Otherwise also, in most cases this was already being done. (II, 62nd, pp. 13-14; III, 8th, p. 7; III, 16th, p. 195)

<sup>97</sup> II, 111th, 44.

In its reply the Government pointed out that provision already existed in the form of confidential reports for commenting on the behaviour and assistance rendered to the public. (III, 16th, p. 64)

<sup>98</sup> I, 25th, 10; II, 38th, 127.

The Government noted the suggestions of the Committee and said that effective steps were being taken in the matter. (II, 30th, p. 5; II, 135th, p. 37)

## CONCLUSIONS

It is no easy task to assess precisely the impact of the Committee's numerous recommendations on the working of public undertakings. There is the difficulty of knowing to what extent Government action is really the result of the Committee's recommendation even if the Government appears to follow it. In a number of cases the Committee itself was not fully sure whether it would be feasible to implement the recommendation it made and it, therefore, called upon the Government to examine its feasibility or desirability. Otherwise also, the Committee's recommendations are purely advisory and the Government is free to accept, modify or reject them. All that can therefore be attempted is to gauge the impact in terms of the Government's replies to the numerous recommendations on organizational problems and from general improvements in policies and practices even if these were not the direct result of the Committee's recommendations.

An analysis of 2172 recommendations contained in 420 'main reports' of the Committee shows that the Government accepted fully or partly 55.8 per cent of them. The Committee accepted the Government's reply and did not pursue the recommendation in 22.4 per cent cases. In 21.8 per cent cases the Government either failed to reply in time or if it did reply, the Committee was not satisfied with the replies and it reiterated its earlier recommendations.

Both for the Parliament and the enterprises the Committee has "x-rayed" remarkably well the internal working of public enterprises. The Committee's impact is positively discernible in enhancing parliamentary accountability of public enterprises through more timely submission of somewhat detailed annual reports.<sup>1</sup> The Committee seems to have also been successful in impressing upon the Government the necessity of minimizing the representation of Government officials on the Boards of Directors,<sup>2</sup> and combining the posts of the Chairman and the Managing Director in the interest of economy.<sup>3</sup> Several of its recommendations for improvement of organization and methods of work (e.g., internal delegation of powers, reduction in excessive hierarchical layers and costs, avoidance of delays, advance detailed planning of projects, and creation of machinery for inspection and review) have been accepted by the Government. Though it is difficult to assess how far these recommendations have been implemented in practice, their very acceptance must have given a fillip to the internal effort for administrative improvement.

There are, however, some organizational matters in which the efforts of the Committee seem to have been only partially successful. There are some others in regard to which the Government declined to accept its recommendations.

Some important recommendations of the Committee were concerned with bringing about uniformity in Government's policies in regard

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<sup>1</sup> *fn. 13, 13a supra.*

<sup>2</sup> *fn. 21, supra.*

<sup>3</sup> *fn. 39, supra.*

to form of organization<sup>4</sup>, presentation of budget and maintenance of accounts and reserves by the enterprises,<sup>5</sup> their powers of incurring capital expenditure and borrowing,<sup>6</sup> payment of fees to foreign consultants,<sup>7</sup> and terms and conditions of collaboration agreements with foreign concerns.<sup>8</sup> The Government, however, while conceding the need for some, but not full, uniformity, either said that the necessary uniformity could be attained by some other measures which were being taken than by working out underlying principles, or it came forward with a plea for flexibility or more experience,<sup>9</sup> or it just "noted"<sup>10</sup> the recommendations. The Committee's suggestions for amalgamation of different undertakings engaged in the same productive activity and for starting of new enterprises in that area as part of the existing concerns were acceptable to the Government in some cases only.<sup>11</sup> The recent trend towards integration in fields like steel, fertilizers, shipping, oil refining, aircraft manufacturing, etc., however, points towards the correctness of the Committee's stand, though it was put forward with some element of rigidity. Some equally important recommendations, which were accepted by Government only half-heartedly, were with respect to establishment of functional and management boards<sup>12</sup> and shifting of headquarters.<sup>13</sup>

The Committee, on its part, had to concede the Government's point of view in case of a large number of recommendations. These, for the most part, were either due to some further information being made available<sup>14</sup> to the Committee, or were mostly minor matters which the Committee did not wish to pursue further. At times the Committee did make recommendations without fully looking into their practicability for implementation.<sup>15</sup> It, however, reiterated its stand in several cases though without being able to move the Government. The Government stuck to its ground for the reason that it was either not desirable or practicable to implement them.

The Committee's approach, as indicated by the foregoing analysis of the nature and content of its recommendations, has been bold, even incisive, highly consistent and generally pragmatic. The Committee has never fought shy of exposing to public gaze the inefficiency in public undertakings, even to the extent of causing some annoyance to Government. As a result, the Estimates Committee has earned much appreciation and respect from within Parliament, the press and the public at large and even Government circles.

The analysis also shows a thread of consistency running throughout its reports. Despite changes in the personnel of the Committee (two-

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<sup>4</sup> *fn. 6, 8, supra.*

<sup>5</sup> *fn. 8, supra.*

<sup>6</sup> *fn. 19, supra.*

<sup>7</sup> *fn. 82, supra.*

<sup>8</sup> *fn. 85, 86, 91, 92, 93, supra.*

<sup>9</sup> *fn. 7, 8, 10, 11, 38, supra.*

<sup>10</sup> *fn. 56, 57, 78, 79, supra.*

<sup>11</sup> *fn. 42, 44, supra.*

<sup>12</sup> *fn. 28, 38, supra.*

<sup>13</sup> *fn. 48, supra.*

<sup>14</sup> *fn. 24, 74, 76, supra.*

<sup>15</sup> *fn. 6, 8, 45, 48, supra.*

thirds membership of the Committee is renewed every year) the general tenor of the Committee's recommendations has for the most part remained unchanged. This strong element of consistency is perhaps partly purposive; it would have not been creditable for such a high-level Parliamentary committee to express divergent opinion in any noticeable manner.

The Committee has, broadly speaking, never considered itself to be "the repository of all or final wisdom. The Committee has, as we have seen, worded several of its recommendations in terms of suggestions and advice by asking the Government to examine their "feasibility" or "desirability" or by calling upon the Government to set up expert teams to look into certain issues. It has also at times conceded a measure of flexibility in organizational patterns or procedures, though perhaps not as much as was necessary to meet the operational needs of enterprises. Though remaining consistent in its approach, it has in several cases adapted its recommendations to the needs of the situation. For instance, in connection with the question of organizational form of the enterprises, the Committee admitted that some individual variations were inevitable due to the special characteristics and functions of a particular undertaking.<sup>16</sup> While advocating a reduction in excessive hierarchical layers generally, it recommended the creation of an additional layer in the case of the Heavy Electricals, Bhopal, in view of the wide span of control therein.<sup>17</sup> Similarly though opposed to the placing of Government officials on the Boards, the Committee insisted upon having official representation on the Khadi Board considering the large public funds involved.<sup>18</sup>

The Committee's approach has also been significantly comprehensive, covering almost every aspect of the working of public enterprises. Here, the Committee's role in terms of ensuring accountability of public enterprises to Parliament may be conceived under three broad heads: (a) matters of policy; (b) major procedures; and (c) important matters of day-to-day administration which affect the efficient functioning of the entire enterprise. All these three areas are covered by the terms of reference of the Committee and also by its reports and rightly so if the Committee is to perform effectively its functions of supervision and control over public expenditure. Several recommendations of the Committee were directed towards a change in Government policy<sup>19</sup> or evolving of positive policy<sup>20</sup> where it was vague or fluid, although the Committee seems to have outstepped its boundary in some cases.

A large number of recommendations of the Committee related to improvement in procedures and methods of work. Equally a large number of them were concerned with matters of internal working or day-to-day

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<sup>16</sup> *fn. 9, supra.*

<sup>17</sup> *fn. 54, supra.*

<sup>18</sup> *fn. 23, supra.*

<sup>19</sup> For instance in matters like form of enterprise, representation of officials on the Boards of Directors, location of headquarters, and integration of enterprises manufacturing the same product, etc.

<sup>20</sup> As for example uniformity in matters of regulation, powers and methods of financial working of enterprises and creation of functional boards.

administration.<sup>21</sup> Take for instance the Committee's opposition to interposition of an official between the Managing Director and the departmental heads in the Hindustan Antibiotics, its insistence upon withholding of fresh disbursements by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission until certificates of utilization of previous disbursements were received, abolition of the post of the Chief Personnel Officer and transfer of his work to the Secretary in I.A.C., laying down of qualifications of the chairmen of the Boards of Directors—matters like these are too trivial to be reported upon by a high-level Parliamentary committee. A strong body of opinion has grown up in recent years against such intrusion into day-to-day administration by the Committee, on the ground that it tends to nullify the autonomy of the enterprises and encourages the managers to play safe. In consequence, the new Committee on Public Undertakings has been specifically barred from going into such matters.

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<sup>21</sup> It may be noted that at present Parliamentary Questions on matters of day-to-day administration of the enterprises are not admitted except when they are important enough to raise matters of public interest. However, some significant information on matters of day-to-day administration has been successfully elucidated several times in Supplementaries.

# REPORTS OF THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE REFERRED TO IN THE NOTE

<i>Report No.</i>	<i>Ministry and Subject</i>	<i>Action taken Report No.</i>
FIRST LOK SABHA		
1.	Ministry of Industry and Supply: Sindri Machine Tools Factory and Vizagapatnam Shipyard, 1950. .. .. .	35(I) 1956
5.	The Central Water and Power Commission and Multi-purpose River Valley Schemes, 1952. ..	49(I) 1957
8.	Damodar Valley Corporation, 1954. .. .. .	50(I) 1957
9.	Administrative, Financial and Other Reforms, 1955. ..	57(I) 1957
13.	Ministry of Production: Sindri Fertilizers, Hindustan Cables, Hindustan Housing Factory and Nahan Foundry, 1955. .. .. .	1(II) 1957
14.	Ministry of Production: Hindustan Machine Tools and Hindustan Shipyards, 1955. .. .. .	2(II) 1958
15.	Ministry of Production: The Coal Commissioner's Organization and State Collieries, 1955. ..	3(II) 1958
16.	Organisation and Administration of Nationalised Industrial Undertakings, 1955. .. .. .	19(II) 1958
24.	Ministry of Railways: Staff Matters, 1956. ..	29(II) 1958
25.	Ministry of Railways: Passenger Amenities, 1956. ..	30(II) 1958
27.	Ministry of Production: Hindustan Antibiotics and Hindustan Insecticides, 1956. .. .. .	13(II) 1958
39.	Ministry of Defence: Bharat Electronics, Ltd., Bangalore, 1956. .. .. .	68(II) 1959
41.	Ministry of Communications: Air Corporations (General Matters) and Air India International, 1956. .. .. .	34(II) 1958
43.	Ministry of Communications: Indian Airlines Corporation, 1956. .. .. .	62(II) 1959

48. Ministry of Transport: Major Ports, 1957. .. 67(II) 1959
67. Ministry of Defence: Hindustan Aircrafts, Ltd., 1957. .. .. 65(II) 1959


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11. Ministry of Transport and Communications (Department of Communication and Civil Aviation): The Indian Telephone Industries, Ltd., 1958. .. 105(II) 1961
20. Budgetary Reforms, 1958. .. 60(II) 1959
22. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Oil Refineries, etc., 1958. .. 103(II) 1960
33. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: Hindustan Steel, Ltd.: Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur Steel Projects, 1959. .. 2(III) 1962
38. Ministry of Transport and Communications (Department of Transport), Eastern Shipping Corporation, Ltd., 1959. .. 135(II) 1961
73. Preparation of Budget Estimates of Public Undertakings and Presentation of their Annual Reports and Accounts to Parliament, 1960. .. 9(III) 1962
77. Ministry of Commerce and Industry: Organisation of the Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, 1960. .. 150(II) 1962
79. Ministry of Commerce and Industry: The National Small Industries Corporation, Ltd., 1960. .. 151(II) 1962
80. Public Undertakings: Forms and Organisation, 1960. 56(III) 1964
86. Ministry of Commerce and Industry: The State Trading Corporation, Ltd., 1960. .. 149(II) 1962
90. Ministry of Labour and Employment: Social Security Schemes and Miscellaneous, 1960. 26(III) 1963
93. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: National Coal Development Corporation, Ltd., 1960. .. 152(II) 1962
110. Posts and Telegraphs Directorate, 1961. .. 16(III) 1963
111. Posts and Telegraphs Department: Part II—Postal Services, 1961. .. 16(III) 1963

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| 113. | Posts and Telegraphs Department: Part IV—<br>Workshop and Stores Organisation, 1961.                                | ..      | 16(III) 1963 |
| 119. | Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply: The Asoka<br>Hotels Ltd., (Reports and Accounts), 1961.                      | ..      | 6(III) 1962  |
| 122. | Ministry of Commerce and Industry: National<br>Industrial Development Corporation, Ltd.,<br>1961.                   | .. .. . | 20(III) 1962 |
| 125. | Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel (Department<br>of Mines and Fuel)—The Neyveli Lignite<br>Corporation, Ltd., 1961. | .. ..   | 54(III) 1964 |
| 128. | Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Department of<br>Food): The Central Warehousing Corporation,<br>1961.             | .. .. . | 8(III) 1962  |
| 134. | Ministry of Finance: Department of Economic<br>Affairs: The Life Insurance Corporation of India,<br>1961.           | .. .. . | 41(III) 1963 |
| 155. | Ministry of Irrigation & Power—National Projects<br>Construction Corporation, Ltd., 1962.                           | ..      | 37(III) 1963 |
| 156. | Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel—National<br>Mineral Development Corporation, Ltd.,<br>1962.                       | .. .. . | 40(III) 1963 |
| 167. | Ministry of Commerce and Industry—Khadi and<br>Village Industries Commission, 1962.                                 | ..      | 57(III) 1964 |

THIRD LOK SABHA

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| 28. | Ministry of Mines and Fuel: Indian Oil Company,<br>Ltd., (Reports and Accounts), 1963.                     |
| 32. | Ministry of Mines and Fuel: National Coal Develop-<br>ment Corporation, Ltd., 1963.                        |
| 34. | Ministry of Mines and Fuel: Indian Refineries, Ltd.,<br>1963.  |
| 35. | Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries: Heavy Elec-<br>tricals (India), Ltd., 1963.                        |
| 36. | Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic<br>Affairs), Industrial Finance Corporation of India,<br>1963. |

45. Ministry of Railways: Integral Coach Factory, 1964.
  47. Ministry of International Trade: Export Risks Insurance Corporation, Ltd., 1964.
  49. Ministry of International Trade: State Trading Corporation of India, Ltd., 1964.
  51. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Heavy Engineering: Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ltd., 1964.
  52. Personnel Policies of Public Undertakings, 1964.
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## INSTITUTE NEWS

*Shri Asoka Mehta*, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, was unanimously elected Chairman at the Special Meeting of the Executive Council of the Institute held on January 25, vice the vacancy caused by the resignation of *Dr. C. D. Deshmukh* owing to his ill health.

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The Government of Punjab has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 54,000 for research studies on Operational Problems of Punjab Administration to be conducted by the Institute for the Punjab Administrative Reforms Commission (PARC), which is headed by *Shri K. Hanumanthaiyya*, M. P., former Chief Minister of Mysore. The projected studies will help provide an empirical base for the Commission's findings and recommendations. The studies will be in the nature of organizational analysis of crucial administrative problems of the day. The fields to be covered include: organization and staffing of the Punjab Civil Secretariat for policy making; programme planning and implementation; structural study of the Department of Education; the changed role of the Deputy Commissioner; co-ordination of development programmes; attitudes of the Citizens towards Administration; and improvement of procedures for combating corrupt practices. The methodology will primarily comprise case studies and structured interviews; survey techniques will be used where needed.

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The fifth Training Course, for officers of the Ministry of Home Affairs, was organized at the ISPA from January 18 to March 12, 1965.

The Course aimed at giving the participants an opportunity to get acquainted with the economic, social, political and administrative background of India and to develop awareness of the present-day world problems. Twenty six officers attended the Course.

In collaboration with the Planning Commission and the Department of Administrative Reforms of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, a six-week Orientation Course in Development Administration commenced at the ISPA on March 29. About 30 administrators holding key positions in development, finance and allied departments of the State and Central Government are participating. The Course was inaugurated by the Minister of Home Affairs, Government of India. It covers, among others, orientation in concepts and strategy of economic and social development, perspectives and goals of planning, machinery and processes of planning, phasing and scheduling development programmes, planning programmes resources (especially material resources), budgeting for funds (financial programming), development of a performance budget, problem of communication, application of work study and operations research in development administration, reporting and appraisal of programmes, project management, problems of area development programmes, relationships between official and non-official agencies and integration of their functions, principal components of urban and city development programmes, administrative aspects and implementation of city development plans, and

financial aspects (fiscal programming). The tools of instruction include case studies and syndicate discussions on the more important problems of development administration.

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The Institute in collaboration with Delhi Productivity Council, organized a Seminar on "Vitality in Public Administration" on February 12 and 13. The seminar-discussion was particularly focussed on the following issues: (1) administration in developing countries; (2) leadership in administration; (3) a new look at bureaucracy; (4) motivation and incentives; and (5) productivity in administration — performance appraisal and analysis.

\* \* \*

The subjects for the Prize Essay Competition 1965 recently announced by the Institute are : (1) Adminis-

trative Reforms to check tax evasion; (2) Relations between State Governments and Municipal Bodies; and (3) Co-ordination of Development Programmes at the District and/or Block level.

The essay is to be written in English (approximately 10,000 words) under a *nom de plume* covering administrative aspects of the given subjects. The essay in triplicate should reach the Director on or before August 31, 1965.

\* \* \*

The recent publications of the Institute include: (1) "The Caste in Changing India" by Dr. A. P. Barnabas and S. C. Mehta (Price: Rs. 4); (2) "Revenue Inspections at the District Level" by Dr. A. Avasthi (Price: Rs. 7.50); (3) "The Changing Role of the District Officer—Proceedings of the Conference held at Hyderabad" (Price: Rs. 7).

### THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

A Quarterly devoted to the promotion of Professional Work, Scientific Interpretation of Social Problems and Advancement of Social Research published by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Chembur, Bombay-71.

The Editor will be glad to consider manuscripts pertaining to Labour Welfare, Personnel Management, Industrial Relations, Education, Family and Child Welfare, Medical and Psychiatric Social Work, Mental Hygiene, Criminology, Juvenile Delinquency, Correctional Administration, Social and Moral Hygiene, Physically and Mentally Handicapped, Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology.

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 United States of America : \$ 4.00 a year, post-free  
 Other foreign countries : \$ 16.00 a year, post-free

# RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## (I) INDIA

At the Centre, the Planning Commission has, in recent months, been increasingly concerned with the gearing of the machinery for planning. A National Planning Council has been constituted, under the chairmanship of its Deputy Chairman, as it is felt that, in addition to the existing arrangements for advice and consultation, it would be useful to have a small body of specialists who would work in close and continuous association with the Planning Commission and its Members. The Council will arrange for studies by its members, individually or in committees, of such problems as may be suggested by the Planning Commission. It may co-opt other specialists for study of any particular problems. It will also meet as a body from time to time to discuss the reports prepared by its members. For the present, the term of the Council will be for a period of two years. The Council includes scientists, engineers, economists and experts in other important fields.

Furthermore, a Construction Economies Division has been set up in the Planning Commission for promoting reduction of costs in constructional activities such as buildings, roads, bridges, air fields, hydraulic structures, etc.

Committees at Divisional, District and Block levels, consisting of officers of the State sector as well as representatives of Zila Parishads, Panchayat Samitis, Members of Parliament and the State Legislature have been constituted in Maharashtra, to help in the preparation of the Fourth Plan at the three levels.

The Government of Rajasthan

has appointed a Road Planning Board, under the chairmanship of the Minister for Planning, to suggest criteria and methods for assessing cost and benefits and examine proposals for road development drawn up for the annual and Five Year Plans. The Committee, besides advising the Government on the preparation of co-ordinated long-term road development plans, will recommend priorities and phasing of programmes.

A Committee on Evaluation of Plan Projects, under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary of the Government, has been established in West Bengal which will, in addition to examining the reports and data placed before it by the Evaluation Section, take up special investigation into the implementation of particular projects.

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The Government of Gujarat has reconstituted the Study Group on Administrative Problems, which would now consist mainly of non-officials with experience of public affairs. The Group will advise the State Government on measures for administrative efficiency and economy, in particular, streamlining of procedures, utilization of personnel resources, implementation of development programmes and plan schemes, etc. The State Government has further decided to merge the Work Study (O & M) Units into the Administrative Efficiency Section, and the Efficiency and Economy Committee which was set up in March, 1964, has been discontinued, as it has been felt that this work

could be more satisfactorily done through a separate division to be located in the General Administration Department. The work of the Administrative Efficiency Section has been enlarged to include problems of improving efficiency standards and securing economy in Administration.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has set up a Committee on Administration, with the Chief Secretary to the Government as its Chairman, which will be charged with the responsibility of promoting of administrative reforms. The State Government has also established a "Study Organization", consisting of all Secretaries to Government and seven major heads of departments to study problems of administrative improvements. Study teams from amongst the officers in the organization will be formed to undertake examination of the organization, structure, and methods of work and procedures of selected departments which have to deal with a large group of citizens. These studies will also aim at eliminating opportunities of corruption at different points of the administrative machinery. The Committee on Administration will provide overall guidance. The State Committee on Administration set up in November 1961 has been abolished.

The Government of Punjab has constituted an Economy Committee, headed by the Financial Commissioner, Planning, to advise the Government about economies which could be made in administrative expenditure in Punjab.

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The Government of Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Madhya Pradesh have recently introduced suggestions schemes with a view to stimulating original thinking among Government servants and thereby

improving efficiency and productivity in Government offices. The schemes will be open to all categories of staff, technical and non-technical, irrespective of their rank and status.

The Government of India has made the Central Services (Conduct) Rules, 1964, replacing the earlier Rules in the matter. The main new provisions made in the 1964 Rules, not covered by the previous Rules, are as follows: (1) Every Government servant holding a supervisory post shall take all possible steps to ensure the integrity and devotion to duty of all Government servants for the time being under his control and authority; (2) No Government servant shall use his position or influence directly or indirectly to secure employment for any member of his family in any private undertaking; (3) No Government servant shall in the discharge of his official duties deal with any matter or give or sanction any contract to any undertaking or any other person if any member of his family is employed in that undertaking or under that person or if he or any member of his family is interested in such matter or contract in any other manner and the Government servant shall refer every such matter or contract to his official superior and the matter of contract shall thereafter be disposed of according to the instructions of the authority to whom the reference is made; (4) No Government servant shall engage himself or participate in any demonstration which is prejudicial to the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or which involves contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

Under the new Rules, the existing restrictions on acceptance of gifts

by the Government servants or any member of his family have been liberalized to allow gifts up to Rs. 25 in case of Government servants holding any Class III and Class IV post and up to Rs. 75 for Government servants holding any Class I or Class II post. The gifts on occasions like weddings, anniversaries, funerals or religious functions from personal friends having no official dealings with the Government servant are now allowed up to a value of Rs. 50 in the case of a Government servant holding a Class IV Post, Rs. 100 for Class III, and Rs. 200 for Class I and II posts. In the case of gifts from near relatives on occasions mentioned earlier there is now no limit on the value of a gift, but the matter has to be reported to the Government if the value of the gift exceeds Rs. 100 in the case of a Class IV Government servant, Rs. 250 for Class III, and Rs. 500 for Class I and II Government servants. The definition of the gift has been widened to include free transport, boarding, lodging or other service or any other pecuniary advantage when provided by any person other than a near relative or personal friend having no official dealings with the Government servant. It has also been laid down that a Government servant shall avoid accepting lavish or frequent hospitality from any individual having official dealings with him or from industrial or commercial firms, organizations, etc.

The provision in the previous Rules, placing restrictions on joining of service associations of Government servants not recognized by the Government has been deleted, and replaced by the restriction that no Government servant shall join, or continue to be a member of, an association the objects or activities of which are prejudicial to the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India or public order or morality.

Under the new Rules, Class III and Class IV Government servants also are required to submit property returns at such intervals as may be specified by the Government.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has issued instructions that whenever representatives of Class III and IV Government servants' associations seek an interview, the divisional and district officers should give them a patient and sympathetic hearing and take such action as is possible within the ambit of rules to remedy the genuine grievances put forward by them. The representatives of the association who meet the divisional and district officers should not, however, sponsor individual cases, but confine their representations to general grievances of the members of their associations.

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At the Centre, Complaints Cells have been set up in the following departments to ensure that complaints pertaining to their dealings with the public receive quick and sympathetic attention: (1) Office of the Chief Controller of Printing and Stationery; (2) Directorate of Estates, Ministry of Works and Housing; (3) Offices of the Chief Inspector of Explosives, Nagpur, and the office of the Inspector of Explosives at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra and Gwalior.

In line with the general trend in other States, the Government of Mysore has set up the Vigilance Commission which will, among others, (1) undertake an enquiry into any transaction in which a public servant is suspected or alleged to have acted for an improper purpose or in a corrupt manner; and (2) cause an enquiry or an investigation to be made into (a) any complaint that a public servant had exercised or refrained from exercising his powers for improper or corrupt

purposes; (b) any complaint of corruption, misconduct, lack of integrity or other kinds of malpractices or misdemeanour on the part of a public servant; and (c) any complaint against acts or omissions, administrative procedures or practices on the ground that they are unreasonable, unjust, oppressive or improperly discriminatory. The Vigilance Commissioner will have under him a Bureau of Investigation headed by a Deputy Inspector General of Police, and a Directorate of Vigilance headed by a senior I.A.S. Officer.

The Government of West Bengal has appointed a senior officer with a good service record and with wide administrative experience as Vigilance Commissioner who will be in charge of the Anti-Corruption Department.

The President has promulgated an Ordinance to amend the provisions of the Income Tax Act, 1961, to provide for searches and seizures and the levy of penalties and launching of prosecution for the concealment of income. It authorizes the income tax authorities to seize unaccounted assets, such as gold, bullion, jewellery, money and other valuable articles found during a search. The unaccounted assets seized will be applied towards the recovery of the assessee's existing tax liabilities and also the estimated tax liability for the undisclosed income invested in the seized assets. For this purpose, the Income Tax Officer is required to make an enquiry and estimate within a period of 90 days, the assets which he wants to retain for covering the above mentioned liabilities and return the balance of the assets to the assessee. With a view to encouraging assessee's to make a voluntary disclosure of their concealed income, the Ordinance also empowers the Commissioner of Income Tax to waive or reduce the penalty in cases where a full and voluntary disclosure

is made before the detection of concealed income by the Income Tax Officer and the assessee co-operates in the subsequent enquiry and makes adequate arrangement for the payment of the tax assessed. In such cases, the assessee will not be prosecuted under the provisions of the Income Tax Act.

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The Government of Kerala has constituted a Pay Commission, under the chairmanship of *Shri K. M. Unnithan*, to examine the pay structure of the State Government employees and to recommend changes needed therein, having regard to the nature of duties, qualifications required, prospects in the service and other relevant factors relating to each category of Government servants, and taking into account the financial resources of the State Government, the economic conditions in the State, the implications and requirements of developmental planning and the needs of administrative efficiency. The Committee will also review the present rates of dearness allowance and suggest the extent to which they need to be raised.

The Government of Assam has rationalized and revised the scales of pay of its employees. The number of standard scales of pay has been reduced from 82 to 33. Of these, 17 are primary scales, generally applicable to posts to which initial recruitment is made and the remaining 16 are secondary scales for promotion posts. The dearness allowance has been fully merged in the revised pay scales.

The Government of Gujarat has increased the dearness allowance of its employees and the employees of the District and Panchayat bodies with effect from January 1, 1965. The new rates of dearness allowance are : Rs. 25 for pay up to Rs. 109; Rs. 30 for pay in the slab Rs. 110-

149; Rs. 45 for Rs. 150-209; and Rs. 50 for the slab Rs. 210-299; and for Rs. 300-349, the amount by which pay falls short of Rs. 350.

In Madhya Pradesh the rates of dearness allowance admissible to Government servants drawing pay up to Rs. 300 p.m. have been enhanced by Rs. 5 per month with effect from April 1, 1965. An increase of Rs. 5 p.m. has also been sanctioned to all pensioners drawing pension up to Rs. 100 per month (prior to commutation).

The Government of Orissa has also increased the rates of dearness allowance for its employees, with effect from January 1, 1965. The new rates of dearness allowance are: for pay below Rs. 150, Rs. 25; for pay between Rs. 150 to Rs. 330, Rs. 35; Rs. 331 and above but below 401, Rs. 40; and for Rs. 401 and above, amount by which pay falls short of Rs. 440.

The Government of Assam has revised the rates of travelling allowance of the Government servants. They have been classified into five grades according to pay range for the purpose of travelling allowance, viz., Senior Grade (Rs. 1,000 and above)—travelling allowance Rs. 12.50; First Grade (Rs. 700 to Rs. 999)—Rs. 10.50; Second Grade (Rs. 301 to Rs. 699)—Rs. 7.00; Third Grade (Rs. 141 to Rs. 300)—Rs. 5.00; and Fourth Grade (Rs. 140 and below)—Rs. 2.50. The T.A. rates will be doubled for halts outside the State. The all-India Service officers in the senior and the junior scales will be treated for purposes of T.A. as in Senior Grade and First Grade respectively irrespective of their pay. Sub-Divisional Officers and Under Secretaries belonging to the Assam Civil Service will be treated as First Grade Officers till they reach the pay range of Rs. 1,000 and above.

The Government of Mysore has sanctioned a scheme for grant of pension to destitute persons who are 70 years of age or over. The scheme will also cover persons who are incapacitated by blindness, leprosy, insanity, paralysis or loss of limbs and are not less than 65 years of age.

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The Government of Maharashtra has drafted an Accounts Code for Zila Parishads. Under the Code, all financial transactions relating to the Zila Parishads and all accounts matters including preparation of the annual accounts and maintenance of all accounts and financial records will be dealt with in the Finance Department of the Zila Parishad which will be headed by its Chief Accounts and Finance Officer.

In Maharashtra, a Finance and Accounts Service (State and Sub-ordinate) has also been constituted under the administrative control of the Finance Department. It comprises gazetted and non-gazetted posts, dealing with accounts matters which are now isolated and are under the administrative control of different Departments. The Service will be administered by the Director of Accounts and Treasuries, *ex officio* Joint Secretary to the Government, Finance Department. It consists of 11 Class I (Senior) posts, 63 Class I (Junior) posts, 125 Class II posts and 175 (non-gazetted) Class III posts, each class of posts having a common scale of pay.

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At the Centre, the Government of India has set up the Central Health Service with an authorized strength of 2,333 posts. It covers all medical and public health positions under the various Central Ministries and Departments (except the Ministries of Defence and Railways), Union Territories and certain

autonomous bodies like the Delhi Municipal Corporation, New Delhi Municipal Committee, Lady Harding Medical College, National Institute of Mental Health at Bangalore and others. The Service is divided into two classes: I & II. Class I is again sub-divided into four categories with different time scales of pay. The highest grade, in super-time scales, comprises categories A and B, in pay scales of Rs. 1,600-2,750 and Rs. 1,300-1,600 respectively. Category C in the senior scale of Class I is in the scale of Rs. 675-1,300 and Category D in the Junior scale of Class I in that of Rs. 425-950. The Class II cadre comprising category E carries the pay scale of Rs. 325-800. Initial appointments to the Service have been made from the departmental candidates already holding the posts coming under the Service. The posts which are still vacant will be filled by direct recruitment through the U.P.S.C. Twenty-five per cent of the vacancies in category E will be filled from officers holding Class III Service of medical posts which is not covered by the Central Health Service. The remaining 75 per cent vacancies will be filled by direct recruitment. In the junior scale, 33 per cent of the vacancies will be filled by promotion and the rest by direct recruitment. In the senior and the super-time scales, 80 per cent of the vacancies will be filled through the Departmental Promotion Committee but 20 per cent of the vacancies will remain open for direct recruitment. Doctors employed under the Central Health Service will not be allowed private practice but entitled to a non-practising allowance at the rate of 25 per cent of the pay, subject to a minimum of Rs. 150 and a maximum of Rs. 400 per month.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has set up a Committee of Experts, with *Dr. C. B. Singh, M.P.*,

as Chairman, to evaluate the medical relief and public health of the Government, and to make recommendations for better organization and execution of medical relief and public health programmes. The Committee will also enquire into the present pattern of departmental organization at different levels, duties assigned thereto, competence with which the organization could be re-oriented, strengthened or diversified. It will also examine the principles which should govern recruitment to different categories of medical, para medical and auxiliary posts and services of the Collegiate and non-Collegiate branches and the adequacy of the administrative, financial and disciplinary powers delegated to different levels of the department and suggestions for improvement.

With a view to removing the shortage of doctors in the State Medical Services and making their service conditions more attractive, the Government of Uttar Pradesh has merged the P.M.S. I, P.M.S. II and the Selection Grade in P.M.S. I into one Service to be called the Pradeshik Medical Service. It consists of Ordinary Grade posts in the pay scale of Rs. 500-50-1200, comprising  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total number of permanent posts in the ordinary grade. In addition to the post-graduate-qualification-pay, a non-practising allowance will also be admissible to the officers of P.M.S., when posted to non-practising charges, at the rate of 25 per cent of their pay, subject to a minimum of Rs. 75 p.m. and a maximum of Rs. 200 p.m.

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An important recent development in the field of agricultural administration has been the establishment by the Government of India of an Agricultural Prices Commission.

under the chairmanship of *Prof. M. L. Dantwala*, Head of the Department of Economics, University of Bombay, to advise the Government on agricultural policy and price structure in the context of the need to raise agricultural production and give relief to the consumer. The Food Corporation of India under the provisions of the Food Corporations Act, 1964, with its Headquarters at Madras, has been established to implement the Government's policy of ensuring to the primary producer the minimum price that may be announced from time to time and the consumer may be saved from the vagaries of speculative trade. The Government of Bihar has set up an Agricultural Production Sub-Committee of the Cabinet, headed by the Chief Minister, to ensure an integrated approach in matters of agricultural policies and programmes and to co-ordinate and approve specific programmes.

In Maharashtra a Standing Committee, headed by the State Chief Minister, has been created to review periodically the progress of implementation of the various land reform measures and to recommend steps to be taken for their proper and speedier implementation. The committee will, in particular, examine the tenancy laws, the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act and the Agricultural Lands (Ceiling on Holdings) Act.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has constituted a Committee, under the chairmanship of the Commissioner for Agricultural Prosecution and Rural Development, to devise ways and means to improve the content and quality of the training programme at the Gram Sewak Training Centres.

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The Government of India has decided to bifurcate the management

of the Coal Mining Machinery Plant at Durgapur from the control of the Heavy Engineering Corporation. The HEC will concern itself only with broad policy matters and production programmes and the general managers of the three units will be in control of day-to-day administration.

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At a special function held on January 2, 1965, Presidential Awards were presented to four public sector enterprises for their creditable performance during 1962-63. The Indian Telephone Industries, Bangalore, whose all round performance was adjudged the best for 1962-63, received, along with the Hindustan Cables Factory, Rupnarainpur and Hindustan Antibiotics Factory at Pimpri, the Certificate of Merit (Copper Plate) for outstanding performance during that year. The Nangal Unit of the Fertilizer Corporation of India was presented the Certificate of Honour (Parchment Paper) for its satisfactory performance.

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The Orissa Legislative Assembly has decided to constitute a 5-member Committee on Public Undertakings. The members of the Committee shall be elected from among the members of the legislature according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable votes. The functions of the Committee shall be: (1) to examine the reports and accounts of the Public Undertakings specified in the schedule; (2) to examine the reports, if any, of the Comptroller and Auditor-General on the Public Undertakings; (3) to examine, in the context of the autonomy and efficiency of the Public Undertakings, whether its affairs are being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices; and (4) such other function

vested in the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee in relation to the Public Undertakings specified in the Schedule by or under the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of this House as are not covered by clauses (1), (2) and (3) above and as may be allotted to the Committee by the Speaker from time to time. The Committee shall not, however, ex-

amine and investigate in any matters of major Government policy as distinct from business or commercial functions of the Public Undertakings, matters of day-to-day administration, and matters for the consideration of which machinery is established by any special statute under which a particular public undertaking is established.

## (II) ABROAD

The salaries of Ministers and Members of Parliament in Australia have been increased recently by legislation. The increases which came into effect on November 1, 1964 are as follows: (a) salaries of M.Ps.—from £A2,750 (£2,200 sterling) to £A3,500 (£2,800) a year, together with increases in electorate and travelling allowances; (b) Prime Minister's salary—from £A10,000 to £A12,000, together with increases in his special and electorate allowances from £A4,350 to £A5,100 and in his travelling allowance from £A15 to £A18 a day; (c) salaries of junior Ministers—from £A5,000 to £A6,500; (d) The Speaker's salary—from £A5,000 to £A6,500; (e) salary of the Leader of the Opposition—from £A6,000 to £A7,000. Parliamentary pensions, hitherto ranging from 10 to 20 guineas a week, were increased to between £A19 and £A34 a week, while members' contributions were raised from £A5 to £A7, 15s.

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The Civil Service Commission of Canada has introduced a new pay plan designed to facilitate and encourage mobility of senior officers according to needs of both the Canadian Federal Service and the individual employee. The main features of the plan are as follows: (1) Overlapping salary scales with increments of \$250 to be used as warranted when determining salaries

either on appointment or when providing salary increases. (2) Salary increases based on the formal appraisal of performance and competence rather than by automatic progression. (3) Normal ceilings beyond which salaries may be authorized only in exceptional circumstances. (4) A system of consultation and counselling whereby senior officers may discuss their situations and careers. There will be no automatic progression through the salary range. Increases will be based on a formal appraisal by deputy heads of the competence and development achieved, the results of which support the salary rate granted. The deputy head will appraise his assistant deputies and other senior officers reporting directly to him. A committee composed of the deputy head and his assistants will have responsibility for considering the granting of increases to the remaining senior officers of the department.

Under the new appraisal programme, senior personnel will be involved in a process of periodic appraisal by interview and their abilities and potential will become well-known to the Commission and others concerned. All senior officers will have equal opportunity to be considered and assessed for promotion or transfer and to discuss their career possibilities with members of the appraisal boards. In addition, they may consult on other occasions

with either deputy minister or the Commission.

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A new Institute of Public Administration has been set up at the University of Ife, Western Nigeria, with a comprehensive instructional, research and consultative services programme. The instructional programme will be at the post-graduate level, meant for senior officers of central and local governments, statutory corporations and development authorities. The research programme will be directed towards applying the most effective and up-to-date techniques of research and evaluation in subjects like economy, social development, local government taxation, fiscal policy, and governmental organisations.

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The Central Government in Pakistan has set up a National Manpower Council under the Labour and Social Welfare Division. The functions of the National Manpower Council are: (a) To establish and develop a Manpower Planning Organisation; (b) To evolve and implement policies and programmes for the development and utilisation of human resources in order to meet the needs of the growing economy of the country; (c) To devise overall programmes for meeting the requirements of high level personnel, the training of artisans and skilled workers, the productive employment of surplus labour, and a productive work programme for youth. (d) To draw up schemes for improved utilisation of labour through better management, the coordination of defence and civilian uses of man-power, and the development of basic data and analysis for manpower planning. The Council will also be responsible for formulating programmes of conservation, development and effective utilisation of human resources in the country.

The Government of West Pakistan has constituted a new integrated service for the employees of the local bodies. For purposes of the new service, West Pakistan has been divided into six zones. The service consists of 8 class I posts in senior grade (Rs. 600-1150) and 48 class I posts in junior grade (Rs. 350-850). The posts in the senior and junior cadres of Class II are 106 and 204 respectively and their scales have been fixed as Rs. 250-750 and Rs. 150-400 respectively.

The posts included in the Class I senior-scale will be known as the "Provincial Cadre", while those in Class I junior and Class II senior-scales will constitute the "Region Cadres". The Divisional Cadres will consist of Class II (Junior) and Class III (Upper) grades.

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The Government of Syria, on January 3, issued decrees nationalizing 107 privately owned companies. The decrees cover industries such as textiles, sugar, construction materials, rubber, etc. Shareholders are to be compensated in State bonds redeemable over 15 years at 3 per cent interest. No foreign investment is involved, the companies concerned are all Syria or Arab owned. Foreign oil pipelines and transport companies are not affected.

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The Government of U.K. has appointed a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of *Lord Donovan*, a Lord of Appeal, to inquire into trade unions and employers' associations. The terms of reference of the Committee are to consider relations between management and employees and the role of trade unions and employers' associations in promoting the interests of their members and in

accelerating the social and economic advance of the nation with particular reference to the law affecting the activities of these bodies.

A Study Group, under the chairmanship of *Lord Hinton*, has been set up in Great Britain to study the problem of transport co-ordination. The Group will, in particular, examine the pattern of long-distance transport services likely to be required in the future, with particular reference to the co-ordination of investment policies for road and rail; the methods of achieving a properly co-ordinated use of the main trunk route transport system and especially the right balance between road and rail; and how to improve operational co-ordination between different forms of transport.


Her Majesty's Government has raised pay of Police personnel in the U.K. with retrospective effect from September 1, 1964 by an average of 7 per cent. Starting salary has been increased from £635 p.a. to £700, and salary after nine years' service from £965 to £1,040, and after 22 years' service from £1,030 to £1,105.

The U.S. Special National Academy of Sciences Committee on the Utilisation of Scientific and Tech-

nical Manpower has, in its recent report, criticized governmental decision-making and management practices and has emphasised the need for the development of statistical information on scientific manpower.

The Committee has recommended the creation in the White House of an Office of Executive Personnel, expanded use of executive development programmes, higher compensation and incentive systems for top grades, automatic review every four years of the salary levels of Congressmen and all other Federal executives.

Other important recommendations made by the Committee include: (1) establishment of two new supergrades to provide outstanding career servants with salary recognition and rank comparable to the military; (2) rigorous annual performance reviews to discover both those with promotion potential and failures in performance and growth; (3) planned transfer to make maximum use of outstanding abilities; and (4) recognition in each department and agency of the vital character of top level personnel with assignment of special responsibility to a member of top management.



## DIGEST OF REPORTS

*WEST BENGAL, REPORT OF THE POLICE COMMISSION 1960-61*, Home (Police) Department, Government of West Bengal, 1964, iv + 340p.

The Government of West Bengal appointed in March 1960, a Police Commission, under the chairmanship of *Shri K.C. Sen*, to enquire into the different aspects of Police Administration in the State. Under its terms of reference to the Commission, which number twenty, the Commission was called upon to report on (1) the adequacy of strength of the Police Force in all its branches (armed and unarmed) and the supervisory and administrative machinery; (2) yardsticks for strength of different ranks; (3) territorial areas of jurisdiction; (4) powers and duties of police in relation to the needs of the country after Independence; (5) changes needed, if any, in regard to recruitment, training, disciplinary control, promotion and other conditions of service including recreational facilities and welfare measures; (6) changes, if any, in the Rural Police system to make it effective in the performance of police duties and to integrate its work with that of the regular Police; (7) relations between Calcutta and West Bengal Police Forces; (8) investigation of crime: causes, and delays; (9) prosecution in Court and causes of delays; (10) better relations between the Police and the public; and (11) corruption; nature, extent and forms.

The Commission submitted its report in December, 1961 but it was made public only in 1964. The more important findings and recommendations of the Commission are given below:

### PRESENT SET-UP

Under the Police Act, 1861, the administration of the Police in West Bengal, excluding Calcutta, is vested in the Inspector-General of Police, and the administration of the police in a district, in the District Superintendent of Police under the general control of the District Magistrate. Under the Calcutta Police and the Calcutta Suburban Police Acts of 1866, the administration of the police in the city and suburbs of Calcutta is vested in the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta. The State is divided into: (i) three ranges, comprising a group of districts, (ii) seventeen districts—two Railway Police districts and fifteen others, each of the latter comprising a group of sub-divisions, (iii) forty-seven sub-divisions, each comprising a group of police circles, (iv) one hundred and twenty-six circles, each comprising a group of police stations, and (v) three hundred and one police stations, which are the basic units of investigation. Some police stations have out-posts as subordinate police posts, but they are not investigating centres. Each range is controlled by a Deputy Inspector-General, and the districts by Superintendents, who are assisted by one or more Additional Superintendents in certain districts and by Assistant and Deputy Superintendents. Important subdivisions are under the control of Sub-divisional Police Officers, who may be Assistant or Deputy Superintendents. Circles are placed under Circle Inspectors,

police stations under Sub-Inspectors, out-posts, except town out-posts, under Assistant Sub-Inspectors, and town outposts under Head Constables. In addition to Circle Inspectors there are Inspectors employed in the Superintendent's Office, the Detective Department and the District Intelligence Branch, and in charge of the Town Police, the Court office, the Special Armed Force and the Reserve Office at the district headquarters, and, in a Railway police district, in charge of the Court staff and the platform staff. The strength and composition of the Indian Police Services Cadre of West Bengal in 1961 was as follows: Inspector-General of Police: 1; Commissioner of Police: 1; Deputy Inspector-General of Police: 6; Deputy Commissioners of Police: 14; Assistant Inspectors-General of Police: 2; Special Superintendents of Police: 5; Superintendents of Police: 15; Superintendents of Police, Railways: 2; Principal, Police Training College: 1; Commandant, Eastern Frontier Rifles: 1; Commandants, Special Armed Police Battalions: 3; and Commandant, Industrial Area Reserve Force 1.

#### POWERS AND DUTIES

No offence which is non-cognizable should be made cognizable.

No change in the existing law regarding the recording of confessions should be made till at least the separation of the judiciary from the executive has been effected and been in operation for some years.

The exercise of Regulation 66A of the Police Regulation, Bengal, regarding withdrawal of cases after reference to the District Magistrate, has been neglected. It should be complied with as a rule.

The police should not be invested with any magisterial powers or with any power to compound offences.

Provisions similar to sections 55 and 56 of the Bombay Police Act, providing for dispersal of gangs and bodies of persons and removal of persons about to commit offences should be adopted in the West Bengal.

Regulation 246, Police Regulations, Bengal, under which a copy of the first information report has to be made over free of charge to the complainant or informant, should be strictly complied with; at present it is generally not followed.

There is evidence that complaints are sometimes not recorded or crimes reduced in gravity to show a better crime situation. The practice seems to arise from a belief among subordinate officers that credit can only be gained by the maintenance of a high rate of convictions to cases and a low return of crime. This belief should be dispelled from their mind.

Section 103 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which requires that the officer about to make a search shall call upon two or more respectable inhabitants of the locality to attend and witness the search, should be amended by deleting the words "of the locality". It should be sufficient if respectable persons, wherever they might be found, attended and witnessed the search.

Surprise visit should be made at the police stations by superior officers, so that the officers whose work is to be inspected may not so arrange matters that nothing but technical defects and shortcomings may be apparent.

The report system previously obtaining in Calcutta, under which

investigating officers used to keep superior officers informed of the process of investigation, should be revived. Less reliance should be placed on reports. The Madras system of the Commissioner of Police having weekly meetings of officers engaged in different kinds of duties on specific days should be adopted.

Inspections by supervising officers should not involve duplication of work.

(i) The travelling allowance bills of Superintendents need not be countersigned by the District Magistrate; they may be countersigned by the Deputy Inspector-General instead. (ii) The Superintendent should furnish the District Magistrate his tour programmes in the interests of the administration. The District Magistrate too should furnish his tour programmes to the Superintendent.

The District Magistrate's position, as the officer ultimately responsible for the police administration in the district, should not be whittled away in any manner.

#### ORGANIZATION AND STRENGTH

Yardsticks should be laid down for an average police station: (a) for investigating officers, (b) for Sub-Inspectors for other kinds of work, (c) for subordinate officers including constables required on the basis of (a) and (b) as well as of other kinds of work, and (d) the criterion as to the matters to be taken into account in applying the yardsticks mentioned above.

(i) The criterion for assessing the number of investigating officers required at a police station should be related to total of the number of cognizable crimes entered in the Crime Register and of cases of unnatural death investigated by Sub-Inspectors. For investigation, 84

cases in rural areas and 100 cases in urban areas per year for an investigating officer should normally be the yardstick for determining the number of such officers in a thana; excluding police stations in towns adjoining Calcutta in the 24-Parganas and at Howrah. (ii) The average time taken for investigation of a case should be taken as three days. This would mean 252 days in a year spent on investigation of 84 cases, leaving 113 days in a year for off days, holidays and days for attendance in Courts.

The present practice of having one Assistant Sub-Inspector for each investigating officer and one for every two Sub-Inspectors, other than investigating officers, besides one Assistant Sub-Inspector in charge of a border out-post and one in charge of a beat house, should be continued.

An officer of the rank of the Inspector should be in charge of a police station at the district headquarters or in other important towns or urban areas.

(i) There should be three constables for every two investigating officers and six for every beat, there being one beat to every 75 cases in rural areas. There should be three constables for sentry duty, one for assistance in *Sherista* work, and two for duty in connection with summons, warrants, dak and escort work.

For courts at district headquarters, there should be a normal minimum staff of one Inspector, two Sub-Inspectors and three Assistant Sub-Inspectors; and for Sub-divisional courts, a minimum of one Sub-Inspector and one Assistant Sub-Inspector. There should be a Chief Prosecuting Officer of district courts and a selected number of sub-divisional courts.

The number of Additional and Deputy Superintendents and

Sub-divisional Police Officers should be increased. They should be appointed on the merits of each case, which may vary and should be assessed as needs arise from time to time.

The posts of the Range Deputy Inspectors-General which have been sanctioned in all the States in the country should not be abolished because these officers perform important work, especially that of supervision and initiation of common policies for the district police. It is their responsibility not only to make frequent inspections of the offices of the Superintendents and subordinate officers under them but also to assist and instruct the latter in the proper discharge of their duties.

The Enforcement Branch now a part of the Enforcement and Anti-Corruption Organization under the control and supervision of a Special Officer (who is an *ex-officio* Secretary in the Home Department of the Government) should be removed from the control and supervision of the said officer and transferred (so far as its police work is concerned) to the Criminal Investigation Department. As the proper work of this Branch has decreased owing to the relaxation of controls in general, some of the personnel of the part of the Branch so amalgamated could be utilized for the work at present being done or intended to be done by the Department.

Wireless Transport and Traffic Police should be combined and placed under a Deputy Inspector-General.

In view of the low opinion generally entertained by the public about the status of a *Chaukidar* or a *dafadar*, new names should be given to the offices of these functionaries; their status and quality should also be raised by laying down better

scales of pay and higher qualifications for their recruitment.

In most districts the Special Constabulary Reserve Force is in a moribund condition. It should be properly organized and its functions should not only be restricted to emergencies although its members are not expected to be whole-time workers.

The groups which are the unofficial extensions of the police and represent popular co-operation should be given personal attention by the Inspector-General as well as other senior officers of the Force to foster and encourage their growth.

As the number of police stations is fairly close to that of development blocks, the areas of the police stations should be delimited to be coterminous with development blocks.

As an experiment, a few police woman should be employed at certain district headquarters and important urban centres, and they should be a part of the general police force.

A separate Armed Crime Reserve is not necessary and should be abolished; but no further reduction should be made in the Armed Police Forces as there should be a certain degree of armed readiness to meet emergent situations.

Calcutta and West Bengal Police should remain separate forces. However, common institutions like a Criminal Records Office in the U.K. should be gradually built up, which can be consulted equally by both the forces. If the establishment of such a common institution is not feasible, the Criminal Records Section of the Detective Department should have its own Statistical Bureau, the service of which should also be available to the Calcutta Police; it need not be wholly manned by policemen.

The designation of Additional Commissioner of Police (Traffic) is without any legal basis and should be dropped.

The Block Development Committee should include the Officer-in-charge of the local police station. The Block Development Officer should exercise control over village police, now exercised by the Circle Officer. He should recover from the Union Boards and Panchayats the amounts due to the village police and disburse them monthly with the Government's contribution.

#### INVESTIGATION

The work of investigation should be separated from other work in the thanas, at the district headquarters and in heavily industrialized urban areas in order to ensure continuity of investigation. The absence of such continuity at present is an important factor contributory to delay and faulty investigation. This work should be in the hands of such officers as most fitted for it so that it satisfies the general public.

Immediate steps should be taken to strengthen the staff of the Forensic Science Laboratory, secure more commodious accommodation and decline at least temporarily receiving exhibits from other States. The Chemical Examiner should take over some of its work.

In the large police stations the investigating staff should be separated from other staff. The two parts of the police organization, however, should not be kept in watertight compartments.

Central pools of investigation officers may be formed in the districts where the need for them is felt. On analysis it has been found that the work of investigation does not suffer seriously from shortage

of staff. The real cause for the deterioration noticeable in the standard of investigation is not, by and large, to be sought in the excessive number of cases for investigation and enquiry, as often alleged before us, but rather in defective or insufficient training of the investigating officers and lack of adequate supervision by superior officers.

Proper training in crime investigation should be given to officers who are to be given charge of such work. There is need for more schools like the Detective Training School or an expansion of the present School.

(i) The duty of supplying copies of statements, etc., to the accused should be entrusted to the magistrate; (ii) In case of bulky documents, e.g., voluminous account books, they may be kept in court and made available to the accused and his lawyer for perusal, examination and taking notes. Section 173 of the Code of Criminal Procedure should be amended accordingly.

Section 162 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be amended to provide that if a witness whose statement is reduced to writing can read his own statement as recorded he should be asked to sign and date it and certify that he has read it and that it accords with what he has stated.

#### PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

##### *Recruitment*

(i) There should be uniform standards as far as possible for the police forces both of West Bengal and Calcutta. Uniformity on merely *a priori* grounds should not be insisted where the existing variations are justified. (ii) Recruitment to the Unarmed and Armed Branches should be made separately. For the Armed Branches a higher physical

standard and a somewhat lower educational standard would be appropriate. (iii) Priority should be given to candidates resident in the State. Outsiders can some times become a liability. Candidates from within the State have the advantage of being acquainted with the local ways of life including language, and it is much easier to ascertain particulars about them in the preliminary screening that should precede the selection. (iv) A more simplified procedure should be devised to weed out the undesirable police personnel at an early stage.

Except for Sergeants, Sub-Inspectors and Sub-Inspectresses (the Selection Board in whose case is presided over by the Inspector-General in West Bengal and the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta), there should be a Recruiting Board for both West Bengal and Calcutta police. The new Board should consist of the Principal, Police Training College, and one of the Commandants of the Armed Battalions, with the local Superintendent or one of the Deputy Commissioners to be nominated by the Commissioner of Police to assist them.

Sergeants should continue to be recruited direct. Fifty per cent of Sub-Inspectors in West Bengal and 75 per cent of Sub-Inspectors in Calcutta should continue to be recruited direct. Twenty five per cent of the Assistant Commissioners should be directly recruited without detriment to the seniority of Inspectors.

Those parts of the existing procedure (Regulations 741, 742 and 746 of the Police Regulations, Bengal) for the direct recruitment of sub-inspectors and constables which are not inconsistent with the recommendations of the Commission (except those parts which relate to communal considerations) should be retained.

The period of probation in the case of all direct recruits should be two years and a half (which may be extended in suitable cases).

### *Training*

Elements of industrial law and topography of West Bengal should be included in the courses of instruction at the Police Training College. Courses in shorthand, type-writing, photography and finger-print work should also be provided for officers and for those volunteering to learn them.

On completion of their courses at the Police Training College and passing the necessary examinations, officers and others should undergo further training of a more practical nature in the districts to which they are posted.

(i) There should be a Special Deputy Superintendent in each district for organization and supervision of the training to be given to recruits sent to the district for practical training. He should submit confidential reports about each person so trained to the higher authorities. (ii) Head constables and constables should be subjected to physical fitness tests and medical examination every year. (iii) All Sub-Inspectors should take the course of training at the Detective Training School; and the personnel intended for traffic duties should undergo the training provided in the Traffic Training School in Calcutta. Rules and procedures similar to those provided for the West Bengal Police should be made also for the Calcutta Police.

(i) Good instructors should be secured for the Police Training College. (ii) A team of travelling instructors should go to the districts and mobilization centres. (iii) The Police Training College and Detective Training School should be

well-equipped with apparatus and materials.

### *Discipline*

The Indian Police Commission of 1902-3 had recommended forfeiture of leave as an alternative to fine. It should be added to the list of punishments which the appropriate authorities are empowered to inflict.

Each district should have a Special Deputy Superintendent to enquire into disciplinary cases; he should also be responsible for supervision of the training of recruits.

(i) All cases of suspensions and all disciplinary cases pending over two months should be reported every month by Superintendents in West Bengal to the Inspector-General and the Range Deputy Inspector-General, explaining in each case reason for continuance of the proceedings and the suspension. In Calcutta, the Commissioner of Police should be kept informed of such cases by the adoption of a corresponding procedure. Suspensions should be limited to the period during which continuance in office may be prejudicial to public interest. It should be possible, in suitable cases, to terminate suspension and transfer the officer concerned to some other station or district, though the enquiry still continues to be held; in such cases he may be strictly ordered not to visit his previous station or district without the express consent of his immediate superior.

The Inspector-General has the power to call for the proceedings of any case, even where no appeal lies, and pass such orders as he deems fit, with the safeguard that in cases he wishes to make an order prejudicial to any person, the latter should have an opportunity to show cause against the proposed order. This is a salutary provision. The Inspector-General and the Commissioner of Police

should have the power to review their own order in a disciplinary case within a reasonable period.

The Government should have the power to revise an order of a subordinate officer.

The Government should invest a Commandant of an Armed Battalion with a magistrate's power for enquiry into or trial of offences under the Police Acts committed by a member of his battalion and any other offences which may be prescribed.

One of the regulations in the Police Regulations, Bengal, provides that an order for transfer shall not be passed as a punishment for misconduct. Where an officer is to be transferred because of his misconduct, such misconduct should, whenever possible, be enquired into in regular proceedings.

(i) Influential persons or officers who seek to interfere in investigation should be asked to give a written request or order, which should be recorded in a special book kept confidentially, where it should also be recorded whether the request for a written request or other was complied with, and all papers received in such connection should be separately filed. (ii) Such a book and papers should be inspected by all inspecting officers. (iii) An order should be made by the Government and incorporated in the Police Regulations that any action taken on such request/suggestion calculated to exert undue influence as well as any infringement of the said order will be regarded as misbehaviour.

If an officer with an unsavoury reputation cannot be removed from service, at least his evil reputation should be taken into consideration when the question of his promotion arises.

(i) If other States agree, officers at the top should be obtained on loan from them on an experimental

basis. (ii) The Government should also have the power to appoint to the highest offices men from outside the Police Forces of the State. This would require a change in the present composition of the State cadre determined under the Indian Police Service (cadre) Rules, 1964.

Superintendents and other officers of the higher ranks should keep a more vigilant eye on their subordinates' conduct than at present; misconduct, when proved, should be strictly dealt with.

The Police Department should be under the direct supervision of the Chief Minister.

#### *Promotion and other Incentives*

(i) All promotions of a permanent nature should be made after a qualifying examination. (ii) The field of choice should be two to four times the number of vacancies expected within a year; an officer of outstanding merit may be included in the list even if he be outside the normal field choice. Officers should be classified as "outstanding", "very good" and "good" on the basis of merit. (iii) Merit should have precedence over seniority: this principle should be applied with greater strictness in selection to the higher ranks.

(i) The form of confidential remarks should be so designed as to provide for assessment under a number of specified headings as well as a general summing up. (ii) The scope for the play of the reporting officer's idiosyncrasies should be reduced to a minimum. (iii) Adverse remarks should be communicated promptly to the person concerned. Even irremediable defects should be communicated.

Where a temporary post has been in existence for five years or more it should be made permanent.

The relative seniority of directly recruited and promoted officers should be so adjusted that promoted officer should not be placed unfairly at a disadvantage; the principles contained in the Indian Police Service (Regulation of Seniority) Rules, 1954, should be found applicable.

There should be scope for promotion of Police Prosecutors. One of them should be appointed Chief Police Prosecutor with a Special pay and questions of their promotion etc., should be decided in consultation with the legal Remembrancer.

(i) All rewards should be published not only in the Police Gazette, but also in the annual administration reports. (ii) A policeman who has done an act of special merit may also be rewarded by acceleration of his increment of pay, i.e., by being given two increments where he would ordinarily earn only one. (iii) The grant of a reward should have the effect, in appropriate cases, of cancelling black marks or adverse remarks made against the grantee. (iv) In special cases the requirement of appearing at a promotion examination may be waived in his favour, either wholly or in part.

Certain special courses of study, such as may be useful for widening the intellectual and cultural interests and outlook of officers, may be initiated for those likely to profit thereby and that special study leave may be granted to such officers for undertaking such courses, so that at least some of the officers may feel that they are not becoming hide-bound by official routine and monotonous work year after year.

#### *Transfers*

(i) A Sub-Inspector should not ordinarily be transferred unless he has been at his station for four

years; an Assistant Sub-Inspector, head constable, naik or constable should be allowed to remain at one place for three years. (ii) A series of transfers may be arranged at particular periods.

### *Service Benefits*

(i) When duties have to be performed for eight hours or more, an interval of 30 to 45 minutes should be allowed. (ii) Every officer should be encouraged to take leave once a year. "Sick at station" leave should be abolished.

A tiffin room should be provided where there are 25 to 50 employees, and as a rule, a canteen where they are more than 50 in number, and invariably when the staff exceeds 100. Nearby establishments may have a common canteen. Initial cost may be met by the Government or tiffin rooms may be run on a co-operative basis or departmentally, as found convenient.

A Welfare Officer should be appointed for the Police Forces in West Bengal and in Calcutta; he should be a civilian.

(i) Deputy Superintendents are not now entitled to medical facilities provided for other ranks. This anomaly should be removed. (ii) Medical facilities available to policemen should be extended to their families.

Every policeman should be entitled to retire on full pension and other retirement benefits after 30 years of qualifying service or after attaining the age of 55. If physically and mentally fit, he should normally be allowed to remain in service till he attains the age of 58.

The rates of rent allowances should be reconsidered and made commensurate with the difficulty experienced in securing accommodation.

### **CORRUPTION**

The following measures are recommended for combating corrup-

tion: (a) Supervising officers should pay surprise visits to subordinate offices. (b) Such officers should sometimes move about in plain clothes, especially in the busy areas in Calcutta and industrial areas. (c) Drastic action should be taken against corrupt policemen found guilty. (d) In the confidential character rolls there should be a column for honesty; when an adverse remark is made a warning should be conveyed to the officer concerned. (e) Informants should be assured of secrecy; if they are victimized stern action should be taken against those responsible; cases of victimization should go to the Anti-corruption Department; when a Government servant has been a minor accomplice it may be unnecessary to take action against him. (f) Honesty should be reckoned as the main criterion for promotion. (g) There should be systematic propaganda against yielding to illegal demands; people should be informed of the existence of the Anti-corruption Department. (h) A sealed complaint box should be kept in the office of the Public Relations Officer in each district to be opened by the District Magistrate; in Calcutta a similar box should be kept in the Public Relations Bureau, to be opened by the Commissioner of Police. (i) In certain cases it would be necessary to lay traps for a corrupt officer. (j) The annual declaration about property should be closely scrutinized. (k) There should be an Anti-corruption Committee in each department and in each district, which should not include non-officials.

Camp supplies are the most common form of corruption. Directives should be issued to check this evil. Wherever possible touring officers should carry their own supplies or make their own purchases. Stringent action should be taken against officers who accept supplies in a corrupt manner. Officers having a

bad reputation in this respect should be transferred to non-touring posts or watched, or even warned.

The rates of daily allowance should be adequately raised.

Wilful delays enabling corruption to be practised should be checked by laying down time schedules, specifying the maximum time that can be taken at each stage. In some cases it would be an advantage to lay down that the cases should automatically pass to the next higher authority at the end of the prescribed time for disposal. There would be need for strict supervision in this respect.

Officers should be discouraged from attending lavish parties or inviting persons likely to take advantage of their contact. Marriage celebrations on an ostentation scale expose officers to undesirable comment.

The practice of taking files home by subordinate officers should be prohibited except with a responsible officers's permission.

When a corrupt officer is punished there should be an enquiry as to whether any superior officer ought to have been aware and if so whether there has been any connivance. If connivance is apparent, suitable action should be taken.

#### POLICE-PUBLIC RELATIONS

A police officer should be sufficiently detached in his relations with the public, as he is likely to be called upon to undertake unpleasant duties towards persons socially known to him. But participation with members of the public in sports and welfare activities is not a thing to be deprecated.

If it be found that a policeman has conducted himself in an overbearing manner to any persons, strict notice should be taken of such conduct.

It would be useful to have a Public Relations Officer at district

headquarters, functioning for the different departments, who can be approached by aggrieved persons. He should have the duty of giving information or advice regarding matters concerning the police administration.

Influence is sometimes exerted by highly placed persons. It would be worthwhile for a superior officer to send occasional bogus messages of this nature in order to observe the reactions of a subordinate officer. The Inspector-General, the Commissioner of Police and the Special Officer, Anti-Corruption Department, should maintain lists of officers found susceptible to such influences.

Police officers should be taught and instructed, from the very beginning, of their career that they must perform their duties as duties they owe to the people. Superintendents and Officers-in-charge of police-stations should set apart some time when members of the public can see them; such time should be made known to the public. District Magistrates and Superintendents should find time for periodically meeting important officers and non-officials of the district.

Information Bureau attached to the offices of the Inspector-General and the Commissioner of Police should send to the Press periodically information regarding police activities. Arrangements should be made for police officers giving talks to school children and youth organizations on rules of the road, safety-first measures, etc.

Complaints about misconduct and excesses should be most carefully investigated and the results (if the allegations be serious and true) published or at least communicated to the informant or complainant. If such allegation is unsubstantiated or found to be false the result should also be communicated to officer and the immediate superior of the officer concerned should also be informed.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*EXPENDITURE CONTROL : PROBLEMS AND EVALUATION;* By USHA DAR, Allahabad, Chaitanya, 1964, 143 p., Rs. 12.00.

Usha Dar's book on Expenditure Control is a welcome addition to the literature on Finance.

Though belonging to the old school, I am unable to appreciate the mathematical approach to the study of all economic and financial problems. I am sure this would be useful to those initiated.

The Chapter on Expenditure Control in India is particularly informative. I find, however, that Mrs. Dar has only touched upon the decentralization of authority and functions to administrative agencies and has not developed its importance in expenditure control. The divorce between administrative responsibility and financial authority is not only time consuming but it has inevitable impact on the cost of projects. It also retards the growth of a sense of responsibility and urgency in all administrative levels.

She rightly stresses the importance to "resource planning" and outlines the responsibility that has devolved upon the Planning Commission. She discusses the dichotomy between financial and real resources and makes the point that this might well develop in future into a conflict between the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry. Her recommendation that "the correct approach, from the point of view of administrative organisation,

to the problem of planning, budgeting and ministerial responsibility would be to merge the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission into one ministry having two co-ordinate wings" is not only worthwhile from the administrative angle but even otherwise; it would, for example, expedite the process of planning itself. It should also remove, if not resolve, the complaint of the Finance Commission that its constitutional functions are rendered largely academic by the role of the Planning Commission.

She has developed several valid arguments for reforming the compilation of the estimates and the allocation of resources. She advocates that the artificial distinction between plan and non-plan expenditure should be given up and wherever possible performance budgeting should replace the present orthodox system for allocating funds to the competing demands of the ministries. She also pleads for continuity in the membership of the financial committees of Parliament to make parliamentary control more effective.

The book as a whole lives up to its title as a study of the problems of Expenditure Control and of their evaluation.

A. K. CHANDA

*THE OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER;* By PHILIP LAUNDY, London, Cassell, 1964, 488, p. 75s.

After that very useful work in collaboration with Norman Wilding, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, it is in the fitness of things

that Philip Laundy has come out with another notable contribution to parliamentary literature. Although stray articles have appeared

on the subject off and on, *The Office of the Speaker* is probably the first ever systematic study of its dimension to be attempted of an institution which is central to the structure of parliamentary machinery and its orderly functioning. The office of Speaker, like any other typically British institution, is a product of long evolution. The merit of Laundry's work lies in that it presents a comprehensive and connected account of the institution, as it stands today and as it has grown through successive stages of development in the last six centuries.

The book, which is in three parts, follows a natural scheme. Part I is devoted to a description of the nature and functions of the office, in their various aspects, in the British House of Commons as at the present day: the ceremonial and dignity attached to the Speaker's office; the qualifications necessary for success therein; Speaker's role as the Commons' representative and as the guardian of their privileges; his responsibilities while in the Chair; his duties and powers imposed by usage, statute or standing orders; the convention relating to continuity of Speakership, etc. An interesting chapter here concerns the significance of the Mace.

Analysing the qualifications essential for a good Speaker, Laundry feels that, while even technicalities of parliamentary procedure can be learned from textbooks, "above all the Speaker must have a deep-seated reverence for the institution of Parliament, a sincere respect for its traditions derived from a deeper understanding of what lies behind the outward ceremony, and an unshakable faith in democratic government." To this he adds "the ability to identify oneself with the spirit of the House" which, he considers, "a Speaker must surely do since he and the House are

inseparable". This is saying a great deal, with which few will disagree.

In Part II we have a historical account of the development of the office, through successive Speakers, beginning right from Peter de Montfort who presided over "the Mad Parliament" in 1258 and coming down to our own times. The story of the emergence of the modern "impartial Speaker" from the early King's man is a long one, which has been interestingly told, and with much scholarship, in these pages.

No study of the office of Speaker in the modern day can be complete without reference to the extant variations of the institution in different countries. Part III of the book, which discusses the Speakership in India and other Commonwealth countries, USA and some European countries, must for this reason be regarded as of special value and read with particular interest. A political institution derives its significance from, and is largely related to, the surrounding facts of political life and its social *milieu*. It is, therefore, only natural that while the major attributes of the office of Speaker as at Westminster should have received general recognition, the institution should have undergone adaptations as may be dictated by conditions in individual countries. At an extreme end, of course, stands the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, who is a nominee of the majority party caucus and is charged with the responsibility of providing political leadership to the majority party in the lower House of the Congress. Even here, however, the impartiality and fairness of the Speaker as a presiding officer is well recognized.

Nearly 50 illustrations and an Appendix cataloguing the Speakers from the earliest times to the present day are additional notable features of this valuable book.

Philip Laundry deserves warmest congratulations and gratitude from students of parliamentary affairs and everyone connected with the working of parliamentary institutions in some way or the other for this

compendious praiseworthy work, which apart from its value as a work of ready reference, makes enjoyable reading.

S. L. SHAKDHER

*STATUS AND KINSHIP IN THE HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE;*  
By SYDNEY H. ARONSON, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964, xiii + 274, pp. \$5.95.

Inquisitive minds in developing democratic countries have often posed two significant questions. First, whether a common socio-economic origin of the political and permanent executive makes for a better and harmonious working between the two. Secondly, whether an acceptable balance has been evolved between merit and democratization in the services. As for the former, even such eminent authorities as Herman Finer and G.D.H. Cole seemed to think that it was not only important but imperative that there be a similarity in the social origin of the civil servants and the politicians. This apprehension was, however, belied by the experience in the United Kingdom when the Labour Party assumed power in 1945. Nevertheless, studies in this field were conducted as early as 1940 by Reinhard Bendix when he collected certain data about 248 out of 428 senior Federal administrators in the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> A few investigations of the social background of senior administrators were carried out in Germany also though not in the very recent past. The most recent investigations have been conducted by R.K. Kelsall<sup>2</sup> and by T. Bottomore.<sup>3</sup> Though Brian Chapman did not specifically collect similar data he did make a reference to the question of democratization in services in France.

A very significant addition to this type of literature has been made by the publication of the book under review, though it is somewhat limited in its scope of enquiry. The author analyses the appointments during the presidential tenures of Adams, Jefferson and Jackson and establishes that even in the implementation of the Spoils system the major consideration was merit. He begins with the premise that all the three Presidents paid tribute to merit as a criterion. But he concludes by showing that every one of them placed a different construction on the word and also had his own mental reservations. Broadly speaking, Adams proceeded on the assumption that talent should be the criterion for appointment but qualified it by assuming that learning was primarily the prerogative of money and property. His appointment ideology, therefore, desired that the common people had the ability to fill government office at any level and consequently sought talent primarily in aristocratic society.

Jefferson propounded the theory of egalitarianism substituting the aristocracy of wealth and family by "natural aristocracy of virtue and talents". On his own showing, his egalitarianism was tampered by the assumption that talents followed

<sup>1</sup> Higher Civil Service in American Society.

<sup>2</sup> Higher Civil Servant in Britain from 1870 to the Present Day.

<sup>3</sup> Higher Civil Servants in France.

only those who had the privilege of good college liberal education and that accounts for his comprehensive bill for "More general diffusion of knowledge", as a means to discover natural aristocracy.

Jackson believed that college education was not a condition precedent for appointment to higher offices; that "the road to office and preferment should be accessible alike to the rich and poor", but that superior moral qualities should have precedence over talents. In postulating equal competence to all, he anticipated that there would be no hindrance on the equality of opportunity.

For Adams it meant "an ordinary degree of erudition in liberal arts and science, in effect a college education" conceding in the same breath that "the gentleman (equated with natural aristocracy) will ordinarily be the richer and born of more noted families".

For Jefferson it meant a natural aristocracy of virtue and talents, so that the wisest, most honest and best qualified citizens administer the country; and for Jackson it meant qualities of head (intelligence) heart (honesty, integrity, loyalty and patriotism) with the moral qualities more important than intellectual. In the final analysis merit was willy-nilly equated with the social qualities of those in higher social positions; though Jackson, negatively speaking kept the door slightly ajar to the common man. Perhaps it would not be far too wrong to say that it was only the unfortunate assassination of President Garfield in 1881 that ultimately paved the way for the introduction of merit system in recruitment.

In the second place, the author's

analysis deals only with a limited number of posts which in modern parlance are termed political appointments. On top of it while paying lip service to merit, all the Presidents assumed that the elite positions were the monopoly of their party men only. In addition, Adams and Jefferson agreed that "the mass of people were unqualified for the management of affairs requiring intelligence above common level" (P. 8) though he was liberal enough to state that it would be ideal if he could "return with joy to that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to constitution?" (P. 13). Jackson in spite of his assertion that all applicants for Government positions would receive an impartial hearing, declared unequivocally that "party loyalty was a requirement for appointment" (P.19).

In spite of these implied limitations, it is interesting to record that the statistics, so meticulously and laboriously collected and compiled by the author point to the conclusion that the elite offices (restricted to the offices mentioned in Appendix B, *viz.*, posts in the Cabinet, Treasury Department, Territorial Government, Diplomatic Corps, land office, a few executive departments and Judicial Branch) were filled in by all the three Presidents by persons who had almost similar socio-economic educational backgrounds. Thus, for instance, as against 70 per cent of Adams' elite drawn from high ranking positions,<sup>4</sup> Jefferson selected 60 per cent (table 4). Practically no difference existed between Adams and Jefferson with regard to primary occupations of fathers<sup>5</sup> or social origins of elite

<sup>4</sup> Landed gentry, merchants, professionals.

<sup>5</sup> Table 5

	Adams	Jefferson	Jackson
High ranking	70%	60%	53%

numbers,<sup>6</sup> primary occupations of elite numbers (table 16) and finally educational achievements of elite numbers (table 31). It was only Jackson's elite which gave slightly lesser representation to high ranking class (16 per cent) as against 43 per cent of those drawn from the agriculturist class. Similarly he drew his elite from the high ranking class only to the extent of 53 per cent as compared to 60 per cent of Jefferson and 70 per cent of Adams and in the process, he gave a preponderance of 39 per cent to the middle ranking group (comprising of farmers, teachers, shop keepers) as against 25 per cent of Jefferson and 23 per cent of Adams. Similarly, Jackson drew the largest number of elites (25 per cent from class II comprising of prosperous rather than rich groups) as compared to 15 per cent and 19 per cent respectively of Jefferson and Adams. In spite of the charge of Von Holst that the Jacksonian office-holder was "One of the three characters, viz., an adventurer, an incompetent person or a scoundrel" and further that "the American people were being led by an ever-increasing crowd of politicians of high and low degree, down even to the pot-house politician and the common thief", the fact is that Jackson unconsciously fell back on the very criteria his predecessors used, namely, education, family reputation, previous position and political leadership and eminence. It must, however, be said in fairness to Jackson that his elite was somewhat more representative of the then American population and that he started a trend towards a more representative elite.

It might be interesting to recall that the three Presidents seemed to act in two other similar ways. All

of them drew the largest number of elites from amongst the English and the Scots (table 28). Similarly, in terms of kinship while Jefferson's elite accounted for 86 per cent of family relationship involving primary, secondary or tertiary kin, that of Adams accounted for 82. Jackson, however, recorded a slightly lower figure of 68 per cent.

Perhaps the most interesting statistics from our point of view relate to the social status characteristics of territorial officers (table 41) Sub-Departmental Heads (table 42) and hold-overs from previous elites (table 45). Thus, for instance, fathers of elites who came from high ranking occupations, Adams accounted for 68 per cent against 40 per cent and 46 per cent respectively of Jefferson and Jackson. Elites born of middle ranking parents marked 21 per cent, 50 per cent and 39 per cent in the case of Adams, Jefferson and Jackson respectively. Similarly, Class I social origins accounted for the largest percentage in the case of all the three Presidents though Jackson did take in a large number (38 per cent) from Class III and below, meaning thereby that he was in a way encouraging the entry of common man. In all these cases, and particularly in the case of Adams and Jefferson, the charge of inbreeding could easily be levelled but it may be pointed out that in the United Kingdom also, a survey conducted by the Civil Service Commission in 1957 revealed that 60 per cent of officers recruited to the Administrative/executive class came from the families of such civil servants. In a similar survey conducted by Dr. Rao and myself we found the average percentage of inbreeding in this country in the higher civil service to

<sup>6</sup>Table 9

Class I  
Class II

62%  
19%

58%  
15%

51%  
25%

be of the order of 44.5 per cent.<sup>7</sup> In a yet another survey conducted by us relating to the Indian Civil Service we had found that the percentage of inbreeding was as high as 51.2 per cent. Similarly, 75.6 per cent of ICS officers as compared to 32.9 per cent of IAS direct recruits were drawn from groups with higher economic status although it was found that during the last few years the number of direct recruits has largely been drawn from the middle income group (58.2%)<sup>8</sup>. Perhaps this comparison is not quite appropriate because the territorial officers and others mentioned above in the United States were not recruited through any system of competition. Besides, the figures collected by the author are over a century old. Maybe, if a survey in the United States of the personnel drawn through the merit system is made now, it may have a fair resemblance to what obtains in this country or for that matter in U.K. or France.

Jackson set the ball in motion and even though he failed to prove equality of opportunity, he at least drew the direction in which his successors should proceed. This was the first step towards democratization and may be, it was inevitable in the context of growing consciousness and power of the common man. This was and is discernible in all developing democratic countries including our own during the last 18 years of independence.

Before concluding it might be interesting to refer to a couple of

other points high-lighted by the author in table 38 relating to social and educational background of cabinet members, particularly the high percentage of those drawn from high ranking classes<sup>9</sup>. For want of any such survey in this country, it is impossible to make any comparisons. Perhaps it might be worthwhile carrying out such an investigation.

It would be logical to accept that a survey of present trends in America would positively point towards greater democratization as these are by their very nature inevitable and irresistible in a progressive democratic society. Values have to keep on changing to keep pace with the demands and aspirations of the common man. While recognizing merit as the basis for recruitment, and making allowance for the fact that a democratic society expects the services to be a fair representative of the society itself, it has to be ensured that democratization does not impair public efficiency.

The book is the result of a long and painstaking research. Facts and figures have been marshalled with consummate skill and there is no doubt that the book is not merely an excellent addition to the growing literature on personnel recruitment but is also an index to show how developing societies have at different stages to change their appointment ideologies with a view to effecting a compromise between merit and democratization.

R. K. TRIVEDI

<sup>7</sup> Journal of National Academy of Administration, Vol. V, No. 3, *Regular Recruits to the IAS—a Study*.

<sup>8</sup> Journal of the National Academy of Administration, Vol. VI, No. 3, *Higher Civil Service in India*.

	Adams	Jefferson	Jackson
High ranking origins	93	50	70
Origins in social class I	93	80	60
Origins in social class II	7	10	30

*OPERATIONAL RESEARCH IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT*; By R. A. WARD, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1964, 12s. 6d.

It is heartening to read an account, even though a brief one, by an eminent O.R. practitioner of recent efforts made to extend the scope of operations research to yet another area *viz.*, that of Local Government in Great Britain. This is a sign of the growing awareness on the part of administrators the world over that one cannot simply shirk the responsibility of modernizing management and administration, if complex problems facing them are to be solved in a satisfactory way. The local authorities in Great Britain though already familiar with O & M, work study and other management techniques had not essayed till 1959 the techniques of operations research. In that year the Institute of Public Administration mooted the idea that the local authorities might also employ O.R. techniques already widely in use in private as well as nationalized industries. The reason why the suggestion was made lay in the fact that operations research is directed specifically to the solution of complex problems which often amount to eating one's cake and having it too. In other words, their solution requires a neatly balanced compromise between conflicting requirements of the different branches of an organization. Take, for example, the question of formulating a buying policy for its stores department. Here the objective of the stores officer is to give reliable service to the customer department, of the accountant to keep stocks down and of the client department to get good value for its money. Since these aims are often in conflict the study of the stock buying decisions has to be directed to the broader purpose of seeking the lowest possible overall cost to the organization as a whole. Likewise, the problem of invoice check-

ing dealt with in Chapter III of the book under review seeks to secure the best balance between two conflicting considerations; low clerical cost and low losses through complete checking.

In exploring the scope of the application of operational research techniques to such problems for local authorities like buying policy and stock control, checking of invoices, control of depot operations, refuse collection and disposal, transport of school children, etc., the attempt is not to employ ready-made off-the-shelf O.R. techniques. The idea is rather to make preliminary explorations designed to solve the specific problems of local authorities. Thus in tackling the problem of refuse collection and disposal, the study described is not a straight application of some standard technique like linear programming. It aims instead at reducing the slack built in the systems to the smallest possible extent while continuing to maintain a satisfactory standard of service. The fundamental difficulty in solving such a problem lies in the complexity of the service with the result that as soon as any innovation is considered no matter how small in itself, a whole chain of inter-related feedback effects spring into play. The study described in the book explores the consequences of various kinds of innovations by simulation. Although at the time of writing the study was reported to be still incomplete, it did provide a basis for conducting experiments. One such experiment which is planned for Coventry relates to the round sizes with a view to demonstrating how allocation of men and equipment can be made more efficiently. After that it would be used to explore the probable effects

of two important changes which the Council had been considering for some time.

Similarly, in handling the problem of transport of school children from and to their homes to and from the schools, the relative merits of various systems such as public transport (the cost being borne by the authority) by private buses or coaches hired for the purpose, or authority-owned vehicles is sought to be assessed by various mathematical techniques like multiple regression analysis. Unfortunately the analysis was not found to be very illuminating and reasons for the discrepancies between high and low prices charged by the different contractors could not be fully identified. However, the very act of consolidating the vast amount of informa-

tion systematically collected during the course of the study did yield as a by-product some marginal gains in that it proved possible to secure a reduction of total mileage run of approximately 5 per cent together with reductions in the seats by about 2 per cent and yet meet the requirements in full as before. The study illustrates the old adage that in management and administrative set-ups knowledge, that is, organized information, is power.

All and all, the book is a useful addition to current literature on the subject showing the great versatility of O.R. techniques in handling yet another genre of management problems in a new field—that of local government.

JAGJIT SINGH

*THE INDIAN UNIVERSITY*; By ROBERT L. GAUDINO, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1965, 268 p., Rs. 20.

This is an empirical study of Indian Universities, covering such of their aspects as organization, relations with Government, internal administration, teacher and student, medium and general education. It contains useful information on the general pattern of university bodies and admitted colleges, on the nature and extent of their autonomy, on the office of the vice-chancellor and his multi-dimensional relations, on the duties and powers of the U.G.C., on planned development and central control over education, and on the intellectual fitness of teacher and his behaviour. Dr. Gaudino has in this work presented his personal observations regarding the existing state of higher education in India, and in doing so he has been able fairly to impress his readers by the clarity and simplicity of his unsophisticated and unorthodox style. It is an addition to two of the recent publica-

tions on the subject, namely *Indian Universities* by Dr. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar and *The Dynamic University* by Dr. Zakir Hussain.

It however resembles a traveller's account, interesting and informative, but peripheral and opinionated. It makes a number of sweeping generalizations which a knowledge of some background history might otherwise have enabled the writer to avoid. Some of these generalizations, for example, are that 'Indians are not prone to radical thought' though 'capable of spasmodic and unreasoned radical action'; that 'justice is more often associated with the prerogatives of primary groups than with the rights of the individual'; that 'the educated Indian is not so much individual as personal'; that 'higher education in India is less purposeful innovation than casual change'; that there is no 'decline in

standards, because standards did not exist'; that 'protected from active scholarship and originality of thought, (the university teacher) passes the years among amiable friends and a loving but importunate family' and, that in India 'he is chary, shy of involvement in public controversy'.

If Dr. Gaudino had taken a little care to glance at the enormous bulk of historical materials that exist in the form of both manuscripts and published documents, he might have discovered that the development of university education in India was not without well-defined objects. It had a standard which even the British Civil Service Commissioners had to recognize in view of the superior attainments of the young Indian University graduates who in spite of serious handicaps successfully competed at the civil service examinations held in England. The university and college teachers were not shy of involvement. They were among the first to participate in political controversies. They included men like Gokhale and Tilak who started their life as members of the Deccan Education Society and served on the staff of the Fergusson College before they took to politics. It was the educated Indians who as a class advocated the cause of India's political freedom and economic development, a movement first started in an organized way by Surendranath Banerjea, a teacher of one of the admitted colleges at Calcutta. Several other examples may similarly be quoted. The Reports of the Local Governments on the working of the Reformed Constitution (1923-27) in fact complained against the excessive involvement of teachers in matters which did not concern them directly.

It is true that in the absence of an economic revolution in India

individuals remained tagged on to status groups forming Indian society. But so was the individual in Europe before the advent of the Industrial Revolution. The surprise is that in spite of economic backwardness Indian scholars had in the past produced works known at once for their keenness of perception, originality of thought and profundity of depth. These qualities of Indian scholarship were peculiar not only to the study of philosophy but also applied to poetry and literature, early science and mathematics. Radicalism in thought was doubtless restricted to a small class of intellectuals. But it was they who in spite of Brahmanic rigidity established from time to time different schools of philosophy in the course of India's long history. The movements of Ajivikas, of Buddhism and of a number of other protestant and schismatic religions were evidence of a continuous flow of radicalism in religious and philosophical thinking. The defect was that in the absence of a national system of education and economic progress it was limited to a microscopic minority of the population. Democracy has in the present century widened its scope. But since the opportunity for higher education still for economic reasons remains narrow and uneven, the traditional status groups continue to dominate, though not to the same extent as before.

These comments should by no means be construed to militate against the merit of the work Dr. Gaudino has produced. Though lacking in depth, some of his findings are on the whole honest. His opinion that 'fundamental to all indiscipline is the failure of the academic task', though partial, is difficult to question, and his comment that 'no one arranges his day by appointments' goes without saying. It is sad that the book has no index. The second

chapter is on 'University Organisation', while the contents give 'University Education'. A good

publisher would have done better.

B. B. MISRA

*EDUCATION, MANPOWER AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: Strategies of Human Resource Development*; By FREDERICK HARBISON and CHARLES A. MYERS, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964, xiii + 229 p.

A good deal of discussion has been taking place over the last few years on the role of the human resources factor, more particularly trained manpower, in economic development. This discussion has ranged over a wide area from the economics of education and educational planning to techniques of employment and manpower forecasting and even preparing blue-prints of human resource strategies for several countries. A large number of international agencies like the ILO, UNESCO, OCED, as well as the Governments of developing as well as advanced countries have contributed to this discussion. However, a global analysis of human resource development in both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the kind presented in the book "Education, Manpower and Economic Growth" by Professors Harbison and Myers constitutes a fundamental advance in the approach to the problem of economic growth by assigning a central role to human resources. In the opening sentences of the foreword, this approach is postulated thus: "The building of modern nations depends upon the development of people and the organization of human activity. Capital, natural resources, foreign aid, and international trade, of course, play important roles in economic growth, but none is more important than manpower... All studies of development recognize the importance of the human factor; our focus is upon human resources as the point of departure."

The book is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter "Con-

cepts of Human Resource Development" summarises the main trends of investigation relating to the contribution of education to economic growth. This, however, represents only one aspect of education. The process of economic and social development does not consist of maximization of goods and services alone, nor can a consideration of the role of education be confined to its relationship with economic growth. Though the authors have discussed this briefly in the concluding part of the first chapter, it has not been elaborated sufficiently in succeeding chapters.

In Chapter 2, major manpower problems have been divided into two broad categories: (1) those related to shortages of "high-level" manpower with critical skills and competence, and (2) those related to redundant or underutilized manpower, and a number of questions are posed. What are the available choices in formal education? What measures can be taken to create a closer and more productive relationship between educational institutions and employing institutions? Is the wage and salary structure in public institutions and private enterprise properly designed to encourage the generation and effective utilization of scarce skills; and if it is not, what measures, if any, may the policy planner recommend to change it? To what extent is surplus manpower related to population growth, to rural-urban migration, to the limited employment capacity of modern industry, to imbalance in the system of formal education or to lack of proper incentives? These are vital questions which

human-resource-strategists in all countries have to face. However, the subsequent analysis in Chapters 4-7 is largely confined to educational strategy only.

In Chapter 3, the authors, have discussed the nature and limitations of nine principal indicators of human resource development and have ultimately selected two of these for grading seventy-five countries into four levels. The "composite index" is simply the arithmetic total of (1) enrolment at second level of education as a percentage of the age-group 15 to 19, adjusted for length of schooling and (2) enrolment at the third level of education as a percentage of the age-group, multiplied by a weight of 5. A mass of useful data is presented in Tables 5-8 to facilitate a closer examination of the level of human resource development in all these countries. There are several limitations inherent in a global analysis of this kind. There is no doubt that the seventy-five countries represent a fair cross-section of levels of development all over the world. The indicators, are however, heavily weighed in favour of educational development. Except two, *viz.*, Engineers and Scientists per 10,000 population and Physicians and Dentists per 10,000 population, the rest of the factors are only educational indices and more truly represent the level of educational development. The composite index is also only on educational index. As the authors have themselves observed earlier, the concept of human resource development is very much wider than educational development. A high level of educational achievement may not, therefore, correctly reflect the level of human resource development in any country. For instance the index does not bring out the problems of utilization of human resources, maladjustments between the products of the educational system and the

social and economic requirements etc. It can even be argued that in spite of a high level of educational achievement, the level of human resource development in a country may be quite low due to a variety of factors bearing a utilization. Some evidence of this is already available in the country studies presented by the authors in a companion volume.

Chapters 4-7 contain a detailed description of the characteristics of countries in levels I to IV and a discussion of some major issues in the strategy of human resource development of these countries. India has been placed among semi-advanced, level III countries, with a composite index of 35, in a range of 33.0-73.8. It may be worthwhile looking into level III and the Indian situation a little more carefully. A closer examination of Table 7 would show that with reference to most other indicators, India can be better placed in level II. Among level III countries, India ranks third by composite index but has the lowest per capita GNP, third highest percent population in agriculture, the lowest stock of teachers, engineers and scientists, physicians and dentists per 10,000 population, the lowest enrolment ratios in 1st, 2nd and 3rd level education and the fourth lowest expenditure on education expressed as per cent of national income. Seen in the background of international data, this state of educational development is simply appalling. The level of human resource development can, however, hardly be deciphered from this data. The extent of illiteracy educated unemployment, overall underutilization of skills, high percentage of unemployment and under-employment in the labour force are not reflected in the educational indices.

Four principal imperatives and pressures have been identified for

level III countries. These briefly are: (1) Need to develop their own research and technical capacity and application of modern research methods to the improvement of agriculture. (2) Dilemma posed by population pressure raising alternative choices of increasing economic efficiency, reducing dependence on foreign exchange, maximizing employment, or reducing birth rate or a combination of these. (3) Political and social pressure for consolidation of universal primary education and provision of secondary education as a matter of right. (4) Pressure for expansion of higher education; whether there should be selected expansion in science and technology or in faculties where per capita cost is low?

Arising out of these factors the authors have indicated certain broad directions for policy guidance which are very relevant for educational planning in the Indian situation. They have given top-priority to re-orientation of higher education (a) with reference to manpower requirements, and (b) with increasing emphasis on quality. To quote "political pressures for more places in higher education may force unwise expansion, and it will take political courage to resist them. The worst mistake is to take the easiest path: to expand all fields, faculties, and Universities in equal proportions. This may be politically attractive, but it is disastrous for strategic human resource development". In regard to population pressure and unemployment, the need for more specific planning has been urged by the authors. An investment in spreading methods of birth control has been advocated to be the most important step to relieve eventually the pressure of unemployment as well as for expansion of educational system. The problem in Asian countries, specially in India, is, however, much more complex. Although a large programme of Family Planning is envisaged

in the Fourth Five Year Plan, several bottlenecks have to be overcome before substantial results can be expected. A large illiterate rural population is to be reached. There are problems of communication and education, of extension of facilities, of reliability and simplicity of methods advocated, and above all, of the basic changes in social attitudes and behaviour. Implicit in any central planning for limitation of families is also the assumption that individuals will perceive their roles in the framework of national objectives and respond in accordance with anticipated patterns. What does reduction in population growth or family size mean to those members of the population who are to bring about this reduction? There has been very little systematic study or experience which can be of use in coming to a conclusion. In many Asian countries, employment promotion has received much emphasis in the context of development but as yet no massive efforts have been made either on the programmatic or on the organizational aspect. There is growing recognition that in developing countries facing a population pressure, the traditional way of looking at the unemployment problem as merely one of choice of techniques in the strategy of development is neither adequate nor operationally useful. In spite of the large-scale developmental effort in India over the last fifteen years, the magnitude of unemployment has steadily increased and is now reckoned to be of the order of 12 million. The extent of underemployment may be of the order of 50 million. These immediate problems are a veritable drag on the slow process of development and have to be tackled specifically on a bolder note. Perhaps the "transitional sector" approach which has been recently advocated may provide a more fruitful line of action.

Other elements in the strategy of human resource development for level III countries are improvement in quality of secondary education with more emphasis on science and mathematics, increasing responsibility for vocational training of employing institutions, closer coordination between educational and employing institutions in the field of vocational and technical education, qualitative improvements in elementary education, deliberate and planned changes in the prestige and other incentives for scarce high-level manpower, more specially teachers, agricultural and allied workers etc.

In Chapter 8, the authors have discussed the various choices in the strategy and human resource development and their consequences—a succinct and able summing up of the discussion in chapters 4-7. Chapter 9 is devoted to the methodology of setting up human resource targets—methods of forecasting manpower requirements and principles for determining targets, difficulties in establishing correspondence between occupations and educational preparations, need for intercountry comparisons etc. They have concluded that the target-setting concept is more appropriate for making long-term manpower estimates and since most nations tend to formulate their goals for development by making comparisons with other countries, comparative analysis constitutes the “core of the methodology” for setting human resource targets. Both these conclusions can be successfully challenged. In actual practice, methods for influencing the course of human resource development can neither be confined to projections or forecasts nor to indication of targets to be achieved. In most developing countries plans are hardly ever appraised in terms of manpower feasibility. Generally manpower demands are derived from the overall targets of

development set by planners and economists without reference to the availability of manpower resources. The course of educational development is influenced to a certain extent by manpower consideration but here also other considerations often outweigh the manpower approach. In this context, target-setting approach for educational development would not be realistic in a majority of developing countries and it may more often be preferable to attempt a manpower projection indicating clearly its limitation and underlying assumptions. The use of international comparisons in developmental planning or manpower planning can similarly be used only for indicating the direction of change. Despite the apparent identity of problems, the social, political and economic situations differ so significantly from country to country that the role of international comparisons in the planning process is extremely limited. Planning must necessarily be in response to specific situations and circumstances.

Chapter 10 is one of the most thought-provoking in the book. This deals with the problem of organization for human resource development and integration of human resource planning with overall development planning. The authors have very clearly brought out that in both short and long-range programming, manpower planning must be an integral part. They have also shown that analysis of alternative policies with reference to different planning periods facilitates the linking of human resource and other development projects and provides a more systematic method for determining priorities. But in purely operational terms what does all this amount to? Planning experience in a number of countries has shown scant regard for human resources factor. Even in the memorandum for India's Fourth Five Year

Plan, manpower considerations are conspicuous for their absence. In the only long-term exercise for India, 'Notes on Perspective of Development: 1961-1976' human resource factors appear as derived from pre-determined programmes of development. The fact is that for most countries, human resource planning has not yet descended from esoteric and conceptual planes to more earthy operational levels. In order that this descent be hastened and human resource planning be operationally integrated with overall developmental planning, there appear to be two vital prerequisites: (1) an effective machinery for coordination of human resource development, and (2) development within the country of a cadre of manpower analysts and strategists (not narrow specialists or experts) who can comprehend the overall objectives and priorities of national development and within them perceive the true role of the human resource factor. Operational integration of manpower planning with overall developmental planning would also involve the following: (1) Participation in determining plan targets with regard to magnitude, distribution and timing of employment, (2) assistance in determining the manpower feasibility of overall plans in terms of skills, numbers, location and timing, (3) Assessment of the requirements of manpower for implementation of programmes and appraisal of the supply system including education and training institutions, efficient utilization of available manpower and suitable structuring of social and economic incentives, and (4) Review of manpower position every year in relation to the progress of plan implementation so as to make adjustments in the manpower strategy in the light of the developmental situation or to recommend alterations in the developmental strategy in the light of the manpower situation.

Ideally, a high-level manpower organization should have the following responsibilities: (1) Determination of priorities in the strategy of manpower development and the continuing reassessment of priorities in the light of developments; (2) Periodic manpower analyses of major problems at the national or regional levels; (3) Promotion and stimulation of manpower planning and related activities on the part of Ministries, State Governments and other employers, and the coordination of such activities; (4) Integration of manpower strategy with other components of national development programmes; (5) Periodic evaluation and review of all activities bearing on manpower development and utilization; (6) Coordination of technical assistance programmes involving manpower development and utilization; and (7) Formulation of manpower policies and programmes for the effective utilization of the nation's human resources. In practice, however, there is hardly any country in the world where this organizational development has been reached. In a recent study of manpower organization in developing countries (which is presently being completed), it was found that the nature, constitution as well as level of competence and effectiveness of these organizations differed very widely. The causes of their failure could, however, be largely attributed to: (a) inadequate character of responsibilities, (b) organizational ineffectiveness, and (c) absence of high-level support. The extent to which these basic deficiencies are removed in coming years would be a measure of international efforts at promoting a more meaningful discussion of human resource strategy.

Notwithstanding the comments on the various aspects of the book, there is little doubt that it is a monumental effort, the result of thorough and painstaking study and analysis

over a number of years. The book is aimed at policy-level personnel and throughout, the discussion is policy-oriented. It is bound to lead to a great deal of re-examination of the priorities, alternative choices, and strategies of educational development.

Only such a process can bring about a greater understanding of human resource problems and a more informed and fruitful discussion of the role of human resources factor in economic and social development.

R. K. SRIVASTAVA

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## BOOK NOTES

*STATISTICS FOR IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN INDIA*; Ranchi Hindustan Steel Limited, 1964, ix, p. 137.

This is a valuable, comprehensive directory of statistics concerning capacity, production and demand of different components of iron and steel industry in India and of selected corresponding statistics about other countries of the world. It also includes some basic data concerning plant, consumption, production, demand and reserves of major raw materials, labour force and earnings, prices, and capital structure and profit and loss account of main producers of iron and steel in India and abroad. The compilation of all this statistical material from several sources at one place meets a long-felt need. The arrangement of the statistics included, however, does not follow a well ordered scheme.

Part Two of the book contains some carefully selected general data about the national economy; and Part Three, information about producers of iron and steel in the country as well as research and development organizations for the industry. Copies are available for sale with HSL Head Office at Rs. 13.00 each.

*GUIDE TO PROJECT MANAGEMENT—Programme Evaluation and Review Technique*; New Delhi, Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission, 1964, p.43.

The brochure, the draft of which is tentative seeks to introduce the reader to the Programme Evaluation Review Technique (PERT) of

net-work analysis which has been developed in recent years as an aid to management in planning, programming and controlling projects. PERT also helps in reducing time and costs as well as in identifying problems in advance. The attempt is to explain, as simply as possible and in some detail with illustrations, the basic PERT concepts and techniques like net-work, critical path, expected time, float, slack, slip scheduling, monitor report, etc. Their treatment, however, does not go far enough to make them fully intelligible to the ordinary student or practitioner of administration. This inadequacy seems to arise from the PERT philosophy of reporting, i.e., "Unwarranted translation into forms other than those customarily used for such activities as critical and slack-path analyses, on the grounds that the latter would not be understood by management should be thoroughly questioned. The reports may be intelligible to all management levels after brief explanation" (p.5). The illustrations given are in the nature of general explanations. The inclusion of a detailed case study indicating how this valuable technique has been or could be applied to a specific development project would have greatly enhanced the usefulness of the publication for selling the idea.

*TRAINING CENTRES FOR ADMINISTRATION STAFF IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES—Report on an International Conference*; German Foundation for Developing Countries, 1964, p.112.

The Report contains the text of the speeches of discussion leaders and summary record of proceedings

of an international conference organized in Berlin in November, 1963 by Public Administration Promotion Centre of German Foundation for Developing Countries. The subjects covered include the experience of UN Institutes, Great Britain, and United States in the training administration staff for developing countries, selection and training of such staff at national centres in Africa and Asia and their training in industrialized states of the West. The discussions reveal that some progress has been made in orienting training programmes for administrative personnel under various technical assistance schemes in terms of national developmental needs but for a large part the problem is still to be resolved.

**GETTING AND KEEPING GOOD KEY PERSONNEL**—Supplement to "MANAGEMENT IDEAS", December 10, 1964, Bombay, MMC School of Management.

"Management Ideas", a four page monthly edited "for the busy Top Management" brings out an annual supplement on a subject of topical interest. **GETTING AND KEEPING GOOD KEY PERSONNEL** is the theme chosen for 1964. The supplement has been divided into three parts. The first part details : (1) Steps companies are taking to get and keep good managers. (2) What managerial personnel look for? (3) What they told us? and (4)

Managerial incentives and fringe benefits. This section is based on a fairly comprehensive survey made in the country among leading organizations and hundred of technical and managerial personnel as also on the experience of a pioneering firm of selection consultants. The part also carries a novel suggestion "A 'UPSC' for Private Sector". The second part contains significant extracts from articles published in U.S.A. and U.K. on this universal problem of Selection and Retention of Managers. One such extract is from the IIPA publication "Flight of Technical Personnel in Public Undertakings". The third part is a bibliography on the subject, particularly useful for the specialist.

The material has been presented in such a way that the busy top Management can get a quick idea of the avoidable and unavoidable factors in this vital job. In view of the strategic nature of this human resource even one idea accepted and acted upon would yield the organization perceptible benefits.

The supplement is priced at Rs. 69/- (to subscribers of Management Ideas this is free) which seems to be on the higher side but the general theme of the publication is: **WHAT IS AN IDEA WORTH?** We confess that even a single idea put to work would yield much more than the cost to any organization. We commend this to every Chief Executive.

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### PLANNING, THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY\*

A. N. Jha

THE SUBJECT I have chosen for my talk today is Planning, the Federal Principle and Parliamentary Democracy. I chose this topic deliberately because there is a certain amount of written matter on it, reality is very different from appearance; and, I have had the good fortune to see the changes as they have come about. Many of you may have read the little pamphlet called "*Union-States Relations in India*" by Shri K. Santhanam. This is a reprint of the lectures delivered by him at this Institute. If even after my talk your interest in the subject survives, I recommend that you look through this pamphlet. It will give you material for a good academic discussion of the subject.

Today, we are used to a certain method of work both in Delhi and in the State capitals, but that particular relationship is not what was envisaged by the early workers for India's freedom or by the British Government of the day. In the early days, even as late as 1905, there was a reference to various Indian nationalities having independence under one flag. The other day, I came across a passage written by the great Ranade, the well-known philosopher and worker for India's freedom, in which he talked of the iniquities of the British rule and in which he looked forward to the day when there would be one great central government with a lot of nationalities. He used the word "nationalities".

Then again, all Congress Resolutions have laid emphasis on States and the federation. The federation idea has been very much in the field for a very long time. The Simon Commission talked of a federation and then the Government of India Act of 1935 talked of provincial autonomy; doubtless under the control of a British Governor or a Governor controlled from Whitehall, and with a good deal of separation of State powers and those of the Centre.

\* Text of a talk delivered at the Institute's School on April 21, 1965.

You will remember what happened in 1935 when great hope was entertained about the Indian States coming in. The argument at that time was that India could not get a responsible self-government because of the existence of these numerous princely States. The Act of 1935 left certain subjects to the provinces but if the Indian States were to come in, the subjects left for them were to be very much wider. Indeed, between 1935 and 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, spent most of his time trying to induce the Indian States to come in. Looking at those papers one is astonished how little foresight people had and how differently things shape out from what anybody can at any point of time imagine. The States were being told that they could come in provided they agreed to cede to the Centre, the Foreign Relations, Defence and Communications; and it is wonderful what interminable arguments went on between the Rulers or their Diwans and the envoys sent by the Viceroy to negotiate these matters. If one Maharaja agreed to, shall we say, the road running through his territory coming to the Centre, another would say, "Ah, yes, you may have the road, but I shall have the right to repair it," and so forth, and that kind of argument went on and on. The point which I am driving at is that what held the field then was the picture of a federation in which the Central authority would mainly run to three subjects—Defence, Communications and Foreign Relations.

Then came the War which reversed the trend. In a war you have to mobilize all your resources and there is not much room for thinking of provincial claims and provincial considerations. Take the case of food. In 1942, I remember—I have very vivid memories of the Conference which the Commerce Minister of the day held with the Ministers from States and representatives of States over prices of foodgrains. The Punjab, which at that time had a surplus of foodgrains, wanted, so to speak, to treat the surplus wheat it had as if it were its own property to be sold, at prices acceptable to itself, to other States. The Conference broke up because no agreement could be reached over the prices at which foodgrains would be supplied by one State to another. Then came the Bengal Famine in 1943 and, as if by magic, all these differences and rival claims disappeared and all the provinces in India agreed to a unified food policy.

Now food was very much a provincial subject. There was no constitutional basis for demanding from Punjab that it should part with its wheat in a particular way or that it should deprive its own citizens of wheat so that the people elsewhere could be fed. And, there was no legislation for that sort of thing. But, it was not on legislation that the food administration of the day after the

Bengal Famine depended, it was on common consent. People agreed that all the surpluses in various parts of India were poolable and were to be distributed according to need—the need to be judged by the Central Government, to various parts of India.

This is one instance, but there were innumerable others which led towards the strengthening of the unitary as opposed to the federal idea.

You will also recollect that, assuming that the British were acting in good faith, they faced the real difficulty of how to part with power while reconciling the claims of the two great communities—the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The remedy found for that by the Cabinet Mission in 1946 was a three-tier federation—groups of provinces, with a very weak centre with the very minimum of power. What would have happened if that scheme had gone through, I shudder to think! Imagine a centre with those very limited powers, with resources distributed all over the place being threatened with the dangers with which in this modern world every independent country is threatened. How India could have lasted in those circumstances even for 15 years, I do not know. Luckily for us, the Cabinet Plan was shelved and we started 1947 with those two contradictory tendencies very much present—one the inherited tendency towards federalism, namely, powers to be mainly with the States and the Centre to have Defence, Communications, this, that or the other, and the opposite tendency of the war time experience of the need for greater powers for the Centre.

Then came the Constitution of 1950. Ours is a written constitution, but, as I shall endeavour to show, merely reducing arrangements to paper does not matter very much. The compulsion of events might make you move in some quite opposite direction to the invention of the framers of a written constitution. At that time, there was at one extreme—some of you may remember—the view that India should not have States at all, that there should be unified administration with districts and Commissionerships and so on and all to be centrally governed. I think Prof. Subedar—one does not hear of him very much now—was the leading opponent of this view. His suggestion was not accepted, but the framers of the Constitution did depart a good deal from the earlier thinking regarding autonomous States. Our Constitution is not quite a federal Constitution in the sense in which one uses that term. It gives to the Centre very much wider powers than most federal constitutions do. There is the power of the President acting in an emergency. The President can suspend a State if it insists on making a mess of its finances. The President has the power to give directions. These and

the provision regarding the All-India Services, a common Election Commissioner, and Auditor-General, and many other features indicate that even at the time of Constitution making, there was a very distinct move towards giving the Centre greater powers than had been earlier considered necessary.

## II

Now this was in 1950. Then was set up something which, in my opinion, has had more to do with changing the shape of things than almost anything else. That was the acceptance of planning by the Government of India. A Planning Commission was set up with no legal sanction behind it. It is really an organ set up by the executive Government. Its functions are expressly defined as advisory, and yet, such has been the effect of nearly 15 years of Planning, all those provisions in the Constitution regarding division of money, Excise Duty and Jute Duty and so forth are now of hardly any significance at all. The amounts now at the disposal of the Centre for distribution to the States are so much greater than anything contemplated then, that the provisions regarding the division of, shall we say, the Jute Export Duty, appear to be very minor and rather out of place in the Constitution of our country. They are just no longer significant in the present context.

Things, of course, did not develop that fast. The First Plan was really a small Plan. It incorporated, by and large, the projects which already existed and it made comparatively small provisions for education, health, agriculture and the like, which you will notice are all State subjects. The Second Plan was very much bigger, and then came the device not merely of giving grants-in-aid, but of giving loans and money under Article 282 which altered the picture so completely that the stage has now been reached where if a State Government wishes to set up a large number of Basic Schools or Agricultural Colleges, Veterinary Colleges, Health Colleges or Medical Colleges—all matters obviously within the State field—it has somehow got to carry the Planning Commission with it. This is a far cry, indeed, from what the earlier fighters for freedom had thought of and indeed what the makers of even our Constitution intended. But, it has come about.

The reasons are various: the existence of the strong and influential political party ruling at the Centre and in most of the States; possibly even more important than that, the presence for many years after Independence of a national leader of supreme and universally accepted authority; partly technological necessity; partly the urgent need for finding answers to problems which

though falling within the State field were such that no Centre could have left them merely to the States—problems of unemployment; problems of development of backward areas; problems with which more than one State or even the entire country is concerned such as Land Reforms. One additional important reason why all this astonishing change has come about without rousing too many antagonisms is that the Planning Commission carries with it another important body of men—the National Development Council—a body, like the Commission, with no place in the Constitution but built on consent. It is this Council and the fact that the Commission alone, unlike individual Ministries at the Centre or individual State Governments, can take an overall view of the developmental needs in all important sectors for the country as a whole, that lend the Planning Commission its real strength.

These were, I think, among the basic reasons which have led to this change in the constitutional position. To these you might also add the natural tendency of Secretariat officers, like many of us, to assume that the man in the field does not know his job and that it is for us to do all the thinking for him. The Secretariats including that of the Planning Commission have tended to think out problems on their own on an All-India scale and have tended to assume that deviations from their way of thinking are acts of sacrilege. Our Prime Minister like Panditji before him is a great believer in leaving as many decisions to the States as possible. Most ministers also, I believe, subscribe to that doctrine. In practice, however, we Secretaries and our advisers insist on laying down the policy even for subjects that concern the States alone.

Now look at this instance. In Education, the Centre has laid down that there should be Basic Schools whether a State likes it or not. The State has to go in for such schools because otherwise the matching grant would not be there. Then take Community Development. The Central Ministry of Community Development lays down what salaries will be paid to the Village Level Worker and the Block Development Officer and how they will work along with other Extension Officers. That, one would think, would be a matter very much in the State field, but it is all regulated by Delhi. Take again Health and Medicine. I believe the Planning Commission now tells you how Ayurvedic teaching is to be organized, whether you have to give a man a knowledge of modern medicine after he has learnt Ayurveda, give him Ayurvedic knowledge after he has learnt the principles of modern medicine, or you have to give him the fundamentals of science and at the same time overlay it with the philosophy of Ayurveda. I believe all this is now laid down by the

Centre. The State can depart from it, of course, but then the temptation that there is money coming if you follow the pattern laid down will always be there.

All this astonishing change—greater and greater centralization in matters which were very much meant for the State field and where one would have thought the State Administrations would have put up a fight—has come about without rousing much antagonism mainly for the two big reasons among others, *viz.*, the existence of one political party and the existence of one great leader.

### III

Let us now deal in some detail with the character and role of the national planning agency and the impact of planning and the planning machinery on parliamentary democracy and on federalism.

The Constitution established a parliamentary type of executive in India both at the Centre and in the States. Accordingly, although the executive power is vested in the President at the Centre and the Governors in the States, it is actually exercised by a Council of Ministers drawn from the legislature and is responsible to it. The Constitution did not elaborate the structure or the method of functioning of the Council, which have, therefore, developed by conventions. Thus, at the Centre the executive power is not exercised by the Council of Ministers as a whole but by the Cabinet which is its core. The functioning of this inner core has itself been affected by its intimate relationship with the Planning Commission. Hence the question whether the planning machinery established by an executive resolution has affected the constitutional responsibility of the executive.

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, while examining the Planning Commission, criticized its composition and made the following recommendations:

While the Prime Minister's formal association was absolutely necessary during the formative stages and while he would still have to provide the guidance and assistance to the Planning Commission so as to facilitate the success of planning, it is a matter for consideration whether it is still necessary for him to retain a formal connection with the Planning Commission. Similarly, it would also have to be considered whether it is necessary to continue the formal association of the Finance Minister and other Ministers of the Central Government with the Commission. The association of Ministers is justified mainly on the ground that it facilitates close consultation and co-ordination with the Ministers. This can, however, be effected by the Minister

being invited to attend the meetings of the Commission when a subject with which he is concerned is discussed. The co-ordination with the Cabinet can also be maintained by a representative of the Commission attending the meeting of the Cabinet when a matter of interest to the Commission is considered. This practice is said to be followed even at present.

They also disapproved of the Cabinet Secretary being the Secretary to the Planning Commission which they thought was neither necessary for any high level contacts nor conducive to efficiency. (This of course has since been changed.)

Shri Asok Chanda, the former Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, regarded the Planning Commission as virtually the Economic Cabinet of the country and made the following comments on its position:

This undefined position of the Commission and its wide terms of reference have gradually led to its growth as the Economic Cabinet, not merely for the Union but also for the States. The policies of a welfare state embarked on a programme of planned development of her industrial strength and social services have necessarily an economic orientation. The Commission has seized upon this position and extended the scope of its activities to embrace the functions and responsibilities which must both traditionally and otherwise belong to the constituted government. This has been facilitated by the inclusion of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and two other Cabinet Ministers in the composition of the Commission, by giving the other official members the status of Ministers of Cabinet rank, and by the appointment of the Cabinet Secretary as the Secretary of the Commission. The *de facto* role of the Commission as the Economic Cabinet is further stressed by the attendance of its members at all meetings of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and also meetings of the Cabinet when economic questions come up for discussion. It would be only stating the obvious to say that the determination of policy and the objectives which it has to fulfil must necessarily be the primary function of the Cabinet accountable to Parliament. Equally, the unhampered execution of accepted plans and programmes must be the responsibility of the departments. These functions could hardly be shared with any other authority.

The position of pre-eminence accorded to the Planning Commission is inconsistent with the conception of a Cabinet form of government.

Hence he suggested that if the Commission were to be re-organized comprising experts of vision and experience, "it should place the commission in its proper relationship with the Cabinet and the Ministries; it should also make it more effective in fulfilling its assigned task".

In the same strain, while dealing with the effect of planning on Union-State relations, Shri K. Santhanam, the former Chairman of the Second Finance Commission, described the National Development Council as a "super Cabinet of the entire Indian Federation, a Cabinet functioning for the Government of India, and the Governments of all the States".

The constitution of the present planning machinery may be defended on the grounds that a statute might have made it more rigid, that a commission composed of experts totally detached from Government might have been an ineffective body, for it would have thought in a vacuum, that the present membership promotes mutual respect between the Government and the Commission and assures realistic planning, that the Ministers are members of the Commission in their personal capacity, that anyhow they are capable of acting and in fact do act in a dual role, and so forth.

Shri S. R. Sen also emphasizes that the main functions of the Planning Commission are advisory and co-ordinating rather than executive, and that in view of the constitutional, political and economic situation that obtains in India, "it is as well that the Planning Commission should rely more on consultation and agreement than on sanction". The necessary sanction operates through the constitutional framework; in other words, the responsibility is assumed by the Councils of Ministers at the Centre and in the States. Nor need it be forgotten that the plan is examined, discussed and approved by Parliament, and thereafter adopted again in the annual budgets with ample opportunities for debate and criticism. The Planning Commission's activities are also within the overall scrutiny of the Parliament and its various Committees.

Why were no provisions made in the Constitution or in a law regarding the establishment or functioning of the planning institutions. The question is not an easy one to answer. All that can be said is that the constitutional provisions relating to the Council of Ministers itself were also very meagre, and hence conventions had to grow regarding its composition and the manner of its functioning. The Constitution also does not mention anything regarding the base which determines the effective functioning of a

parliamentary democracy, namely, the political parties. Thus there was ample scope for the emergency of suitable conventions regarding the working of the Council of Ministers comprising a coalition of parties, and their relations with the constitutional head. Similarly, the conventional growth of institutions established under resolutions of the Cabinet would facilitate the formulation and implementation of effective plans and avoid the rigidity which would have necessarily arisen if the authority had been derived from a statute. The statute must remain strictly within the Constitution for else it could be declared unconstitutional. Moreover, under a statute it would not be as easy to modify the composition of the Planning Commission and its relations with the Ministers.

#### IV

The impact of planning on this Federal structure has taken place in the following forms:

- (1) Planning has been unified and is comprehensive, despite the Federal structure of the State. The plans deal not only with Central subjects but also with State subjects, such as agriculture, irrigation, land reform, community development, social welfare, and so forth. In fact, the outlay on State subjects has been approximately 70 per cent of the First Plan, 65 per cent of the Second Plan and is expected to be over 65 per cent in the Third Plan.
- (2) The responsibility for the formulation of the Five Year Plans has been given to the Planning Commission which, although it includes members of the Central Cabinet in its membership, has no members from the States. The States do not have any Planning Commissions of their own and their role in the formulation of plans, even in their own spheres, is subject to the targets set out by the Planning Commission and is subject to their general approval. This gives the Planning Commission and the Central Cabinet greater control over the formulation of policy in the State sphere than the Constitution warranted. Hence the establishment of the National Development Council in 1952. The National Development Council, which includes the Chief Ministers of the States in its membership, approves the plan, reviews its working, and recommends to the Centre and the States measures

for the achievement of the aims and targets set out in the plan. The Council is, however, neither a constitutional nor a statutory body. Again, the plans are discussed and approved by the Parliament, but not by the State Legislatures, although the bulk of the matters in the plan relate to the State subjects.

- (3) In the implementation of the plan in the State sphere, the autonomy of the State has been affected by the fact that the Five Year Plan has been broken up into annual plans in the interests of flexibility, more effective management, and necessary adjustment to changed situation, and the States have to approach the Planning Commission every November or December for the approval of their next year's plan. Since the States are dependent for about 70 per cent of their development expenditure on revenue account and almost the whole of it on capital account on the grants and loans from the Central Government, their functional autonomy is affected by their financial dependence. This enables the Central Government to sponsor policies or schemes on State subjects in addition to assisting State schemes, and with the financial carrot in hand, the Centre can affect the State autonomy in a way not warranted by Constitution. The system was criticized by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India and the Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament and by other critics, such as Santhanam, who expressed the opinion that the formulation procedures have superseded or bypassed federalism, whereas implementation procedures had at best converted the federation into a vertical one.

Planning has greatly affected Union-State relations by bringing about the evolution of overall or comprehensive policies of development, by the establishment of new institutions, such as the Planning Commission and the National Development Council, neither of which derive their authority from the Constitution or a statute, and by evolving the procedures of the formulation and implementation of the plans on State subjects. Nor is the plan prepared by the Commission laid before the State legislatures for their discussion and approval. The annual plans of the States have also to be approved by the Planning Commission; the States are dependent on the Centre for financial assistance which has affected State autonomy and developed Central supervision over the administration of State subjects; and so forth.

The impact of planning on federalism, however, need not be exaggerated. The other side to it may also be noted. It may be argued that comprehensive planning is desirable and justified for a rapid overall economic development on a uniform basis throughout the country, that this has been recognized and agreed to by the political leadership of the country both at the Centre and in the States, and that over the Planning Commission there is the National Development Council which safeguards the interests of the States. Nor need it be forgotten that the implementation of the State plans whether by legislation or by administrative action is still in the hands of the States. Indeed, this led Appleby to lament that the Centre was in fact only a large staff agency and that the States had far more money and personnel than in any other federation. Nor is the scope for varying the programmes by the States insignificant. Thus, for instance, there has been considerable variety in land reform legislation, whether in regard to the elimination of intermediaries, or tenancy reform, or the fixation of ceilings, or the consolidation of holdings. The organization of the Panchayati Raj institution also varies from State to State. Ultimately, the States have not been losers in the process. Left to their own resources the States would not be growing so rapidly. The jurisdiction of the States is still intact despite the fact that planning has grafted new institutions and procedures. The Centre-State relations in matters of finance and administration have been modified to keep to the constitutional position guaranteed to the States. Thus, the supporters of the Commission would observe, in the balance, the structure of the State, though affected by planning, basically remains federal.

## V

I have dealt with the effect of planning on the relationship between the Centre and the States. I have mentioned also some of the devices which have been adopted to mitigate the rigours of the changes which might have come about in the face of the Constitution, namely, the establishment of the National Development Council and continuous consultation between officials at the Centre and officials in the States, the constitution of working groups inclusive of both parties and devices of that kind. These have considerably eased the friction which might otherwise have arisen notwithstanding the existence of one party in power throughout the country or through most of the country.


But, it is not in the planning, *i.e.*, in the economic field alone that the relations have changed considerably. All of you know about a Conference which was held in Delhi in 1961 regarding National Integration. This Conference consisted of Chief Ministers, Central Ministers and leaders of various political parties in Parliament and Educationists and similar learned men. Among the suggestions

which this Conference approved were two or three which call for mention. I believe, they approved, or any way they acquiesced in, the recommendation made by the Chief Ministers two months earlier that there should be more All-India Services. This Conference also said that the business of textbook preparation should be centralized. The recommendation regarding the creation of more All-India Services was of course in line with the thinking of the Constitution makers, for our Constitution itself makes provision for such Services. But the suggestion that the preparation of textbooks should be taken over by the Centre would have shocked, I think, the people who passed the Constitution Act in 1950. But there it is. The compulsions of a situation, the need for maintaining the integrity of the country in the face of dangers which were not apparent in 1950, but which are very apparent now had led to a larger and larger measures and acceptance of Central interference within the State field. Not that the acceptance is very clear; we all seem to suffer from a bit of double mindedness anything affects the interests of our own State. The feeling of State rights is strong, but at the same time, we have the feeling that it is the duty of the Centre to put right things which are seriously wrong and which are important. This is the double-mindedness that I have referred to. If there is a grievance of any magnitude in any part of the country—the tendency still is, and it has not diminished in any way, to look to Delhi for redress. If there is a communal riot in Aligarh, a Minister from the Centre—a strange development indeed—promptly arrives on the scene. Law and order are very much a State responsibility, but I have not seen any criticism of Central Ministers descending on a State town in a situation of that kind, and the people seem to accept it as but right and proper that the Central Minister should be there. Probably, we have at the back of our minds the feeling that our safety and progress depend on a strong Centre willing to intervene; a strong and just Centre, a strong and representative Centre, while we are at the same time very conscious and jealous of State rights and privileges and whatever else goes with them.

The future lies in our being able to find a correct balance between centralized power and what I may call its decentralized use. The policy in ever-widening fields will have to be an All-India one and if it is to succeed, it will have to carry the consent of the State Governments and the State Legislatures and the people of the States. A policy which runs fiercely counter to the sentiments of any large group will be a policy which will not be carried out wherever you may chose to place the constitutional powers. At the same time the tendency for execution to be centralized will, in my judgment, have to be resisted unless the whole administration is to break down under its own weight.

We need decentralized execution, opportunity for initiative at various levels all over the country, and with all this, a definite recognition of the fact that, in this federation of ours, the Centre has the responsibility and should, therefore, have the power of seeding to things which matter.

Looking back over the last 17 years, I myself would think that we have achieved some success by means of *ad hoc* solutions and working conventions. I did not think in 1947 that in 10 years time we should have steel plants and that we would have expanded industrial production by 85 per cent. In the sphere of agricultural production also—something I have had a good deal to do with, had anybody told me in 1951—the production at that time was 53 million tons of foodgrains that in 1960 we should reach a production figure of 80 million tons, I would not have believed him. I did not think it was possible—that it was in us to do that sort of thing. Well, it is. Therefore, I myself am hopeful that the correct balance between Central direction and decentralized execution we shall be able to find, and that the troubles of today, various forces of disintegration, quarrels over problems of regional imbalance, the problem of unemployment, the problem of language and so on, will be solved by working solutions being found between the Centre and the States. In the finding of these working solutions and in the operating field the Administrator will have a very important part to play.



## AREA DEVELOPMENT : PLANNING AT DISTRICT AND BLOCK LEVELS

V. Nath

**A**REA development relates to development of areas demarcated with a particular objective in view. Areas of large resource development projects—irrigation, power, industrial, areas designated as backward, and units of local administration, districts and blocks, are examples of such areas. Area development is a special case of regional development, in which the spatial units of development are defined not on physical or economic considerations, but with particular developmental objectives in view. Usually, such areas are smaller than geographic or economic regions. This paper outlines, in part I, some concepts relating to area development: part II deals with planning at the district and block levels.

### CONCEPTS

A basic concept in area development, as in all regional development, is that the plans for the area are conditioned by its physical conditions, natural resources and social and economic situation. These indicate the development potential, the needs and the problems of the area: the development plan must develop the potential, meet the needs and solve the problems. Accordingly, systematic assessment of resources, needs and problems is the first step in the planning process. The assessment is done by compilation and analysis of existing information, supplemented by fresh surveys, to the extent necessary. The needs are articulated most effectively by the representatives of the people—members of Panchayati Raj institutions, municipalities and legislatures.

### *Area Development and the National Plan*

Area development is part of the national planning process. The plans for an area are conditioned by the general framework of the national plan, its policies and programmes, and its resource constraints. These prescribe the framework for "area planning", its overall goals as well as its limitations. The area plan is related also to the plans for larger spatial units of which the area forms part and of the smaller spatial units into which it is divided. The plan for a district has to be related on the one hand to the plans of the state and the regional division in which it is located, and on the other to plans of the blocks (and other

smaller units) which are included within it. This linkage, upwards and downwards, is an essential part of planning for an area.

The development plans for districts and blocks, which came under the influence of an expanding metropolis or of large industrial or resource development projects, must reflect adequately the influence of these major developments. Providing in the local plans adequate complementary inputs, which would enable the local area to obtain full benefits from the resource development project or to withstand the disturbing influence of metropolitan development (unduly large areas in the peripheral regions of cities often get diverted to non-agricultural uses) is one method of reflecting this influence.

*Two Approaches to Local Area Planning: "Area Development" and "Programmes"*

Here it would be useful to distinguish between the "area development" approach and what may be called "programmes" approach to planning. The latter implies that certain development activities decided at the state or national level are carried out more or less uniformly throughout the area of the state or the country. The plan for a local area, built up entirely through this approach is an aggregation of such activities - primary and secondary schools, health centres, roads, water supply schemes, etc. The two approaches—"area development" and "programmes"—are not contradictory or mutually exclusive: they are, to an extent, complementary. The "area development" plan has to be formulated within the framework of the objectives and priorities of the national plan, and will have a large component of the national or state programmes mentioned above. On the other hand, even when the "programmes" approach is followed, decision-making in relation to particular programmes in an area has to be related to its local conditions and needs. Thus, the number of primary schools to be opened in an area and the specific location of the schools, can be decided only on consideration of local factors. The influence of local factors is much greater in planning of more advanced or specialized services and resource development activities. Elementary service facilities such as primary schools, can be created more or less uniformly in all areas; but the same cannot be done in case of advanced service facilities such as secondary schools, colleges or polytechnics. Location of the latter has to be decided on careful consideration of various local factors, because faulty locational decisions will lead to inefficient service to the people and waste of resources. Resource development activities require even greater attention to local factors.

But the "area development" and the "programmes" approach are two different approaches to planning, and emphasis on one or the other

leads often to different planning decisions. The "programmes" approach flows from constitution of departments at state or national level for particular development programmes—Education, Health, Agriculture. Exclusive reliance on it often results in inadequate consideration of local needs and problems, because of the inherent tendency of departments to decide the pattern of a programme at headquarters and to follow it in all areas. The result often is that attention is given to less necessary activities in preference to those needed more urgently in the local area; sometimes, unnecessary facilities are created. On the other hand, undue concern with area development would lead to inadequate attention being given to national (and state) objectives and priorities. One could generalize, perhaps, to say that the "programmes" approach is more suitable in planning of social services—especially elementary services such as primary schools, health centres and approach roads. These are needed everywhere and can be planned at the state (or even national) level on basis of criteria and patterns which can be defined with precision, *e.g.*, one primary school for 100 boys of school going age; a metalled road within one or two miles of every village. The "area development" approach on the other hand has distinct advantages in planning of resource development programmes. It is also frequently more suitable than the "programmes" approach in planning of more advanced services.

Area development includes both resource development and human development. Expansion of social services, building up the infra-structure of development and institutional reform are the principal instruments of the latter. The relative emphasis on resource development and human development activities in an area, at any point of time, is indicated by its stage of development—status of exploitation of resources and the potential for further development, status of development of social services, etc. However, it is well to point out that development of social services and the infra-structure is an essential pre-requisite of resource development, and until these are developed sufficiently, the progress of resource development activities will also remain slow. Thus, a large programme of resource development—mining of coal and iron ore, setting up power stations, steel plants and other industries—appears to be the obvious priority in the resource rich area called the Coal Steel Belt of Eastern India. But the area is backward. It is hilly and forested, has poor communications and few towns and has a large proportion of tribal people. This backwardness of the area hampers resource development activities in various ways. Development of social services and the infra-structure—improvement of communications, opening of schools, hospitals,

training centres for craftsmen, modernization of the towns—will not only accelerate progress of resource development activities, but will also enable the local people to participate in these activities more actively and to benefit from them. They will be able to obtain employment in new industries and attain higher levels of income and consumption. Similarly, institutional reforms and changes in social attitudes, *e.g.*, in the attitude relating to work, are prerequisites for development of certain areas. The backwardness of areas like Eastern U.P. is attributed in part to the tradition of *Zamindari* and prevalence of growth-inhibitive attitudes (*e.g.*, people of high castes should not touch the plough).

### *Integrated Development*

Integration of different development activities undertaken within an area is a fundamental concept in area development. It has been accepted in case of rural development programmes for a long time and was reiterated and reinforced when a unified agency for rural development was created in the Community Development Organization. The structure of the C.D. Organization with a team of subject-matter specialists working under a Block Development Officer, emphasized co-ordination between developments in different fields—agriculture, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, soil conservation, co-operative social education, etc. Constitution of Block and District Development Committees and designating the Collector as the leader of the team of development officers further emphasized co-ordinated development and creation of Panchayati Raj institutions has given it a statutory institutional framework.

A primary requisite in co-ordinated development is securing appropriate relationships in magnitude, space and time between different development activities. Thus the quantum of operative credit and supplies of chemical fertilizers, improved, seeds, etc., in a C.D. Block should be related closely to the agricultural extension efforts of the block staff. In other words, if use of chemical fertilizers is being advocated by the staff and is being encouraged by making available supplies on credit given through the co-operatives, it should be ensured that the supplies and credit match the demand created by the efforts of the extension staff. Acceptance of this basic principle underlies the practice of formulating family production plans in the Package Programme districts, and regulating supplies and credit in accordance with these plans.

A second aspect of integrated development concerns the relationship between major resource development projects and local

development activities. This relationship may be explained by the examples of power generation and irrigation projects. The villages located near a power project can derive benefit from it only if a programme of rural electrification accompanies the project. Power taken to the villages will, in the present stage of our rural economy, be used for irrigation, cottage and small scale industries, etc., only if adequate loans are given to farmers, artisans or small industrialists for installation of electric motors and purchase of power driven machines. Therefore, in order to carry the benefits of the power project to the villages it is necessary to secure appropriate relationships between programmes of power generation, rural electrification and financial assistance. Similarly, the waters of an irrigation project can be effectively utilized by farmers only if suitable technical assistance is given to them for changing their cropping pattern, from dry drops to irrigated crops, and financial assistance is given for measures like levelling, reclamation and preparation of land. Such assistance should be adequate in *magnitude* and should be available at the appropriate *time* and *place*.

In cases where the interrelationship between the large projects and complementary local developments has been appreciated and the latter have been provided adequately, the result has been rapid resource development and appreciable rise in economic and social levels of the people (e.g., the Bhakra Canal area of the Punjab). But where this relationship has not been appreciated, and complementary inputs have either not been provided or have been provided inadequately or late, the potential created by the resource development projects has been utilized very slowly or inadequately. This experience emphasizes the need for working out in detail the complementary inputs in case of each major project and ensuring that these are provided adequately, in time and at the right place. In case of irrigation and power projects, sufficient experience has been gained in recent years for working out *norms* of investment on the projects and complementary local development inputs. These norms should be worked out for a few selected projects and should be available for guidance for new projects.

The major industrial and other resource development projects have been called "nuclei of development" in the Third Plan.<sup>1</sup> This concept of the nucleus emphasizes the potential of these projects for attracting various developments to their areas, and initiating a process of area development. Appendix I lists the developmental inputs related to a major irrigation project and a steel plant. These have been divided into three major groups:

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<sup>1</sup> India, *Third Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1961, p. 149.

- (i) associated,
- (ii) complementary, and
- (iii) derived.

The associated inputs are essential for the functioning of the project itself. The relation between them and the project is so direct and clear that they are generally provided as part of the project itself. But the complementary and the derived inputs, which are not so directly related, deserve more attention for area development, because it is the adequacy of these inputs and the speed with which they are created in the area, that determines the pace of its development. The complementary inputs are necessary for realization of the development potential of the project. The derived inputs have a similar role, but they have been classified separately, because they "derive" from or follow the functioning of the project.

#### *Primary Growth Factors*

The major projects could also be called primary growth factors, *i.e.*, primary development activities to which secondary and tertiary activities are attracted. The term could also be used for certain negative factors, presence of which retards development of an area. Prevalence of malaria, bad communications and low literacy are examples of negative growth factors. These too have to be regarded as "primary", because their removal needs first attention in any scheme of development of an area. The importance of removing them is often under-estimated. Thus, demands for development of backward areas usually take the form of demands for locating large projects in them. It is not sufficiently appreciated that removal of the negative factors is equally important, though less spectacular. Indeed, as mentioned above, the progress of the large projects will themselves be seriously retarded, if the negative factors are not removed.

#### *Regional Growth*

Another useful concept in area development is that of "regional growth". The economies of any area—blocks, districts or larger units—will grow with economic growth in the country. In most cases, this growth will mean change from exclusive dependence on primary industries to diversification of the economy. But in this process, the need for investment will increase progressively. The concept of progressive acceleration of the development process, and of the need for progressively larger investments is well recognized in planning at the national and state levels. The progressive increase in outlays and development activities in successive Five Year Plans is the best evidence

of this. But at the level of the small area—the block and the district—the notion that a period of intensive development can be followed by one of lower investment (and development activity), because the area reaches “self-sufficiency” and is less in need of outside investment, seems to recur in Indian planning. The incompatibility of this concept with the dynamics of development was demonstrated by experience of the first community projects and blocks<sup>2</sup> in which an expenditure of about Rs. 22 lakhs per block for three years (or four years if the subsequent extension of time is taken into account) was followed by a post-intensive phase expenditure of about Rs. 1 lakh per year. But the idea seems to persist, as is evident from reference to it in intensive development projects of various kinds (agriculture, small industries, integrated development of districts) which are proposed from time to time. The idea has a certain attraction perhaps—it can be used as an argument to initiate intensive development in a limited number of areas. But there is a danger in adhering to it, because in any project undertaken with this idea there is bound to be a slide-back in development and frustration among the people when the period of intensive development is followed by the normal (slack) period.

It is true that after a period of intensive development, the character of inputs needed in an area changes—from elementary services to more advanced services, from service activities to resource development activities, etc. It is true also that the people's capacity to pay for development activities increases and they are able to undertake themselves many activities (e.g., drinking water wells) for which they would have required outside assistance earlier. But the savings in investment resulting from this change are more than compensated by the need for larger investments, e.g., in more advanced services, and resource development activities, with the result *that the total quantum of investment needed in the area is much larger*. The people may not need assistance for irrigation or drinking water wells; but they will want electric motors on wells and piped water supply schemes, which are far more expensive. Therefore, whenever any area is taken up for intensive development, it should be clearly recognized that it is being put on a road on which it will need progressively larger *total investment* as time passes.

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<sup>2</sup> Reference here is to the investment under the budget of the C.D. Block and to the concept which inspired the phasing of this budgetary pattern. It should be made clear, however, that the total quantum of investment and tempo of development activity (including both programmes included within the Community Development budget and others forming part of the development plans of the State) has been accelerated in nearly every area because of general acceleration of development activity under the Five Year Plans.

## II

### AREA DEVELOPMENT AT DISTRICT AND BLOCK LEVELS

The need for drawing up plans with districts and other local areas as units has been appreciated from the beginning of planned development. The First Year Plan referred to district (and other) plans and the role of local institutions in the planning process. But a concerted effort to formulate plans at district and lower levels was made only at the time of formulation of the Second Five Year Plan. It was symbolized by the phrase "planning from below". As part of this effort, plans with districts and blocks as units were drawn up in a number of States. The Second Plan document defined the scope and content of the local plan (Appendix IIA) and the manner of its preparation in considerable detail. Districts and blocks have since been recognized as important planning units, formulation of plans for them has been recognized as an integral part of the national planning process and an important function of Panchayati Raj institutions. Plans for districts and blocks were formulated as part of the Third Five Year Plan and similar work has been in progress in most States in connection with formulation of the Fourth Plan. It is of interest to note that the scope of the district plan as defined in the Planning Commission's Memorandum on the Fourth Plan is very similar to the definition contained in the Second Plan.

However, experience with drawing up district plans at the time of the Second Plan and in subsequent years highlights some of the difficulties and problems of such planning (and points to the needs for safeguards), which may be summarized below:

- (i) The tendency towards formulation of plans without adequate regard for resources which can be expected to become available—the tendency of plans to become catalogues of local needs and aspirations. This tendency was responsible, in part, for some of the planning effort made at the time of preparation of the Second Plan not yielding the expected results. But as a result of the Second Plan experience, an approximate indication of resources is now given in advance by the State Governments to the local institutions and officers.
- (ii) The tendency to emphasize immediate need fulfilment in preference to longer term resources development, to emphasize consumption-oriented activities in preference to production-oriented activities.

- (iii) Emergence of competing claimants for social service facilities, works, etc., among which the planning agency must decide. Size-inflation of plans results often from the tendency to please as many rival claimants as possible.
- (iv) The need for accurate and adequate factual data—the need for conducting surveys of resources of local social and economic conditions and technical possibilities.
- (v) The need for posting sufficient technical staffs, both for surveys and for plan formulation. The very real difficulty of providing such technical staff constitutes a major constraint in local planning.

*Area Development and Programme Planning—Experience of Community Development Programme*

The need for local planning has been realized from the beginning of the community development programme and the scope and content of local planning has also been defined fairly clearly. But, within the area of local planning, the present practice is that priorities for different programmes and schemes, and the pattern of each scheme—content, staff, finance, institutional arrangements, etc., are worked out in great detail at the State (or even national) levels and decision-making at local levels is concerned largely with selecting locations and beneficiaries. The Panchayati Raj institutions, like their predecessor officials of the community development blocks or other development departments, often function primarily as allocating or distributing agencies, deciding where a primary school or a primary health centre should be located and who should get a *taccavi* loan, after the number of schools and health centres, to be opened in each block, the details of staff, equipment and buildings for these and the amount of *taccavi* loans to be sanctioned in a block, had been decided at the State level. (The typical situation in meetings of the Panchayat Samitis is somewhat as follows: The B.D.O. or another Extension Officer reads out a circular from the State Government which informs all Panchayat Samitis in the State that a particular scheme is to be implemented and gives the financial pattern and other details of the scheme. The meeting thereupon proceeds to decide which particular villages, persons or groups should benefit from the scheme. There is seldom any attempt to see whether the scheme is not suitable for the area of the Panchayat Samiti, whether another scheme would be more suitable or even to attempt to modify the pattern of the scheme in any way. Nor would such attempts be very feasible under the present procedures of sanction and implementation of development programmes.)

This practice of deciding patterns of development activity in detail at the State level and leaving the local institutions only the distributive functions has been the subject of considerable argument. Those opposed to the practice have argued that it does not allow plans to be formulated by local people in accordance with their needs and aspirations or the natural resources and development potential of their areas, with the result that less needed activities are often taken up in preference to those which are needed more and would have given better results—at times money is wasted on schemes which are not needed—and local people are not sufficiently enthusiastic about development programmes. This, they argue, results in development programmes not having the desired effect in terms of participation of people, and retarded economic development of the area. The protagonists of the practice have defended it on grounds of administrative efficiency, securing minimum level of development in all areas and ensuring that national and State priorities are reflected in local plans. Allocation of funds between different heads of development and on individual schemes within each development head is regarded as the chief instrument of securing development according to priorities. Working out detailed patterns of each scheme is considered essential for administrative efficiency and avoidance of waste, because it is argued that effective supervision and assessment of performance would be impossible in the absence of these.

It is also pointed out by many that so long as funds for development activities are provided by the State (or Central) Governments and the staff of Panchayati Raj institutions form part of State cadres, the tendency towards detailed planning of programme at State (and even Central) level will continue. They go on to argue that the Panchayati Raj institutions can have an effective role in planning for their areas only if they have their own staff and raise their own resources. The argument has some force. There is no doubt that when funds are given by the State Government there is a tendency for it to indicate not merely the schemes on which these may be spent but also in considerable detail the manner in which the schemes may be executed. On the side of Panchayati Raj institutions also, there is a tendency to regard the schemes as those of the State Government, and to execute them according to the instructions of the latter. The immediate history of Panchayati Raj institutions—their having been constituted in succession to the C.D. blocks and having inherited the programmes and funds of the blocks and other development departments—strengthens these tendencies. But financing by State Governments and technical staff forming part of State cadres is likely to be continued and the exercise of initiative in local planning by Panchayati Raj

institutions has to be achieved within this situation. The alternative of Panchayati Raj institutions having their own staff and raising their own resources will, in the present stage of rural development and growth of these institutions, only result in greatly restricting their role in development besides reducing staff efficiency. It will reduce these institutions to the position of former district boards.

The tendency towards planning of programmes at State or Central levels has been encouraged by the fact that in much of the rural development activity of the last 13 years, the object has been to provide elementary services and facilities—primary schools, primary health centres, drinking water wells and approach roads, co-operative credit societies, a basic agency for agricultural extension—which lends itself very well to planning through “programmes”. The second reason for adopting the “programme” approach was that until local consciousness of development needs grew, it was necessary to provide certain leadership from above, and to take up basic activities which were clearly the most urgent needs of most areas.

This approach did create imbalances and difficulties in the community development programme. But since many of these were felt by the State Governments themselves, there was a tendency to resolve them through appropriate action between the State Governments and the Central Ministry of Community Development. Thus, when it was found by some State Governments that many of the activities included in the first community projects were not suitable for their areas, the Central Ministry allowed the States very considerable freedom in deciding the content of the programme within each major field of development activity. But the process was not carried lower, to district or block levels to any appreciable extent, and once the pattern of activity in any field had been decided at the State level, it was applied without major modification to all blocks of the State.

### *The Need for Shift in Emphasis*

But, as a result mainly of the development that has taken place during the last 13 years, the situation is changing. Firstly, as the need for elementary facilities has been met, emphasis is shifting to providing more advanced facilities. Planning of these requires much greater attention to local conditions, and it is not possible to apply a uniform pattern to all blocks. Thus, it is not advisable to decide that each block shall have so many secondary schools, marketing societies or centres for training of craftsmen. Block A may need more secondary schools and marketing societies than Block B because it contains a number of small towns in which secondary schools are desired by the people and which serve as *mandi* centres for the villages in their vicinity.

Block B on the other hand may be more suitable for location of a training centre for craftsmen or a polytechnic because a large factory located within it could provide employment to the trainees. The need for attention to local factors is even greater in case of resource development activities. Even a comparatively simple activity, e.g., a processing factory (cotton gin or sugar mill) has to be planned primarily on consideration of specific local factors such as availability of raw materials, nearness to market, and advantage of transport. Thirdly, experience with development activities during the last 13 years has created among the local people much greater awareness of the need for development and of the specific development activities needed in their areas. They are more anxious to participate in the planning process and are more vocal in expression of their needs and aspirations. Finally, the programme pattern approach cannot provide adequately for intersectoral relations or for special planning needs of metropolitan, river valley project or industrial regions. The number of such projects and the areas coming under their influence is growing with economic growth in the country with the result that the need for area development is being felt in an increasing number of districts and blocks.

#### *District as the Primary Unit of Local Planning*

The emphasis on resource development activities and provision of more advanced services along with the other factors mentioned above, makes the district a more important unit of planning than the community development block. Let us take the examples of education and co-operation again. The community development block was quite a suitable unit for planning a net-work of primary schools, because the object was to provide every village, (or in case of very small villages or hamlets, a group of two or more neighbouring units) with a primary school. But it is not an equally suitable unit for planning location of middle schools and may have positive disadvantages when adopted as the unit for planning of secondary schools. Similarly, while location of credit co-operatives could be planned with the block as the unit, location of marketing and processing societies has to be planned with a larger area as the unit, because of the need for attention to specific location factors mentioned above.

The need for making the district the major unit of local planning is also felt for other reasons. Effective local planning will require a considerable measure of decentralization of decision-making from the State level to local levels. Such decentralization is more feasible at the district level than at the level of the block. There are several reasons for this. First, the district has the full complement of District

Level Officers who can provide the specialist assistance needed for drawing up local plans and making fruitful modifications in schemes drawn up at the State level. On the non-official side, the Zila Parishad has the top-level leadership of the district. Second, for reasons of administrative feasibility, especially maintaining effective communication between the State and local levels, the district is more suitable than the block as a unit of local planning. The State Development Departments or the State Governments find it more feasible to deal with a limited number of Zila Parishads and District Level Officers than with a large number of Panchayat Samitis and Extension Officers. Third, since intra-district variations (in physical or socio-economic conditions) are generally not very large, the need for making further modifications in programmes to suit the requirements of particular blocks is comparatively small, after the pattern has been decided at the district level.

Here it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the units of planning and the unit of implementation of programmes. The fact that the district is accepted as the unit of planning of a particular programme does not mean that it should necessarily be the unit for its implementation also. In some cases, the combination will be useful; but over a large field of development activity covered by the district plan, execution could just as well be done through the Panchayat Samitis. The district is a more suitable unit than the block for planning the content of the minor irrigation programme, *i.e.*, deciding the emphasis that minor irrigation should receive in the total agricultural production effort in the district, and the specific schemes which should be taken up, but implementation of a large part of the programme is best done by the Panchayat Samitis. The decision regarding the unit of planning and the unit of implementation should be taken separately for each development programme keeping in view its nature, the technical staff and other resources required for it, and the structure of Panchayati Raj institutions in the State.

#### *Appropriate Inter-action Between Town and Villages*

Let us consider an average district. Its headquarters is located in a medium-sized town which performs various services for all or most of the villages and small towns located within it. Frequently, the town is also the major commercial centre of the district. The sub-divisional headquarters towns, important mandi towns, and other medium-sized towns have similar roles for parts of the district. Within each block, the block headquarters town has a similar role in relation to villages of the block area. In addition, there are in most blocks one or more small towns (or large villages) which perform similar functions for groups of 25-30 villages.

One effect of the developments of the last 13 years has been that the inter-action between these towns and the villages served by them has increased, and the towns have a much more important role in the economy and social life of the villages. The village people come to the towns more frequently and obtain many more of their requirements from them than they did in the past. The very activities of Panchayat Samitis—distribution of *taccavi* loans, distribution of permits for supply of chemical fertilizers, cement or corrugated iron sheets, deciding appeals from decisions of panchayats, and various elections—have added to the frequency of the town visits. Many village leaders and affluent cultivators visit such towns almost daily. Most of the towns have expanded considerably in recent years, on account of growth of commerce, resulting from larger agricultural production and higher incomes in the surrounding villages, and of their service functions. This expansion will continue as the role of the towns as service centres for the surrounding villages becomes more important, because as agriculture gets modernized and rural electrification and rural industrialization make progress, these towns will have an increasingly important role as centres for distribution of new materials and of servicing and repair of power driven implements and machines. This, for the simple reason that facilities for distribution, of new materials and repairs and servicing of machines cannot be created at more than a few central places.

Yet, very little attention has been given so far to examining the inter-relationship between these towns and their surrounding villages and ensuring that development of the two is complementary and mutually beneficial. Indeed there are many instances of defective planning resulting from a failure to appreciate this relationship. The location of facilities like primary health centres and secondary schools has generally been decided on considerations like availability of local contribution, with the result that in many cases the facilities are located not in the place which is the natural centre of the area to be served by it, but in the place which came forward to pay the required contribution. In many blocks, the block headquarters town itself is not well located for serving the needs of the block area.

The first community projects did contain the nucleus of the idea of securing appropriate inter-action between towns and villages. The programme of these projects included development of mandi centres, improvement of communications between them and the villages and using the centres for providing an increasing range of services and dissemination of new ideas to the villages. But the idea was gradually dropped, because other problems were considered more urgent. Moreover, the C.D. and N.E.S. Blocks which followed the first community

projects had such small budgets that these more intensive development activities, could not be accommodated within them. However, the time has now come then this relationship should be given a adequate attention. The place of the district and block headquarters towns and of the smaller centres within each block, in the development of their service areas should be clearly recognized, and location of various service facilities should be so decided as to enable these centres to perform their service role efficiently. Further, the municipalities of the small towns and Panchayati Raj institutions should be brought into relations of mutual inter-action.

The latter can be done only at the district level: the block is too small a unit for this purpose. The recent recommendation of the Sadiq Ali Report for providing for association of municipalities with the Zila Parishad in Rajasthan is evidence of recognition of this need.<sup>3</sup> This association will become especially important when integrated area development is accepted as the object of local planning and development of both towns and villages is viewed as part of it.

#### *A Case of Local Planning: The Wardha Plan<sup>4</sup>*

The Plan was drawn up jointly by the Gokhale Institute, Poona, the Regional Planning Institute, Wardha and the staff of the Wardha Zila Parishad. It illustrates some of the principles mentioned below:


- (a) It is a district plan. The district was selected as the unit of planning for two reasons. First, the district institution, the Zila Parishad is the most important Panchayati Raj institution in Maharashtra. Second, the district is considered a more appropriate unit than the blocks for drawing up a plan of this kind. Plans for blocks and smaller areas fit into the framework of the district plan.
- (b) An indication of resources likely to become available for execution of the plan was given by the State Government at the outset.
- (c) The Plan is based on analysis of existing data, which were supplemented by surveys of socio-economic conditions and technical surveys for location of minor irrigation works, etc.
- (d) The plan has been formulated by technical officers of the district and the special staff loaned by the institutes. The technical nature of the planning task has been fully realized in its formulation.

<sup>3</sup> Government of Rajasthan, *Report of the Study Team on Panchayati Raj*, Jaipur, 1964, pp. 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> Wardha District Plan Frame (Unpublished).

- (e) The plan has been formulated with the coordinated efforts of the State Government, the Panchayati Raj institutions and the specialised institutes.
- (f) The plan puts primary emphasis on resource development. Development of certain services (transport, welfare of backward classes etc.) has been emphasized on account of special circumstances of the district.
- (g) The plan stresses inter-sectoral relationships, though these have not been systematically worked out. Further, it recognizes that if a large industrial or other resource development project comes to be located in the district, a major readjustments will be necessary in the plan.
- (h) The plan includes a section on rural-urban relationships and development of towns as service centres. Significantly, the centres selected are *mandi* centres and not block headquarters, thus emphasising the economic rather than the administrative aspects of the relationships.

Efforts similar to the Wardha Plan can be made only in a few selected districts, where special arrangements can be made for institutional assistance. But these plans have considerable methodological value. They bring out the basic principles and the techniques of local area planning; the nature of work involved in it, and the place of local area plans in the National Plan. Appreciation of these will lead to more systematic and fruitful planning efforts in other areas.



## APPENDIX I

### MAJOR PROJECTS AND RELATED INPUTS

#### A. MAJOR IRRIGATION PROJECT

##### (1) *Associated Inputs*

- (i) Transport (road, rail) facilities needed for movement of equipment, supplies and personnel needed for the project, communication facilities.
- (ii) Housing, water supply, social services (education of children, medical care) facilities for the project staff; creation of a township, if necessary.
- (iii) Soil conservation measures in the catchment area.

##### (2) *Complementary Inputs*

- (i) Land development and agricultural improvement : reclamation, clearance and levelling of land which is to receive irrigation; reorganization of agriculture, especially switching over from dry to irrigated farming; adoption of improved agricultural practices, e.g., use of improved seed, chemical fertilizers etc.; supplementary minor irrigation—digging of wells, installation of lift irrigation devices etc.; drainage and other steps to prevent water logging in the irrigated area.
- (ii) Improvement of transport and marketing facilities.

Measures of category (i) require creation of services of technical assistance, supplies, etc., and also provisions for loans to cultivators for enabling them to take up land development or agricultural improvement measures.

##### (3) *Derived Inputs*

As the above measures take effect and agricultural production increases, the area will need agricultural processing industries, agro-industries (e.g., manufacture of improved agricultural implements) and consumer goods industries. These may be called derived inputs, which derive from or follow the earlier developments.

#### B. STEEL PLANT

##### (1) *Associated Inputs*

- (i) Facilities for mining of coal, iron-ore, limestone and construction materials.
- (ii) Transport, rail and road, for carrying raw materials and intermediate and finished products.
- (iii) Generation of power.
- (iv) Supply of water to the plant and to the township.

- (v) Urban development—construction of township to house industrial workers and those working in trades and services; organization of various essential services in the township.

*(2) Complementary Inputs*

- (i) Rehabilitation of persons dispossessed of their lands.
- (ii) Orderly absorption of immigrants and taking steps for ensuring smooth relations between them and the original residents of the area.
- (iii) Training of craftsmen and other personnel for the plant.
- (iv) Social education among tribal people with a view to ensure that they can derive adequate benefits from new economic opportunities within their area.
- (v) Reorganization of local agriculture to meet the consumption needs of the larger population, especially for high value perishable products such as milk, vegetables, fruit, meat and poultry products.

*(3) Derived Inputs*

Industries, which depend upon raw materials supplied by the steel plant or on use of other facilities like power and transport created for it.

- (i) Heavy engineering industries, e.g., machine building, manufacture of transport equipment, fabrication of structurals, etc.
- (ii) Heavy chemical industries, e.g., manufacture of chemical fertilizers.
- (iii) Manufacture of other construction materials.
- (iv) Light engineering, light chemicals and various consumer goods industries attracted by the raw materials and other facilities available in the area.

## APPENDIX II

### SCOPE AND CONTENT OF THE DISTRICT PLAN AS DEFINED IN THE SECOND AND THE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLANS

#### A. SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

“20. It was recognised that both at the district and at the State level three kinds of programmes sponsored on behalf of public authorities would be included in the plan, namely:

- (a) programmes initiated at the level in question, e.g., taluka, district and State,
- (b) programmes initiated at lower levels and integrated with those in (a), and
- (c) programmes initiated at levels above and integrated with (a), for instance, schemes sponsored by the Central Government but executed through States or schemes sponsored by the State Government and implemented through machinery available in the district.

23. The main constituents of district plan are:

- (1) the community development and national extension programme,
- (2) social welfare extension projects,
- (3) agricultural production programme and allied activities in the field of rural development such as animal husbandry, soil conservation, etc.
- (4) development of cooperatives,
- (5) village panchayats,
- (6) village and small industries,
- (7) schemes for utilising effectively resources developed through State projects for irrigation, electricity, communications, industrial development and expansion of training facilities.
- (8) housing and urban development,
- (9) the programme of small savings,
- (10) aiding construction projects through labour cooperatives and shramdan,
- (11) programmes for the welfare of backward classes,
- (12) programmes in rural and urban areas relating to social services, especially expansion of education at primary and secondary levels, health units, health education, sanitation, malarial control, family planning, etc.
- (13) utilising and assisting voluntary organisations engaged in constructive social work,
- (14) land reform,
- (15) prohibition work, and
- (16) dissemination of information about programmes of national, state, regional and local development."

Planning Commission : Second Five Year Plan, 1956, pages 156 and 158.


#### B. FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

"A district development plan should comprehend various activities envisaged in the State Five Year Plan for execution at the district level without respect to the nature of the sponsoring authority or the location of the budget provisions. Some activities undertaken in a district are provided for in the plans of the Zila Parishad and the Panchayat Samitis, others in the plans of Departments at the State level. These latter fall technically outside the field of Panchayati Raj institutions. The following are the principal sectors in which the local initiative and participation have to be carried as far as possible and can be developed around programmes embodied in the Five Year Plan:

- (i) Agriculture (in its wider sense including animal husbandry, dairying, fisheries, poultry, horticulture, forestry, minor irrigation, etc.),

- (ii) Co-operatives,
- (iii) Village and small industries in processing industries,
- (iv) Elementary and social education,
- (v) Rural water supply and sanitation,
- (vi) Rural health and medical services and family planning,
- (vii) District and rural roads, including village approach roads (excluding National and State Highways),
- (viii) Work programmes for the fuller utilisation of rural manpower,
- (ix) Development of focal points of growth like market centres, service centres, etc.,
- (x) Social Welfare, including welfare of weaker sections,
- (xi) Voluntary organisations."

Planning Commission : Memorandum on the Fourth Plan, New Delhi, 1964. pp. 80-81.



## THE IMPORTANT NEW ROLE OF TRAINING

David S. Brown

**T**RAINING is the function of helping others to acquire and apply knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes needed by the organization of which they are a part. As such, it is one of our most important means of achieving objectives.

This importance has increased greatly during recent years. More and more, those with responsibility for the work of others have come to understand that such commonly accepted ideas as "command", "direction", "supervision", and "control" are not producing the results needed by the organization—or even the results commonly claimed for them. More and more, administrators are learning that it is one thing to give orders but something else to have them carried out in a continuing, constructive, self-correcting and quality-assuring way. This is why the training function has come to be viewed in a new and far more important light.

Nowhere is this more in evidence than in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Both the private sector and the Government have embraced enthusiastically the training idea with the result that few major enterprises are without professional staffs created for this purpose. No accurate count of the number of persons in the profession is possible, but it is certainly in thousands. Salary and pay scales recognize its "coming of age". Most large universities offer degrees with emphasis upon preparation for careers in training.

Not only are training services provided "in house", or by resident staffs, but a number of private companies devoted to consultation in training matters and the performance of a variety of training

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<sup>1</sup> Training has been accepted over many years as the major peacetime function of the military services. A large share of the military budget is accordingly available for this purpose. Industry's commitment to the formalized training programme is by comparison much more recent, and government's more recent than that. Because of limitations placed on the use of appropriated funds by the General Accounting Office, an Act of Congress was required to enable the civilian government departments to undertake anything but the most limited efforts. The Training Act (Public Law 507, 85th Congress) has changed all of this, and the U.S. Government is today solidly committed to a large scale training effort. Note the following from the *U.S. Federal Personnel Manual* (Chap. 410, Sub-chapter 1, General Provisions, Section 1-4, *Policies Governing Training*, paragraph b):

"b. Presidential policy. (1) Training and development of employees is an essential aid to efficient operation of the Federal service and to attainment of its programme goals. It is therefore the policy of the Executive branch to plan and provide for training and development of employees as an integral part of its responsibility for the effective conduct of its affairs. (White House Directive of January 11, 1955)."

functions have been formed. The majority of them have been financially successful. Americans, of course, are noted for their associations and the training field is no exception.<sup>2</sup> A growing, if still modest, literature of training has developed,<sup>3</sup> and considerable research in and experimentation with training design and methodology has been done.<sup>4</sup> All of this is convincing testimony of the emergence of training as an increasingly influential part of the management process.

#### WHY SO IMPORTANT?

The importance of training to both individual and group performance has, of course, been underlined by the complex nature of modern society. Physicists, chemists, engineers, economists, psychologists, and a hundred other categories of professionals are required to man our organizations. Far from ending with the university, the learning process must be continued into the laboratory, the factory, and

<sup>2</sup> The most important of these is the American Society for Training and Development (formerly the American Society of Training Directors), which draws its membership from the entire training profession. Training people constitute an important share of the membership of the Adult Education Association and the Society for Personnel Administration. There are also local associations such as the Training Officers Conference in the Washington, D.C. area and Training Within Industry (TWI) and training organizations formed for the purpose of promulgating particular training method, such as the American Programmed Learning Association.

<sup>3</sup> Among the more recent and useful publications in this field are the following:

William J. Larney, *Management Training: Cases and Principles* (4th Edition), Chicago, Richard D. Irwin, 1964.

Robert V. Kamin, *Supervisory Training in Small Industry*, New York, Carlton Press, 1962.

R. J. Hacon, *Management Training: Aims and Methods*, London, Eng. Universities Press, 1961.

John H. Proctor and John H. Thornton, *Training: A Handbook for Line Managers*, New York, American Management Association, 1961.

William McGehee and Paul Thayer, *Training in Business and Industry*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1961.

Frank A. Phillips, William M. Berliner, and James J. Gribbin, *Management of Training Programmes*, Homewood, Ill, Richard D. Irwin, 1960.

<sup>4</sup> Of those organizations concerned with training method and design, few have had greater influence than the National Training Laboratory (NTL) of the National Education Association. NTL is known internationally as well as nationally for its experimentation with "sensitivity training", a training approach which makes use of unstructured (leaderless, agendaless, procedureless) group sessions. NTL has also had major influence upon the design of training programmes for a wide variety of client systems. Several universities have followed the NTL leadership and have now established centers for behavioural study and training. cf. Irving R. Weschler and Edgar H. Schein (Eds.), *Issues in Human Relations Training*, Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratory, 1962, p. 121; also, Leslie, Lippitt, and Gordon, "Managerial Guidelines to Sensitivity Training", *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, April, 1963, pp. 3-13; Klaw, Spencer, "Two Weeks in a T-Group", *Fortune*, August 1961, pp. 114-17, et seq; Edwin C. Nevis, "The Trainee's Goals in Laboratory Training, NTL Human Relations Training News, Summer 1963, pp. 1-3; "A Brand-New Breakthrough in Management Development", *Factory*, July 1959, pp. 74-79; Chris Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness*, Homewood, Ill, Dorsey-Irwin, 1962.

the office. If a skill or a piece of knowledge is not already possessed, it must be acquired.

Not only is the use of training popular with the directors of the enterprise, it is also well accepted by most employees. The level they are at seems to make little difference in the way they feel about it. The point is that the organization is really helping them to acquire new and additional skills, abilities, and knowledge all of which enhance them personally.

But even beyond this—beyond what the employee learns during the training process—management's willingness to train a man is proof to him, be he a common labourer or executive, that his contribution is thought valuable enough by others to make an investment of money and time in it.<sup>5</sup> This is an enormously important point which has major bearing on such matters as his loyalty to the organization, the enthusiasm he has for his work, and the job satisfaction he feels. Management may have authorized the training for other reasons, but these are among its by-products.

#### REQUIREMENTS FOR TRAINING

Accepting the notion, however, that training is necessary and desirable is not enough. The agency leadership must understand what training is and what it is not; what it can and what it cannot do; and finally, the kind of support that will be required not only of the top planners and decision-makers, but of all those within the organization, if it is to be successful.

The first understanding relates to the nature of the training function itself.<sup>6</sup> Training is *not* indoctrination, although there has often been a tendency to see it in these terms. We may, during the process of training, seek to impart definitions or rules but these are really collateral to the process of developing a larger and better human product.

Nor does the trainer train his human subject in the pattern that one might train dogs or horses. "The teacher", as Galileo observed, "does not teach anyone anything. He seeks only to help him find it within himself." Whatever pattern is undertaken, the

<sup>5</sup> This point emerges strongly from the studies conducted by the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan. Cf. Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1961, p. 279.

<sup>6</sup> "Training is not a method with which to solve otherwise insoluble organizational problems; it is rather a ubiquitous something without organizations do not long survive." (Emphasis added.) John M. Piffner, and Marshall Fels. *The Supervision of Personnel: Human Relations in the Management of Men*, (3rd Edition), Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 204. See also Ross Pollock. "A Philosophy of Training" *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, November 1959, pp. 13-20.

emphasis must be upon the employee learning, but learning in such a way that he will be able and willing to apply the fruits of his learning on the job and in relationship to those in the organization with whom he is associated.<sup>7</sup> It is not enough for the trainee merely to acquire "book information", or be able to score highly on an examination. If training is really to serve its purpose, some kind of change must take place in the trainee's behaviour; and, if he is in other than the lowest echelons of the organization, this change must enable him also to induce change in still others. Any other goal misses much of the point.

The second requirement is that those in positions of organizational leadership must understand fully their own roles and responsibilities in the process.<sup>8</sup> The director and the trainer, as a team, are responsible for providing a proper setting for the learning process. This calls for a general knowledge of how people learn but also an understanding of the individual employee, his abilities, motivations, potentials, and goals. The director and the training staff are goal setters, encouragers, facilitators, and supporters, but always in the best professional sense.

Thirdly, both trainer and trainee must be clear as to the objectives of the organization—the purposes training is designed to serve, the what, the how much, the how well, the what way, and the why of organizational life. They are the framework against which the training design is created.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the organizational leadership must be prepared to give full support, both moral and practical, to whatever training programmes it undertakes.<sup>10</sup> To do less is to invite their failure. This support goes well beyond the financing of training programmes—they are bound to be costly. (Someone has remarked that training is always costly but never as costly as *not* training.) It includes the active participation of the agency's officers in their planning, and the contribution of their time and effort to help make them understood

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<sup>7</sup> For insight into the process of learning, see Reed Lawson, *Learning and Behaviour* (New York, Macmillan, 1960, p. 447; Gilbert Highet, *The Art of Teaching*, New York, Vintage Books, 1957; and J. R. Kidd, *How Adults Learn*, New York, Association Press, 1959, p. 324.

<sup>8</sup> De Phillips, Berliner, and Gribbin, *Management of Training Programs*, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the nature of organizational objectives and how they may be determined, see David S. Brown, "Importance of Understanding Objectives", *The Federal Accountant*, March 1964, pp. 63-73; also Charles H. Granger, "The Hierarchy of Objectives", *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1964, pp. 63-74.

<sup>10</sup> This is a most important point which cannot be served by lip service alone. Many a training programme has failed to achieve its objectives because management failed to make use of its product—indeed, took little interest in it and did nothing as it went into a decline. The point is well stated by Pffiffer and Fels, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-17.

and acceptable. Management must also continually demonstrate its willingness to make good use of those who have been trained by giving them significant things to do, promoting, and otherwise rewarding them. This is the ultimate proof of good intentions.

The meeting of obligations such as these places a large burden upon people unfamiliar with modern training philosophy or methodology. It is important, therefore, that in entering upon a training programme, the director and his staff take the time to understand fully what is involved. Abandoning a training programme once it has been undertaken, or letting it fail because of lack of support, can have far-reaching, unfavourable effects upon the whole organization from which it will take many years to recover.

#### LIMITATIONS AND COSTS

Training has its limitations. It also has its costs. The organization undertaking a training programme should have some idea what these are likely to be in order to decide whether the investment at any particular time or in any particular programme is a worthwhile one.<sup>11</sup>

(1) Training is sometimes a very slow process. This is particularly likely where the material to be learned is complicated or difficult to understand; where the trainees are poorly qualified or unmotivated; or where the conditions for learning are distracting.

(2) Proper attention to training needs requires the attention of professional training people. The universities have contributed to their development through such programmes as those in Education, Psychology, Public Administration and Business Administration, but there are never enough of such professionals to go around. This is a particular problem of the developing countries.

(3) Many of those with major training responsibilities (in apprenticeship and on-the-job training, for example) are not themselves expert in what needs to be done. Moreover, they convey improper attitudes and antiquated methods which retard rather than help the productive processes. This is more likely to be true of old, well-established trades and industries than of modern ones; and of depressed and non-competitive economy areas as against those which are expanding.

<sup>11</sup> For additional commentary, see Henry E. Niles, Cushing, and Manes C. Stephens, *The Office Supervisor: His Relations to Persons and to Work*, (3rd Edition), New York, Wiley, 1959, pp. 78-79; also see George Odiorne, "Training for Profit", *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, July 1961.

(4) Training is sometimes resisted, either covertly or openly. Such resistance, however, comes more frequently from those who fear that the newly trained people will take over their jobs, than from the trainees. Part of this, as in the case of a newer technology replacing an older one, there is a real concern for redundancy. Fear of a violation of time-honoured *mores* provides also a reason for opposition. These factors must, of course, be taken into account in any training undertaking.

(5) There is no guarantee that, once trained, an employee will perform as wanted. By means of training he may have acquired the necessary skills, but be loath for a variety of reasons to use them. This sometimes happens.

(6) Organizational problems may arise over who does the training. What, for example, is the proper role of the training staff? What of the line's responsibilities?<sup>12</sup>

(7) Finally, training is expensive. There is the direct cost of the trainer and his tools. There is the additional factor of the time spent by the trainee away from his job in learning.

No one denies these and other limitations. Most trainers, however, are of the opinion that their importance has been exaggerated. Besides, as they are sure to point out, there are not really any alternatives to training. We may debate *what kind* of a training programme to undertake, *how much* by way of resources is to be allocated to it, or *how* it should be undertaken, but there is no real substitute for training as such. In fact, we must continue to do more of it.

## II

### TYPES OF TRAINING

Training serves, as we have seen, a variety of purposes. For convenience, these have been divided below into six major categories<sup>13</sup> although the actual programme may make use of these in a variety of combinations:

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Report on Survey of the States and Functions of Training Departments in Business, Industry and Government, by Harry S. Belman and John E. Blick. See in particular, "The Head of the Training Function", *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, February 1959, pp. 42-53; "Organization and Structure of the Training Function" *Journal of the ASTD*, September 1959, pp. 26-30; also see De Phillips, Berliner and Gribbin, *op. cit.*, Part III, "The Organization and Administration of Training Programs."

<sup>13</sup> While the classification suggested below is the author's own, the basic divisions it suggests are familiar ones. Its purpose is that of emphasizing the variety and kind of functions training may serve. In a sense, these progress from the relatively simple (orientation) to the difficult and complex, such as leadership training and career planning. An organization undertaking a formal training programme for the first time would do well to consider the advisability of a modest beginning.

- (1) Orientation Training
- (2) Training of a General Informational Nature
- (3) Skill Training
- (4) Training to Change Attitudes
- (5) Leadership Training
- (6) Developmental Training

It will be useful for the programme director as well as the training officer to know in general the potentials as well as some of the limitations of each.

### *Orientation Training*

New employees, to be effective employees, need to have an understanding of the organization, its purposes and objectives at the time they join it. They need to know something of its history, its means of "making a living", its leadership, its clientele, and its problems. This applies to *all* employees, whether professional, administrative, clerical, or common labourer. The degree of orientation, of course, will vary with the level.

Most important of all, employees need to know how they fit into the scheme of things; how the work they do relates to the work of other people; how it contributes to the total agency product; how these contributions will be judged; and by whom. They need to know their duties and obligations and also their rights and privileges.

The orientation programme need not be long or an elaborate one. An introduction to the job may take a few hours, or several weeks, as in the case of the more elaborate academy programmes. The important point is that there be one. The employee will learn inevitably about the organization from those he meets on the job. It is to the interest, however, of those at the leadership levels that their point of view be heard as early as possible. The new employee will appreciate the organization more if it considers his needs during what is always an uncertain time.

### TRAINING OF A GENERAL INFORMATIONAL NATURE

The difficulty many (most ?) employees have is in knowing what is expected of them. This suggests the importance of some kind of a continuing training programme of a general informational or co-ordinational nature. The failure to provide needed information feeds the grapevine; it fires men's imaginations with false "facts". How much more intelligent of management to share its knowledge

with those who want and need it ! How much better that people have facts than rumours !

In many ways information training is the simplest to administer. It consists of providing staff with continuing information through announcements, circulars, house publications and other media, and also in holding, as necessary, meetings where people can be informed of what is going on in the organization and can discuss its implications. The town crier in Great Britain provided such information; it is provided today in villages in the developing countries by the village headmen. Small meetings are of particular importance in government and industry because of the face-to-face relationships they encourage.

Many of these devices are so basic and so simple that they are often not thought of in connection with the training programme. Yet the degree to which the needs of the employee for information are overlooked by otherwise competent administrators is one of the paradoxes of modern management. This executive self-centredness is, of course, one of the main causes of employee dissatisfaction. The existence of a "no information" or limited information factory or bureaucracy system in a social system which emphasizes the intelligence, awareness and rights of the individual is an anachronism which cannot really be defended. An understanding of this point is particularly crucial in the developing democracies.

### *Skill Training*

Training (and also retraining) in specific skills, abilities, and technology is among the best known and most readily accepted of the training programmes. It is present in all societies. The village potter who apprentices his son or nephew is an example of it. But so also is the more formalized training which both Government and the private sector conduct to teach a man to do the things he cannot now do.

Skill training is taught largely "on the job" by the journeyman worker. Frequently there is little interest in it or knowledge of it by those high in the organization. In recent years, however, major changes have taken place. Not only have the more advanced organizations given careful attention to the training they undertake but they have also sent their people to outside programmes.<sup>14</sup> Some of the short courses offered at the various institutes of public administration are examples.

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<sup>14</sup> For examples of some of these, see U.S. Civil Service Commission, *The Training of Federal Employees*, Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Documents, 1958, p. 146; and also, U.S. Civil Service Commission, "Interagency Training Programs", a pamphlet, 1960, p. 55.

Management should periodically reassess its needs. What skills are required that it does not now have? Can these be taught to present employees? Should they acquire them on company time? Or should they be encouraged to take courses on their own? The answers to questions such as these will help to shape the direction of the skill training programme.<sup>15</sup>

### *Training Designed to Change Attitudes*

A type of training which holds great promise, but to date has been used in only a limited way, is that designed to change attitudes or points of view.<sup>16</sup> Among the most frequent causes of ineffective and costly administration are lethargy, self-satisfaction, and resistance to change. An individual's way of viewing a problem often suggests his answer to it. His failure to embrace a new technique, undertake a new approach or accept a new idea may be directly attributable to such a value system. Obviously, this should be of great concern to those in positions of administrative leadership.

Attitude change is involved in all types of training, but emphasis upon learning new methods or new skills often obscures it. This is particularly true of managerial training where attention is more likely to be directed to the new techniques of management than to the remaking of minds which are wedded to old approaches. This is a problem which must be understood and overcome.

Designing a programme whose purpose is attitude change is never easy. It is often better for it to be done as part of other types of training programmes rather than to be undertaken as an objective in itself. There is, however, a body of learning already at hand on which the enlightened administrator can establish a solid base for so important an undertaking. This is the literature of change, both in the individual and in the social group.

<sup>15</sup> Among the most important of the training methodologies is that involving the training survey, an undertaking which seeks to answer just such questions as these. See Elizabeth F. Messer, "Assessing and Reporting Training Needs and Progress, Washington, D.C., U.S. Civil Service Commission, 1956, p. 77; B.B. Jackson and McKinney, "Methods of Determining Training Needs", *Persomel*, September-October 1959, pp. 60-68; and Milton Hanson and Richard Crook, "How to Determine Training Needs", *Journal of the American Society of Training Directors*, July 1958, pp. 27-30.

<sup>16</sup> See Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness*, op. cit., also Eli Ginzberg and Ewing W. Reilly, *Effecting Change in Large Organizations* New York, Columbia University Press, 1957, p. 155; Robert H. Guest, *Organizational Change: The Effect of Successful Leadership*, Homewood, Illinois, Irwin-Dorsey, 1962, p. 180; Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth Benne, and Robert Chin, *The Planning of Change*, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Wilson, 1962, p. 781; and Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westley, *The Dynamics of Planned Change*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1958, p. 312.

*Leadership Training*

Much progress has been made during recent years in training in the leadership areas. The generic term "leadership" is used here but such programmes are ordinarily designated as "supervisory", "management", "administrative", or "executive". They encompass all levels of supervision from foremen to company directors and from supervisory clerks to government secretaries, although there is usually very little mixing of levels. Such programmes have in common the belief that leadership is a learned art and leadership capabilities can be improved.<sup>17</sup>

The best-known of the British programmes is, of course, the Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames which covers an eight-week period. Several other countries, among them India, have their own staff colleges which may be attended by either business or governmental representatives or both. Also, there are a number of executive programmes conducted by universities or institutes of public administration, such as the Indian Institute for Public Administration, which has already had several years experience in this area with good results.<sup>18</sup>

American experience with leadership training programmes is considerable. They are conducted not only by individual companies and by government bureaus themselves for their own supervisors, but are offered by management associations, private contractors and the universities as well for those from a variety of organizations. They may range in length from a day or two to several months in duration, depending upon the level of participants and their score. A variety of methods and approaches, making use of both group and individual learning, are being used.

It is not easy to assess the impact of the various leadership programmes either on the individual who attends them, or on the organization which sponsors him. In the absence of empirical data, the tendency has been to accept the testimonials of both of the participants

<sup>17</sup> The development of these programmes in business is described in Chapter XII of Robert A. Gordon and James E. Howell, *Higher Education for Business*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1959, pp. 291-319. This is the celebrated Ford Foundation-sponsored study of business education. For an understanding of specific progress, see M. Doohar, Joseph and Marquis Vivienne, *The Development of Executive Talent*, New York, American Management Association, 1952, p. 576, which, although now out of date, is still a useful reference. The U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C., conducts a number of executive programmes itself and is an important source of information on what is being done for administrative leaders in government.

<sup>18</sup> Marshall E. Dimock, "The Administrative Staff College: Executive Development in Government and Industry", *American Political Science Review*, March 1956, pp. 166-76. See also Edward W. Weidner, *Technical Assistance in Public Administration*, Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1964, pp. 118-133, for a summary of experience with in-service training.

and of their companies. Those have on the whole been highly favourable. Taken with an analysis of course content—which usually reflects the latest and best in management thinking—this has produced a convincing argument for their continuation and enlargement.

### *Developmental Training*

This is the most sophisticated of the training undertakings and also the most recent to appear. Because it is itself still in a “developmental” phase, it should probably be used only where there is a well-established need for it, strong support, and clearly sufficient resources.<sup>19</sup>

Developmental training requires the agency, first of all, to assess its future needs against which the potential of its present employees is appraised. Only then should it undertake to provide a long-range career planning and training programme which will prepare them as individuals to fill needed future assignments. A variety of methodologies may be used—counselling, on-the-job training, self-development, within-plant training programmes, attendance at institutes and universities, and the like. The real contribution of developmental training is the attention it gives to two of the most important facets of administration—planning and personnel.

Most organizations, even in the industrialized countries, have given little specific thought to their future personnel needs. One of the reasons is, of course, the cost of doing so. But there are other reasons which may be even more compelling—the difficulties of predicting what the agency will be ten or more years hence; of estimating future professional requirements; of appraising present talent and future potential; and of developing a realistic training programme to bridge the gap between what now exists and what is required.

No organization should embark upon such a programme unless it is prepared to make the kind of investment that is required. However, logic is on the side of the development of personnel, and no forward-looking enterprise can really afford to neglect research and planning in this area.

### ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

In the discussion above, we have focussed upon types of training programmes rather than upon the methods by which training is

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<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of career planning and some of its implications, see Harold Koontz and Cyril O'Donnell, *Principles of Management*, New York, McGraw Hill Book Co., 1964, Chaps. 21-23, pp. 413-470. The experience of the U.S. Department of the Army with its Civilian Career Planning Program is contained in “Planning and Developing Civilian Career Programs”, Washington, 1959, p. 73.

undertaken. Of the latter, the most important by far, whether planned or unplanned, is the training a worker receives on the job. Be he mechanic or executive, the principle is the same: he is learning while doing.

On-the-job learning is to be had at all levels, and probably at all times, regardless of whether there are formal training programmes or not. The individual learns both from others and from his own experimentation what is required of him, its quality and quantity contents, what will result in a satisfactory response from his superiors or his fellow workers, and what will not. Here his reaction to the pressures placed upon him is in large part shaped.

Even the best of the formal training programmes cannot succeed against an unfavourable on-the-job training climate. It is essential that the leaders of the organization understand this. It is essential also that they help shape this climate so that it may contribute more fully towards the achievement of the organization's goals.

The person with primary responsibility for conducting on-the-job training is the immediate supervisor. Much of the time, however, he proceeds with little awareness of this responsibility, little actual knowledge of other than the most limited objectives, and little knowledge of teacher/trainer methodology. Until the advent of supervisory training programmes, he got little or no help from those above him.

Meanwhile, the "unofficial trainers"—the co-workers, the old hands who "have the word", the disgruntled veterans, the union stewards, the association members—are hard at work conveying *their* training messages. Their influence is significant—in many instances far more so than that of those higher up in the organization.

On-the-job training, however, can be turned to the organization's advantage. There are many ways also by which it can be used with other types of training. For example, a new employee, following his orientation, may be placed in a particular job for a limited period of time to work and observe before continuing the formal aspects of his training. His reactions to the "training" he receives should be known and assessed by his superiors. Many organizations practice training by rotation, which is really a combination of orientation training and learning on the job. The employee who is being groomed for later advancement is given an opportunity to "learn the company from the ground up" by being assigned for a several-month period of each operation.

The formal training programmes can also be used to help influence and shape the informal organizational environment. This is one of

their major purposes. Indeed, it is in this area that they may make their most useful contribution.

Whether planned or not, on-the-job training always exists. Management should concern itself, therefore, with what is happening within its own house; and should be willing and ready to take the steps that are needed to remedy whatever situation it finds. The learnings and insights that come from finding out what really takes place on the job will actually help to suggest what should be done about it.



## ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

P. R. Dubhashi

TEXTBOOKS on social sciences customarily begin with an analysis of their interrelationships.<sup>1</sup> The recognition of Public Administration as a social science in its own right is a matter of recent growth. For a long time it was deemed to be no more than a mere branch of Political Science. No wonder, standard textbooks on Economics merely dealt with its relation with Politics. Even so recent a textbook as Paul Samuelson's "Economics", a textbook of world-wide use, mentions Political Science, as one of the academic disciplines sharing common borders with Economics.<sup>2</sup> Public Administration finds no mention. This is, of course, not surprising, a new academic discipline has after all to struggle for the recognition of its autonomy. Textbooks on Public Administration, on the other hand, cannot afford to neglect its relationship with such an established science as Economics. The precise nature of this relationship, however, varies from author to author. According to Dimock, "as a branch of Political Science, Public Administration is one of the social sciences and impinges on all of them. At the point where Economics deals with business and government, Public Administration is essentially relevant".<sup>3</sup> An Indian textbook on Public Administration says—"The study of Public Administration has much in common with that of Economics. Public Finance, budgets and fiscal administration are subjects common to both. Of late, there is a tendency on the part of Government to intervene more and more in the economic life of the community and the areas of Government and Economics which had separated during the 19th Century are fast converging giving rise to a separate economic discipline analogous to Political Economy of the 19th Century. The greatest similarity between Public Administration and Economics is on the point of economic institutions and this has developed with a separate study called Business Administration".<sup>4</sup> Thus

<sup>1</sup> The rationale of this practice is, in the words of Alfred Marshall, "to gain that large illumination which the progress of every Science throws by comparison and analogy on those around it". Marshall approvingly quotes Mill—"A person is not likely to be a good economist who is nothing else. Social phenomena acting and reacting on one another, cannot rightly be understood apart", Alfred Marshall—"Principles of Economics", Eighth edition, London, Macmillan, 1947—Appendix C, p. 771.

<sup>2</sup> Paul A. Samuelson, *Economics*, London, MacGraw-Hill, 1961.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall Edward Dimock, Gladys Ogden Dimock, *Public Administration*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> A.R. Tyagi, *Public Administration—Principles and Practice*, Delhi, Atma Ram & Sons, 1962.

for both the authors, economic and business administration is the area common to Economics and Public Administration. The relation between the two, however, is not merely incidental to a particular institutional development. It can be traced to a fundamental principle—known in the realm of Public Administration as the principle of efficiency and in the field of Economics as the principle of economy. Both are attributes of rational behaviour.

## II

That the principle of economy is central to Economics is well-known. In the words of the famous economist Wickstead, "economy is administration with a minimum of waste." For Lord Robbins, "the criterion of economy is the securing of given ends with the least means".<sup>5</sup> The criterion of efficiency in administrative behaviour is also couched in identical terms. "The criterion of efficiency as applied to administrative decision is strictly analogous to the concept of maximisation of utility in economic theory. It is not asserted that the criterion of efficiency does dominate administrations in their decisions, but rather that if they were rational it would. . . . The problem of administrative decisions can be translated into a problem in the theory of production and concepts and theorems developed in economic theory have wide applicability in administrative decisions. . . . The problem of efficiency is to find the maximum of a production function with the constraint that some expenditure is fixed. . . . That portion of the decision-making process which is factual, resolves itself into the determination of production functions of administrative activities. . . . The concept of efficiency involves an analysis of administrative situation into a positive value element (the results to be attained) and a negative value element (the cost). For the practical execution of this analysis, a technique is needed that will enable the administrator to compare various expenditure alternatives in terms of results and costs."<sup>6</sup>

It is true that the traditional administrative behaviour with which we are familiar is not based on the analysis of the kind indicated by Simon. There are of course reasons for it. Firstly, the ethos of administrative decision-making has hitherto been of an intuitive judgment or "guesstimates" rather than a habitual resort to scientific analysis. Secondly, public administration, in the very nature of the case, is exposed to considerations other than that of efficiency. Thirdly,

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, "Essays in Economic Development", Asia Publishing House, 1964, Ch. I, "The Nature and Purpose of Economic Activity", p.9.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Simon, "Administrative Behaviour" (Second edition), New York, Macmillan, 1961, Ch. IX "The Criterion of Efficiency", pp. 173-197.

goods and services traditionally provided by public administration activities do not always lend themselves to measurements in terms of market costs and returns.<sup>7</sup> The administrator's cost-benefit analysis has necessarily to be broader—taking particular care to take into account social costs and benefits. Be that as it may, as the scope of public administration broadens and its approach becomes more scientific, administrative analysis will have to partake of the nature of cost-benefit calculus, as indicated by Simon. Not that the application of cost-benefit analysis is without its difficulties in public administration. As Willoughby puts it: "The impression is widespread that it is inherently impossible to secure the same efficiency and economy in administration of public affairs that can be secured in the conduct of private undertakings."<sup>8</sup> It is argued in support of this contention that public administration lacks the incentive to efficiency and economy which element of private profit gives to private enterprise. But as Willoughby points out: "Even granting that the element of incentive is absent in government enterprise, it is an open question whether it is not more than counter-balanced by the sentiment of public service. . . the fact that they were engaged in public service has given to personnel an *esprit de corps* and desire to excel often lacking in public enterprises and is mostly, if not quite, as strong an incentive to efficiency as the production of profits."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, it is not true that the profit motive is entirely absent in public administration. With the entry of government in business and market place, with the expansion of the public sector and with the abandonment of the post-office socialism, the pursuit of profit, subject to the constraint of social objectives, has unabashedly been accepted as the respectable criterion of public enterprises.

It is because the criteria of efficiency and economy govern both Public Administration and Economics, that the doctrine of "neutrality" is also applicable to both. Economists, qua-economists, are supposed to be neutral between different ethical purposes.<sup>9</sup> Civil servants, equally are supposed to be politically neutral. To be sure, the doctrine in both the fields has been under attack. The presence of uncompensated losses and gains attributed to private enterprise, to which attention is drawn by welfare economics headed by Pigou, is supposed to be a breach in the doctrine of neutrality. Even a bigger breach is

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<sup>7</sup> See author's article "Priorities in Planning—More detailed study of costs and benefits necessary" *Yojana*, November 8, 1964.

<sup>8</sup> W.F. Willoughby, "Principles of Public Administration" Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1927, pp. 1-6.

<sup>9</sup> "Economics is entirely neutral between ends; in so far the achievement of any end is dependant on scarce means, it is germane to be preoccupation of the economist... there are no economic ends. These are only economical and uneconomical ways of achieving given ends" Robbins quoted in Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

caused by the identification of economist's neutrality with an approval of the present inequitable distribution of income and wealth. On the other hand, the economist following Mill, can well look upon the distribution of social product as a variable determined by policy which represents the choice of the community and has its sanction. It is a social value.

The doctrine of neutrality of Public Administration is analogous to that of Economics. It is embodied in the aphorism that "the role of politics is to represent all interests; the role of administration is to eliminate all interests". Political neutrality is essential to maintain impartial, objective and non-partisan character of administration. Administration is essentially what Appleby has called a "pre-partisan or sub-partisan field".<sup>10</sup> But as in Economics, in Public Administration also it is argued that political neutrality should not mean neutrality towards ends and objectives of say, the Welfare State or the socialist pattern of society. In this view, the concept of civil service neutrality needs, therefore, to be "reformulated in the context of political and social conditions"... "Public Administration is not something set apart from but an integral part of the system of popular government and democratic ideal". The trouble with such attempts towards reformulation of the doctrine of political neutrality lies in the protean character of ideologies such as the Welfare State or the socialist pattern of society. They do not represent a body of universally abiding principles nor an incontrovertible set of settled programmes to which the administrator could be asked to extend his unquestioned allegiance. He can be enjoined to be faithful only to the objectives as laid down in the written constitution or similar basic law of the country and also to legislations, policies and programmes derived therefrom, in whose formulation also he would have his share as an advisor to the political executive. This is but his professional responsibility which does not take away anything from the doctrine of political neutrality. What is required is to realize with Simon,<sup>11</sup> that while deriving the doctrine of "neutrality" from the criterion of "efficiency", and describing "the administrative activity as valuationally neutral", we are assuming "an abstraction from reality which is permissible within broad limits but which, if carried to extremes, ignores very important human values", such as social aspects of work, distributive justice, etc. The purely "efficiency approach" should not degenerate into "mechanical efficiency". "A democratic State is committed to popular control over the value elements and the distinction of value from fact is of basic

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from S. Lall, "Civil Service Neutrality" *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January-March, 1958.

<sup>11</sup> Simon Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185 and also p. 197.

importance in securing a proper relation between policy-making and administration."

### III

Socialism and Planning bring the area of Public Administration closer to that of Economics. What under "free market", is the subject-matter of Economics, becomes in a planned economy the substance of Public Administration. Dealing with the subject-matter of Economics, Tibor Scitovsky<sup>12</sup> has defined Economics as "a social science concerned with the administration of scarce resources". The problems of this administration are three-fold: (1) ensuring full utilization of scarce resources; (2) where scarce resources are fully utilized, properly allocating these resources among their different uses and to the satisfaction of different wants; and (3) proper distribution among consumers of these resources or of the goods and services produced with their aid. In the market economy these tasks are discharged by centres of production owned by private persons and managed for their personal profit; co-ordination of their activities, allocation of resources among them and distribution of their products is achieved by the market mechanism. Under socialism, the centres of production at least of strategic importance, are owned by the State and managed by public officials according to rules, directives and instructions issued by the State; furthermore, whatever be the pattern of ownership, most or at least the strategic relations between different centres of production are subject to direct regulation and control by the State, though for securing the service of labour and distributing final product among consumers the trade and market mechanism is utilized. In such an environment, decision-making within the firm and management of inter-firm and inter-industry relationships, emerge as important problems of Public Administration and the preoccupations of the administrators.

The newly emerged underdeveloped countries have made a deliberate and conscious choice in favour of planning. They are not prepared to leave their economic destiny to be shaped by the vicissitude of the market forces. In these countries certainly, coalescence of Economics with Public Administration, is bound to be subject of significant importance in the years to come.

### IV

If the fundamental principle underlying Economics and Public Administration is identical or at least similar—*viz.*, the principle of

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<sup>12</sup> Tibor Scitovsky, "Welfare and Competition" Unwin University Book, Fourth Impression, 1963, Ch. 1 "The subject matter of Economics".

economy or efficiency and if under socialism and planning, their areas have a substantial common terrain, it would appear that knowledge of Economics would have a signal contribution to make to administrative decision-making. Two distinguished economists with intimate personal experience of the inner processes of British administration are, however, skeptical of the utility of economic theory in actual decision-making. Prof. Cairncross seems to feel that "an academic training is not indispensable to an economic adviser" in government; "it is more important to find a man with the right gifts and trust him to work out the theory for himself". He adds—"To a mature and experienced man with an eye for the ways of the world, there is nothing very abstruse about economic theory; certainly not about those parts of the economic theory that are truly operational and bear upon the real dilemmas of policy."<sup>13</sup> Prof. Ely Devons has gone into some detail to analyse what part of the knowledge of Economics could be considered operational.<sup>14</sup> He considers applied or operational Economics as "a mixture of simple theory, economic commonsense and knowledge of facts". In "simple theory" he includes the two important sets of theoretical models—the price system and the relation between income, production and employment. But "in both of these it is the elementary proposition conveyed by these models" and in some ways, the most obvious "that he finds relevant and unusable". Under "economic commonsense", Prof. Devons lists such "commonsense-maxims", "such axioms of logical behaviour and other general truths" as—"by-gones are by-gones", "you cannot have your cake and eat too", "you cannot get more than a pint in a pint pot", "real costs are opportunity costs", "balance of payments must balance", "Natura non facit saltum", etc., Prof. Devons feels that "propositions of this kind play an important role in understanding what goes on in economic life and in arguments about economic policy". They help in "arguing about the choice of doing one thing rather than another, explaining the cost of the choice in terms of other potential uses of resources, ensuring consistency of different choices" and this was "all in its various aspects the day-to-day activity of many economists temporarily employed in the Civil Service in war time Britain". Prof. Devons also includes in economic commonsense such theoretical concepts in Economics as "elasticity", "mobility", "competition", "substitution", "short period", "long period", "equilibrium", "marginal", etc. But while the economic jargon might be useful in the "description and classification of situations", they do not

<sup>13</sup> A.K. Cairncross, "Factors in Economic Development", London, George Allen & Unwin, 1962, Ch. 16 "On being an Economic Adviser", p. 274.

<sup>14</sup> Ely Devons, "Essays in Economics", London, George Allen & Unwin, 1961, Ch. 1 "Applied Economics—the application of what?" and Ch. 2—"The role of Economist in Public Affairs".

provide "answers to problems". Finally, under "knowledge of facts", Prof. Devons includes "statistical and institutional information" but he immediately warns us to be careful not to kid ourselves... that from mere accumulation of statistical information comes greater understanding. What is more important as Prof. Cairncross points out, is the capacity to "understand what figures mean and how to use them".<sup>15</sup> Above all, Prof. Devons emphasizes that while the economic propositions and maxims useful for the practical purposes of administration may be elementary in character, what is difficult is to make them "a normal process of thinking" rather than a separate intellectual compartment because only then would they provide what Keynes called "an apparatus of mind, a technique of thinking which helps its possessor to draw correct conclusions".

A firm and solid grounding in the basic propositions of Economics would thus be seen to be the essential intellectual accoutrement in public administration. What Prof. Cairncross has said about the "economic adviser" also holds good about the senior civil servant concerned with Planning and Development. "I should be loath to dispense with economics as an intellectual discipline."<sup>16</sup>

The biggest single commitment of public administration in the underdeveloped countries is to the task of rapid economic development so as to lift the pall of poverty from the daily lives of millions of people. The "strategy of economic development" has, therefore, to be familiar to the development administrator. The dawn of the development decade has been a witness to the entirely welcome quickening of interest of contemporary economics, in this particular field. An almost new branch of economics—Economics of Growth, or Economics of underdeveloped countries—has emerged.<sup>17</sup> At long last, the shackles of the short-term period have been snapped and the perennial problem of progress—the pre-occupation of the classical economist—has assumed a central position in economic thinking. To be sure, what Schultz said twelve years ago still holds good—"The Economics of Development at this stage of our knowledge is more akin to a collection of ideas and studies representing different approaches"... it is not "one theoretical piece; instead it represent a collection of insights obtained from a variety of approaches."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cairncross, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>17</sup> To mention only a few books in this vast and growing field of economic literature—W.A. Lewis—"Theory of Economic Growth", A.O. Hirschman—"Strategy of Economic Development"; C.P. Kindleberger—"Economic Development"; A.N. Agarwala & S.P. Singh (eds.)—"The Economics of Under-development"; P.T. Bauer & B.S. Yamey—"Economics of Under-developed Countries"; Benjamin Higgins—"Economic Development" R. Nurske—"Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries".

<sup>18</sup> Theodore Schultz, "The Economic Organization of Agriculture", London, MacGraw-Hill, 1953, Ch. 1 "Agriculture in a Developing Economy", pp. 4-6.

But an acquisition of these insights has become indispensable for all development administrators.

As important as the strategy is the "design of development".<sup>19</sup> In their own ways, all development administrators have to be planners—micro-planners at the project level, macro-planners at the policy-formulation level, local planners at the field level. Micro-planners have to be conversant with the techniques of project evaluation.<sup>20</sup> Local planners have to be familiar with the techniques of regional analysis.<sup>21</sup> Macro-planners have to be acquainted with the techniques of national accounting, inter-industry input-output analysis and linear programming.

## V

How is this to be achieved? How can tools and insights of the intellectual discipline of economics be made available to the decision-making in Public Administration? This can be done in two ways—employment of economists in Public Administration and training of administrators in Economics.

In a situation where there is a big hiatus between theory and practice, between universities and offices, between centres of academic pursuits and transaction of public business, employment of professional economists can only be slow and fitful. Indeed as Prof. Cairncross points out, even in Britain, "in the days before War, it was rare to find in Government employment any professional economist".<sup>22</sup> It was only after the outbreak of War, that the dons from Cambridge and Oxford and the grey eminence of the London School of Economics, cast aside their gowns and joined the Treasury or other offices. The phenomenon is less unfamiliar now. Thomas Balogh and Nicholas Kaldor are currently engaged in aiding the Labour Government in directing Britain's economic progress towards the "Sign-posts of the sixties". But there are many other lesser economists as well. Prof. Cairncross has indicated three categories of economists working for Government—"top level advisers sufficiently exalted to need on staff, top level advisers who direct the work of a considerable staff and the less exalted advisers who form the staff and advise the advisers". We in India have, particularly with the advent of planning, drawn upon the services of economists of all these three categories. The panel of economists has provided the top level advice in plan formulation. The

<sup>19</sup> Jan Tinbergen "Design of Development", Baltimore, John Hopkins, 1958.


<sup>20</sup> United Nations, "Manual on Economic Development Projects".

<sup>21</sup> See P. J. O. Self—"Regionalism"; W. Isard—"Regional Economic Analysis".

<sup>22</sup> Cairncross, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

Planning Commission, particularly its Perspective Planning Division and the Ministry of Finance have employed Economists of the second and third categories.

But if knowledge of Economics has to permeate all acts of decision-making in the field of development administration much more systematic attention, than hitherto, will have to be paid to initiate and keep constantly refreshed, the general civil servant in the mysteries of economics of planning and development. What programme of training and study has to be evolved for the purpose, can be the subject-matter of an independent effort. But for serving both the purposes—the utilization of the services of Economists in Public Administration and training of the development administrator in Economics—there has to be free and more frequent bilateral traffic between Universities and Public Administration resulting in a better cross-fertilization of ideas.



## BUREAUCRATIC CONTACT WITH THE PUBLIC IN INDIA

—Some Preliminary Findings in Delhi State

*S. J. Eldersveld*

IN ANY society, even in one which is apparently static, communication patterns between "the elite sector" and "the citizen mass" are vital. They can be conceived as "instrumental" to the elite in achieving its support utilization objectives, its recruitment of personnel and its aims for the maintenance and development of consensus, or in its transformation. The "intelligence function" of such interactions cannot be understated—the elite needs constant contact with and evaluation of the ever-changing content of citizen demands. Only then can it determine both the co-operation potential and the alienation potential of significant sectors of society. From the viewpoint of the citizen, such communicative relationships can resolve his doubts about elite objectives and motivate him to share in government programmes.

In a developing society like India these elite-citizen contacts and interactions are more than ordinarily significant. First, of course, is the post-Independence aim of national integration and unity, explicitly recognized in the Constitution as a major goal, which today, 18 years after Independence, seem far from achievement. This is not merely a matter of linguistic provincialism. It is a question of the identification of the rural peasant and urban resident with larger social collectivities than the immediate village or caste or religious group in which he is born and lives. It is also a matter of the extensiveness of the average citizen's knowledge of, and commitment to, the goals of the larger society and political order.

A second problem in a developing society like India is that of the involvement of the citizen with the developing, more "modern", social and political institutions and secondary, or intermediary, associations in the society. As the traditional associations are modified and adapted to the processes of modernization, the question is whether the ordinary peasant or urban resident will perceive these institutions as meaningful agencies for action or will see them as alien and ineffectual for him. A new "development" bureaucracy, a new party system, new interest groups come into existence, while at the same time old caste and religious associations are changed, wittingly or unwittingly, to

conform to the requirements for organized action in the new order. For the ordinary citizen, still illiterate and clinging to the traditional forms, involvement in the new or modified forms of social and political action is necessary if the new elite is not to become hopelessly distant from the old society. Under what conditions does he come to trust this new bureaucracy, this new party system, these new agencies for action? How does he arrive at cognition of these agencies as useful avenues for political action, as agencies through which he can communicate, to support, or take reprisal action against the elite—how utilize such institutions for legitimate political action objectives? The process by which those committed to the traditional order come to accept and participate in these “westernized” and secular institutions for action is critical for the development of a country like India.

A third problem concerns the citizen's involvement in economic and social development programmes. The extent of this participation is not only critical for the immediate aims of these programmes; it is also highly relevant for the development of a modern, truly national, state. Such participation in economic and social planning is essentially again a matter of communication, in the broadest sense. It requires a citizenry which is informed about these goals, supports them, has social and economic aspirations and perspectives which mesh with such goals, and which are realistically achievement-oriented, and, finally, aspirations which as the result of contacts with “the elite”, or despite such contacts, results in certain specific citizen actions which are congruent with and do indeed implement developmental goals. The requirement is an aspiration pattern and action pattern which is utilitarian, pragmatic, and consistent with elite aspirations and actions. If in India today there is a failure in certain programmes; such as that in the field of agricultural production, it may be traceable to a failure of the elite to commit the peasantry to action—through the party system, through caste leadership, through more modernized interest groups, or through bureaucratic contacts with the public.

India faces many internal conflicts over development goals and implementation. These conflicts exist over the goals themselves in the broadest sense—whether the reduction of economic disparities should be primary or secondary—as well as over the type of administrative apparatus and techniques which should be utilized. “Expert” theories as to the direction, technology, and speed of development are legion in India. And often the common man, already conflicted between traditional and modernizing motivations, is further confused by incessant public controversy over these issues.

In an evaluation of the Third Five Year Plan in 1964, Shri Tarlok Singh of the Planning Commission, said:

"The mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan brought out the critical role of increase in agricultural production and suggested that the achievement of sustained growth demands a scale and intensity of effort and a quality of implementation for exceeding performance in the past. . . . Unless the basic conflicts are resolved to the satisfaction, not merely of the elite and organized groups, but of *the common man* (emphasis mine), who is bound to judge all policies and plans from the reality of his own living conditions and opportunities and the problems encountered from day to day, there can be no consistent and continuing pattern of development."

This paper seeks to explore some of these theoretical questions more precisely with empirical evidence from a recent study in India of citizen attitudes and contacts with the development bureaucracy. The study was conducted in the Union Territory of Delhi State from January to May, 1964.<sup>1</sup> We drew a sample of 800 adults, 400 from eight of the 256 villages in the rural area and the Union Territory of Delhi, and 400 from its urban Delhi. In drawing the rural sample we stratified the villages by population size and by an objective measure of "traditionalism" or "modernization". The study was carried out by a project staff of the IIPA, who recruited and trained a staff of interviewers, jointly with the Indian Institute of Public Opinion. In addition to the interviews with the public, we drew a sample of about 220 administrators from five agencies or departments which concerned us the most, administrators in close contact with the public—village level workers, panchayat secretaries, block development officers, police constables, postal workers, Delhi Transport Undertaking inspectors, doctors and compounders. This permitted us to study bureaucratic contacts with the public from both the perspective of the administrator and the citizen. The data concerns one sub-system set of interactions only, the bureaucracy and its relations with the public. The data are relevant, however, to all three dilemmas or problems in India outlined about—the integration crisis, the institutional adaptation challenge, and the aspirational or motivational dilemma.

In setting forth our data here we are concerned primarily with five specific theoretical proportions for the developing social and political system in India. These are:

- (1) If citizens are to be properly involved in the system and in the achievement of system goals, administrative contacts with the public to be relevant, must be extensive, continuous,

<sup>1</sup> The author is tremendously indebted to the Indian Institute of Public Administration Staff, particularly to Dr. V.K.N. Menon, the former Director, and Dr. J.N. Khosla, the present Director, as well as the major collaborators in the project, Dr. A.P. Barnabas and Dr. V. Jagannadham, without their help and that of Dr. Howard Hyde of USAID the study could never have been completed.

and *penetrate* to those sectors of the population most "traditional", most probably alienated, and most vital for the success of developmental goals.

- (2) If citizens are to be properly involved in the developing India of today, these administrative contacts if relevant should lead to greater *information* and knowledge, instrumental and substantive, about governmental programmes, policies, plans and goals.
- (3) If citizens are to be properly involved, these administrative contacts, if relevant, should result in greater citizen *belief* in, and support of, governmental actions and programmes. One should not expect, however, that there will be unanimous consensus over goals or means, but rather a consensus by the large majority that programmes exist which are worthwhile, and feasible.
- (4) If citizens are to be properly involved, these administrative contacts, if relevant, should inspire *confidence* on the part of the public in the integrity, efficiency, and "bureaucratic style" of officials, leading to a feeling that officials care about the citizenry, treat them fairly, and, thus, that the individual citizen counts in the system, and that his actions are considered meaningful for the system.
- (5) If citizens are to be properly involved, these administrative contacts if relevant, should tap the realistic aspirations of the common man, appeal to these aspirations, whether strictly utilitarian or idealistic, and motivate the individual to *action* and achievement, which is significant for the citizen as well as for the system.

The goals then must be penetration, information, belief, confidence and action. Our major query here is whether administrative contacts with the common man in India (Delhi State) in 1964 indicate that bureaucratic contacts are functional or dysfunctional in these respects.

#### THE INDEX OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT

We asked our respondents a series of questions about their contacts with administrative officials which permitted us to develop an index of "administrative contact" for each person in the sample. We primarily focussed on the following agencies in our study: Community Development (rural areas), Health, Delhi Transport Undertaking (urban), Police, and Postal. We asked about the frequency and/or nature of contact by each respondent with each of these sets of officials, with a maximum score possible of 14. Eleven per cent of our

respondents had scores of nine or above, five per cent had zero scores. Two other indices were also developed for the study, one based on "general communication status" (including newspaper readership, group or association membership, and knowledge of leaders), and a second conceived as "political leadership contact" (including personal contact with village or local leaders and party leaders). The distributions in these two indices will be presented briefly, but are not employed analytically in this paper. The individual items in the "administrative contact index", such as frequency of contact with Community Development officials, as well as the index as a total score, permitted us to classify our respondents in a variety of ways and to analyze the interrelations between type of contact and citizen action.

The basic distributions of our respondents by these three indices as well as their "total communication score" can be seen from Table 1. From this it can be seen that the urban population generally has higher scores than does the rural population. There is one notable and significant exception—that of personalised contact with political and governmental leaders. Almost half of the urban sample have no such contacts while less than 10 per cent of the village population is out of

TABLE 1  
THE INDICES OF COMMUNICATION STATUS

Categories*			Adminis- trative Contact (Maximum Score=14)	General Communi- cation (Maximum Score=10)	Personaliz- ed Contact with Political and Govern- mental Leaders (Maximum Score=12)	Total Communi- cation Status Score (Maximum Score=36)
Highest Scores						
	Rural	..	7.1%	2.9	10.4	6.8
	Urban	..	15.6	5.8	8.1	7.2
Medium Scores						
	Rural	..	59.8	33.2	43.0	84.9
	Urban	..	68.0	35.3	21.3	80.1
Low Scores						
	Rural	..	25.1	53.8	37.7	6.5
	Urban	..	14.4	29.9	21.6	11.8
Zero Scores						
	Rural	..	8.0	10.1	8.9	1.8
	Urban	..	2.0	29.0	49.0	.9
			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\*The score categories varied, of course, for each index, but were applied consistently for urban and rural populations. The "highest scores" were as follows: for administrative contact (9 and above), in general communication status (7 and above), for personalized contact with leaders (8 and above), for total communication status score (20 and above).

personal touch with all political leaders and officials. This is a significant finding in its own right and relates to our "penetration" hypothesis referred to above. The average villager in Delhi State has less frequent occasion to see administrative officials. He may also be less involved with newspapers and group associations, than is the urban resident, although his knowledge of local leaders may substitute for his lower level of newspaper readership and group memberships. But he is personally familiar with political and governmental leadership to a greater extent than is the urbanite. His overall communication status, therefore, compares very favourably with the urban resident. If we combine our last two categories we could say that in Delhi State less than 10 per cent of the rural population seems isolated, while about 12 per cent of urban residents may be isolated, in terms of their public communicative involvement patterns.

These indices are to some extent interrelated and cumulative but by no means perfectly. (See Table 2) The individual who has low exposure to mass media and social groups may also be isolated from administrative contacts. But he may also substitute other types of communicative relationships. In the rural area we find that 90 per cent

TABLE 2

RELATION OF GENERAL COMMUNICATION EXPOSURE TO  
ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACTS (RURAL ONLY)

General Communication Status	Adminis- trative Contact— Rare or Never (Score 2 or less)	Adminis- trative Contact Low (Score 3-6)	Adminis- trative Contact Medium- High (Score 7-8)	Adminis- trative Contact High-Very High (Score 9+)	N
Low (Score 2 or less)	43.3 %	46.5	6.5	3.7	215
High (Score 5 or more)	22.2	38.9	19.4	19.4	36

of the sample with low scores in general communication status are also limited in their administrative contacts, but the other 10 per cent did have frequent contacts with administrators. On the other hand 60 per cent of those with a high general communication status had infrequent administrative contacts. Alternative channels for communication and contact exist, therefore, for the ordinary citizen and these cannot be ignored in any development strategy.

## THE "PENETRATION" PROBLEM

Seventeen years after Independence and after considerable training of the new administrative cadre, particularly in the field of community development, what was the extent to which the ordinary citizen was exposed to the new bureaucracy? Has the "new administration" established contact with the lower classes and with those living in apparently isolated and "traditional" villages, or is most of its contact with the upper and proximately urban strata of Indian society? Table 3 presents data relevant to these concerns.

TABLE 3  
ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT STATUS FOR EDUCATIONAL,  
INCOME AND CASTE GROUPS

		Rural		Urban	
		Admin. Contact Score		Admin. Contact Score	
		Very High & High	Rarely & Never	Very High & High	Rarely & Never
<b>Education</b>					
Illiterate	..	11.6	39.1 (207)*	14.3	34.5 (84)*
Primary	..	34.8	25.7 (66)	22.8	24.1 (79)
Middle	..	39.7	24.3 (37)	48.2	7.2 (56)
High+	..	26.9	19.2 (26)	60.0	3.2 (125)
<b>Monthly Income</b>					
Under 50 Rupees	..	14.7	33.7 (95)	23.1	23.1 (13)
51—100	..	17.7	47.9 (96)	21.5	26.6 (79)
102—200	..	22.4	16.4 (85)	40.7	13.6 (118)
201—300	..	28.5	38.1 (21)	50.0	7.1 (42)
Over 300	..	30.4	8.7 (23)	50.0	12.2 (82)
<b>Caste</b>					
Low	..	13.9	34.3 (108)	16.3	20.4 (49)
Middle	..	21.3	33.9 (159)	—	— (9)
High	..	25.4	31.7 (63)	42.7	13.1 (206)
Brahmin	..			41.3	6.5 (46)
Harijan	..			26.3	26.3 (19)
Muslims	..			5.3	52.6 (19)

\*( ) denotes number of cases.

It reveals first that the higher the social and economic status of the individual the more likely he is to have very frequent contact with administrative officials. Only 10 per cent to 15 per cent of the low castes, illiterates and low income groups in both urban and rural areas report high frequency of contact, while upper income, educational and caste groups are consistently higher. Second, the data show that urban

sub-groups are consistently higher in frequency of administrative contacts. For example, a comparison of the upper educational strata in urban and rural populations indicates a discrepancy of over 30 percentage points; that of upper income groups a discrepancy of 20 percentage points; that of upper caste groups a discrepancy of 17 percentage points. Third, in actuality this results in much greater differentiations among strata, or more disparities in administrative contact, in the city than in the village. In the village the upper castes do not seem to be extremely "privileged" by having contacts with administrative officials to a greater extent than lower castes—a difference at the "high" end of the scale of about ten to eleven percentage points. But in urban Delhi there is much more distance between low and high caste groups—26 percentage points. For educational groups this distance seems to be extreme. Finally, it is clear that fully a third of the lower socio-economic strata of the rural population in the area near the nation's capital rarely or never has contact with administrative officials. The record in the city is somewhat better. It is premature to be critical of this finding, pending further data. While on the one hand it is clear that the access of upper social and economic groups to the administrative cadre is much greater and more frequent than that of the low-caste, illiterate, low income population, it also appears that administrative effort has reached downwards into the lower levels of the system to a considerable extent. The Harijans in the urban area, for example, are revealing frequent contacts with administrators and few seem completely isolated. It is clear that considerable "penetration" has taken place, if one judges penetration by the single criterion of "contact" alone.

Our study design provided for the selection of eight villages which were classified by objective criteria as probably "traditional", "transitional" and "urbanized-modernized". A complex variety of objective inductors was used, including occupational pattern, caste character (percentage from scheduled castes), degree of literacy, geographical location, communication facilities, educational institutions, transportation and roads availability, postal facilities, presence of governmental offices, and the like. If we look at the extent of administrative contacts by village type we see that penetration has occurred where one would perhaps least expect it. (Table 4 on page 224). If one compares the three most traditional villages (A, B, and C) with the three most modernized villages (F, G, H) one sees in fact greater exposure to the administrative cadre in the so called "Traditional" communities. From 25 to 30 per cent in our samples from traditional villages rarely were exposed to administrators, but up to 40 per cent were rarely exposed in the urbanized-modernized communities.

TABLE 4

## EXTENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT—"TRADITIONAL" AND "MODERN" VILLAGES

Administrative Contact	Most "traditional" Villages					Most "Modernized" Villages			Urban Sample
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
Very High & High	.. 20.8%	31.3	31.9	13.3	31.7	4.3	8.4	18.3	38.0
Medium	.. 54.2	40.6	38.3	46.7	43.9	54.4	58.4	46.3	45.6
Rare or Never	.. 25.0	28.2	29.8	40.0	24.3	41.3	33.3	35.3	16.4
Never	.. 0.0	6.3	6.4	6.7	4.9	13.0	12.5	7.3	10.1
Number of Cases	.. 24	32	47	30	41	46	48	82	

Neither mere physical or functional isolation, in a formal classificatory sense, nor "traditionalism" as determined by social or economic characteristics, therefore, seems associated with isolation from administrative penetration. Villagers in the most "isolated" areas do see administrators and interact with them.

The same finding emerges if we look exclusively at citizen contacts with Community Development officials alone. The *relative* extent of contact is high in the most traditional and isolated communities. In our entire rural sample, 67 per cent of the villagers were out of contact with CD officials. But in our most "traditional" village, 50 per cent of our sample had some exposure to CD officials, compared to 42 per cent for the most "modernized-urbanized" community. Similarly, all three of the most "traditional" villages reported a "high" frequency of contact equal to or surpassing the 26.5 per cent figure for the total rural sample. Although one may feel that this degree of exposure to Community Development officials is too low for the rural sector—67 per cent did not know CD officials or never saw them—one cannot say that the traditional or isolated communities are discriminated against by the development bureaucracy. Indeed, what evidence we have indicates that they are *relatively* well exposed, among villages, although the exposure of the urban population is greater.

## KNOWLEDGE OF, BELIEF IN, AND SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENTAL ACTION

Since public co-operation and involvement in development programmes is so crucial in India, from the standpoint of governmental

objectives, the level of information of the public about such programmes is a major focus of any inquiry. Roughly 16 per cent of the urban

TABLE 5  
INFORMATIONAL LEVEL BY EXTENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT  
(RURAL SAMPLE)

Informational Item	Administrative Contact Score					
	Very High	High	Average	Occasional	Rare	Never
1. No Knowledge of Community Development Programme	29.2%	29.3	48.4	63.2	66.7	80.8
2. No Knowledge of ways govt. is trying to improve agricultural production	4.2	7.3	21.3	36.8	38.4	44.4
3. What does govt. want you to do in agricultural programme? <i>Don't know*</i>	5.0	17.7	19.6	30.4	44.0	47.1
4. No Knowledge of health services	8.7	4.9	9.8	23.4	22.4	48.0
5. Does not know where family planning centre is	43.3	61.0	67.7	82.1	90.6	96.3
6. No opinion on what to do if R has a problem involving administrative agencies or officials	0.0	0.0	4.8	7.3	3.5	18.5
Proportion of Sample	7.1	12.2	18.7	28.8	25.1	8.0

\* Farmers only

*Note:* Each percentage should be read as a proportion of those in each administrative contact category. For example, 29.2% of those with "very high" administrative contact had no knowledge of the CD programme, etc.

sample had no significant contacts with administrators, while 33 per cent of the rural sample had no such contacts. One query is whether administrative contact was associated with greater knowledge about such programmes.

We used a variety of approaches to test the respondent's knowledge of governmental activities, services, and goals; only a few of which can be presented here. In Table 5 the extent of ignorance about

governmental programmes and administrative services is illustrated for the rural sample. It is obvious that administrative contact is related to much greater knowledge about specific services and programmes, and is related to a better understanding of governmental expectations concerning citizen action. Those with below average frequencies of bureaucratic contact (over 60 per cent of the rural sample, are extremely and consistently ignorant of what the Community Development programme is (from 60 to 80 per cent have no idea about its nature and aims.) On more specific questions concerning agriculture and the health programmes the ignorance is less apparent, generally, but still considerable. One-fifth to one-half of those with infrequent contact have specific knowledge of the health services, for example.

The importance of general administrative contact whether or not there has been exposure to the Community Development bureaucracy, is demonstrated in Table 6. For those villages who had limited contact with administrative officials generally, exposure to the CD bureaucracy significantly reduced ignorance about the aims and expectations of the CD programme. But among those with a generally high level of administrative contact, the absence of contact with CD officials was not important. In fact, such contact with CD officials may be related to

TABLE 6

RELATIVE IMPACT ON KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMMES  
OF GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT AND CONTACT WITH  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS (RURAL)

Information Item	Highest Admin. Contact Scores		Medium Admin. Contact Scores		Admin. Contact- Rare	Admin. Contact- Never
	High CD Contact Scores	Low CD Contact Scores	High CD Contact Scores	Low CD Contact Scores		
1. No Knowledge of CD Programme	33.3%	23.1	34.5	62.5	66.7	80.8
2. No knowledge of ways govt. is try- ing to improve agricultural pro- duction ..	7.7	3.8	17.2	34.7	38.4	44.4
3. No Knowledge of what govt. wants R to do in agricul- tural programme	11.8	13.6	20.8	26.9	44.0	47.1
N=	39	26	29	131	85	27

increased ignorance. Respondents with the better overall administrative contact scores were consistently better informed on all three informational items.

In urban Delhi the extent of ignorance about governmental services is extremely high for those who have not had administrative contacts. The illustrative items in Table 7 suggest that in the vital area of health services over 60 per cent of the "isolated" are completely ignorant. Even among those with a high administrative contact score lack of knowledge of health services is widespread—from 30

TABLE 7

LEVEL OF INFORMATION BY FREQUENCY OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT  
(URBAN)

	<i>Administrative Contact Score</i>				
	<i>Very High</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Rare or Never</i>
1. No Knowledge of health services .. .. .	46.9%	61.8	63.1	61.1	87.5
2. Does not know where Family Planning Centre is .. ..	31.5	51.3	54.1	78.1	80.7
3. No opinion of what to do if R has a problem involving administrative agencies or officials .. .. .	13.0	12.8	18.8	34.4	43.9
N= .. .. .	54	78	85	73	57
Proportion of Sample .. ..	15.6	22.5	24.5	21.0	16.4

to 50 per cent have no specific knowledge. If one compares the rural and urban distributions, one notices that there are differential patterns of ignorance. The rural population is very much better informed about specific health services—at least a third of the rural population is more knowledgeable. (This is not true, however, so far as knowledge of the Family Planning Centre is concerned.) The urban population, furthermore, is much less knowledgeable as to how to process problems with administrative officials. The citizen-official relationship in the village has apparently educated villagers on how to seek administrative action.

What is the impact of administrative contact for illiterates as compared to literates, a question of no little significance in a country

TABLE 8

THE INFLUENCE OF LITERACY ON LEVEL OF INFORMATION ABOUT  
GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES (URBAN)

	<i>Administrative Contact Score</i>			
	<i>Very High, Literates</i>	<i>High and Aver Illiterates</i>	<i>Occasional Literates</i>	<i>Illiterates</i>
1. No Knowledge of Health Services	60.3	53.3	64.6	54.2
2. Does not know where Family Plan- ning Centre is .. ..	43.3	83.3	72.9	91.6
3. No opinion of what to do if R has a problem involving admini- strative agencies or officials ..	9.5	53.3	26.5	50.0
N= .. ..	179	30	48	24

	<i>Administrative Contact Score</i> <i>Rare or Never</i>	
	<i>Literates</i>	<i>Illiterates</i>
1.	88.9	86.2
2.	77.8	86.2
3.	33.3	60.0
N=	27	29

with 75-80 per cent illiteracy? The evidence is mixed, but generally administrative contact seems to be a factor reducing ignorance of governmental services in urban Delhi, among both literates and illiterates. Thus, among illiterates not exposed to administrative services 86 per cent are ignorant of health services, while only 53 per cent are ignorant if in frequent contact with administrators; the comparable figures for literates are 89 per cent and 60 per cent. It is a curious and significant finding that illiterates in all administrative contact categories are slightly better informed than literates on this particular item concerning the health services. On the other measures of knowledge, however, this is not so. Illiterates are extremely uninformed and uncertain about specific administrative services and about procedures for contacting administrative officials. On this latter point, those with an education who have also had frequent contact with officials are well-informed on how to process grievances and problems through the administrative hierarchy. Getting an education in India does not, in short, seem to be very functional by itself to knowledge about governmental programmes. Experience with the administrative apparatus seems more functional, for certain types of

information, though among illiterates with such contacts considerable ignorance of administrative procedures and services persists.

When one examines the degree of support for governmental officials and programmes in India (Delhi State), there are striking differences for urban and rural populations, as well as for illiterates and those with considerable education. When asked what kind of a job the central government is doing, less than 40 per cent of the urban population say it is doing a good or very good job, while about 55 per cent of the rural population is supportive. The urban disapproval is widespread among all educational classes; the rural disapproval is highest among illiterates (only 4 per cent approving). When asked to evaluate

TABLE 9

THE ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT IN DEVELOPING BELIEF IN,  
AND SUPPORT FOR, GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMMES

	<i>Administrative Contact Score</i>					
	<i>Very High</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Rare</i>	<i>Never</i>
<b>Rural</b>						
Believe Govt. officials are doing a good/very good job						
—village officials	87.5	78.0	74.6	63.9	57.6	48.2
—central govt. officials ..	88.5	51.2	66.7	47.4	54.3	38.5
Believe Health services should be provided by the govt.	100.0	100.0	98.4	94.8	94.1	85.2
Believe Community Development Programme is worth while	100.0	97.6	66.1	63.0	59.5	51.9
Believe CD officials doing a good job	87.5	82.9	58.7	50.0	51.8	44.4
—not a good job	2.5	4.7	22.3	26.6	19.3	11.2
—no opinion ..	0.0	2.4	19.0	23.4	28.9	44.4
<b>Urban</b>						
Believe govt. officials are doing a good/very good job					<i>Rare and Never</i>	
—municipal (Delhi)	16.7	34.6	22.3	30.1	22.8	
—central govt.	29.6	43.6	40.0	45.2	21.5	
Believe Health services should be provided by govt. ..	98.1	89.8	96.4	89.0	80.7	

the job of a specific set of officials, as health officials, roughly the same differences appear, although the support is from five to ten percentage points higher. The rural population, and its educational sub-groups, is consistently more supportive, but large segments of the population, especially among the lower status groups are very critical of the central government and its programmes.

The impact of administrative contact on these support levels can be seen from Table 9 on page 229. In rural areas those who are frequent interactors with the bureaucracy have extremely favourable attitudes toward governmental officials, local and central, as well as highly approve the health and Community Development programmes. Those out of touch with the bureaucracy are much less supportive. Less than 40 per cent of those who are "isolated" say the central governmental officials are doing a good or very good job, under 60 per cent feel the Community Development programme is worthwhile, and 50 per cent or less feel that CD officials are doing a good job. Health programmes are supported by overwhelming majorities in both urban and rural areas. But urban residents are very critical of government officials, local and central, and contact with these officials does not contribute to a greater approval for the job they are performing. Administrative contact, thus, seems much more functional to the development of supportive attitudes in rural than in urban areas.

#### PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE BUREAUCRACY

A general theoretical concern in any society is the nature and extent of the public's belief that administrators are, as Morris Janowitz has put it, "principle-minded", that is guided by an interest in, as well as observing rules providing for, impartiality and public service.<sup>2</sup> Can the citizen expect fair treatment from officials, or is "political pull" indispensable? In addition, does the citizen feel he can act alone in approaching administrators or does he need help? Finally, is there any effective redress if one feels that officials are not doing their jobs properly? Expectations of impartiality, realistic calculations as to how to approach administrators, and feelings of optimism concerning the efficacy of interactions with administrators—all are important components of the confidence perspectives in citizen-official relationships. Data on such components will tell us a great deal about the general problem of public citizen perceptions of authority as well as indicate for India what the potential is for citizen co-operation with development plans.

<sup>2</sup> See Morris Janowitz, *et al*, *Public Administration and the Public Perspectives Toward Movement in a Metropolitan Community*, Ann Arlsu, Michigan, Bureau of Movement, University of Michigan, (1958).

The general pattern of responses to questions we asked in the Delhi study in this substantive area revealed a pattern somewhat similar to those found in Detroit by Janowitz. For example, on the question of whether "political pull" is important in "whether the government will help a private citizen", the distributions for Detroit in 1954 and Delhi in 1964 were as follows:

	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Delhi urban</u>	<u>Delhi rural</u>
Yes, it plays an important part	41 %	54	70
Yes, it plays some part	28	6	5
Depends	4	3	2
No	15	7	11

On the question "if you had a problem to take up with a government bureau, would you do it yourself or do you think you would be better off if you got the help of some person or organisation?" The following distributions were found:

	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Delhi urban</u>	<u>Delhi rural</u>
Would do it himself .. ..	16 %	25	23
Would get help .. ..	67	50	64

What we were particularly interested in the Indian study was the extent to which administrative contact was related to these confidence perspectives. Table 10 on next page presents the data.

The relatively high confidence in both administrative behaviour and in the capacity of the citizen to act effectively in contacts with administrators is noticeable in the response patterns of the rural sample. But the peasant's perspectives appear to be somewhat inconsistent, if not naive. For he feels that officials are impartial, but that "political pull" is also important, and despite this he is more likely to attempt direct contact with administrators than is his much more cynical urban counterpart. The urban resident doubts the fair-mindedness of administrators and also has less self-confidence in dealing with them. These differentials are consistent for most of these administrative contact score categories.

TABLE 10

THE RELEVANCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT FOR CITIZEN  
CONFIDENCE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

	<i>Administrative Very High</i>	<i>Contact High</i>	<i>Score Average</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Rare</i>	<i>Never</i>
<b>Rural</b>						
Officials treat all citizens fairly	65.2%	58.5	59.7	57.7	58.8	48.0
Citizens can act if officials are not doing their jobs properly .. ..	83.3	78.0	69.4	57.3	44.7	33.3
Would act by them- selves if have a prob- lem with the govt.	41.7	24.4	30.2	18.8	18.8	18.5
Political Pull is im- portant in dealing with administrators	79.2	80.5	79.4	79.2	69.4	55.6
					<i>Rare or Never</i>	
<b>Urban</b>						
Officials treat all citizens fairly ..	44.4	35.9	35.7	41.7	32.7	
Citizens can act if officials are not do- ing their jobs properly	71.7	59.2	54.8	63.1	63.2	
Would act themselves if have a problem with the govt.	29.6	32.1	21.2	26.0	15.8	
Political pull is im- portant in dealings with administrators	64.8	67.9	70.6	43.8	47.4	

Does increased contact with administrators seem related to greater confidence in the bureaucracy? Yes and no. Those with "very high" contact scores emphasize the role of "political pull" much more than the "isolates"—a 23 percentage point differential in the rural sector, and a 17 percentage point differential in the urban sector. But there is also an increase in the proportion who feel optimistic about the success of citizen contacts with administrators, either in initiating actions or in reprisals. The data are not completely consistent on this matter for the urban sample but point in that direction. It seems then that although there may be some rural naivete, and considerable distrust of administrative impartiality and responsiveness to public demands (although probably no more so than in the United States), exposure to the bureaucracy in India brings with it a certain realism as to how administrative decisions are made.

In addition, among those with high contact scores there is a feeling that the citizen *can* act. On the question what would you do if you have a problem with the government, 44 per cent of those with no contact with officials in urban Delhi had "no opinion", while only 13 per cent of those with "high" contact scores were at a loss as to how to approach such officials. In the rural sample there was more self-confidence, but whereas *none* of the respondents in the "high" contact categories had "no opinion" as to how to proceed, 20 per cent of those isolated from the bureaucracy had "no opinion" on action alternatives. Administrative contact, then, may be functional to the achievement of greater "realism" about administrative behaviour and greater self-confidence in dealings with administrators.

#### ACTION ORIENTATIONS RELEVANT TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In our study we asked a long series of questions seeking to discover in detail how the farmer was working his farm, what changes he had introduced in recent years in the use of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, in cropping patterns, marketing methods, and the like. In addition we attempted to discover the nature of his financial and standard of living aspirations for himself and his family, and whether he felt he could or would participate in the government's programmes to increase agricultural production. This brings us to the heart of the question of the relevance of bureaucratic effort for economic and social change in India. In short, we were interested in discovering what the role of the Community Development bureaucracy was in moving farmers to cooperate with the Five Year Plans' objectives in the agricultural sector. We can present only a few of the relevant findings here, but they are highly suggestive. (Table 11 on page 234)

As our previous report indicated the farmers in our study were highly motivated to improve their economic status. The overwhelming majority of them had aspirations to improve their lot and were convinced that the proposals of the government would indeed assist them to improve their standard of living. As Table 11 reveals the evidence does not suggest that contact with administrative officials, generally, or specifically in the CD bureaucracy was instrumental to that end. True, 77 per cent of those with "high" contact scores felt their standard of living would increase, but 71 per cent of those rarely in contact with officials had the same conviction. The same finding is true if one looks at exposure to the CD bureaucracy alone. But the striking finding is that *action*, as contrasted to aspirational *conviction*, differs markedly for those farmers exposed to administrative officials. Whereas 70 per cent or more of those with high contact scores *did* change their methods of farming, only one-fourth to one-third of those isolated

TABLE 11

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTACT TO SELF-INTEREST  
ASPIRATIONS AND POSITIVE ACTIONS IN THE AGRICULTURAL SPHERE

(Rural Sample—Farmers Only)

*General Administrative Contact Score*

	<i>Very High and High</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Rare</i>	<i>Never</i>
Feel standard of living would improve if followed the advice of the govt. in agricultural sphere .. .. .	77.2%	64.6	56.2	71.0	55.0
Have changed ways of farming in the past five years .. .. .	70.2	56.3	34.3	39.1	25.0


*Contact with Community Development Officials*

	<i>Very High</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>None</i>
Feel standard of living would improve if followed the advice of the govt. in agricultural sphere	76.4	81.0	55.6	60.6
Have changed ways of farming in the past five years ..	83.0	66.7	33.3	32.0

from contact with administrators took action to improve their methods of farming. This is a significant difference and consistent as one moves from high to low contact with the bureaucracy. A much more detailed analysis is necessary to test the relevance of other variables. But the suggestion is strong that bureaucratic efforts were functional for translating aspiration belief or conviction into positive action.

In this very preliminary and exploratory effort we have sought to examine the extent to which the "new bureaucracy" in India has penetrated into those citizen sectors in India which are most critical for development, most probably passive, and most potentially alienated or alienatable. Further, we have examined the relevance of administrative effort for increased knowledge about governmental programmes, increased belief in and support for those programmes, increased confidence in the citizen's capacity to cope with officials, and positive action to implement these programmes. On balance the data suggest

that there has indeed been "pay off" from administrative effort. Where citizens have been in contact with officials, particularly in rural areas, the experience seems to have been functional to citizen involvement in the system. This is not to say that the behaviour of Community Development officials specifically, or the behaviour of other administrative cadres, has been completely successful in India. As reported previously, many citizens are as yet completely isolated, and many citizens in contact with Indian officials have deep suspicions, basic dissatisfactions, and unco-operative attitudes. Nevertheless there is evidence that the bureaucracy is having and can play an important role. These data are not significant only from the standpoint of achieving economic or social goals. They have important implications for the eventual development of integrative citizen perspectives, for identification of the citizen with the larger collectivity of "the state", and for the involvement of the citizen in the "modern" bureaucratic apparatus of India which is so essential if national unity is to be achieved and, on the other hand, if bureaucrats are to act responsively.



## POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS IN INDIA

*Bishwanath Singh*

**P**OLITICAL neutrality of civil servants has been regarded as one of the essential conditions for the success of a democratic form of government based on the existence of more than one political party. Lord Attlee has described the concept as "one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy".<sup>1</sup> It means that civil servants should not overtly support any particular political ideology and should faithfully serve the government in power irrespective of its political complexion. As Friedrich and Cole observed: "It is the essence of governmental bureaucracy to be neutral with regard to the interests and opinions which divide the community."<sup>2</sup> To ensure political neutrality of the public services, in many countries, the civil servants are denied direct participation in the political life of the country.

The concept of neutrality owes its origin to a particular stage in the development of the party system of government in Great Britain. At this stage, that government was regarded as the best which governed the least. The State had a negative end in view, i.e., "hindering the hindrances" in the path of citizenship. This concept was suited to the temper of the *laissez-faire* State whose functions were, as Ferdinand Lassale contemptuously described, that of a "Night-Watch-Man". The concept was based on a dichotomy between the functions of the political executive and that of the permanent executive—the functions of the former being the determination of policy and that of the latter to translate it into practice. The permanent executive was politically sterilized and was assumed to be an "idealised entity without passion and parts".<sup>3</sup>

The role of the State has gradually changed from an umpire to that of promoter of welfare and development. It is no longer a mere law-and-order-enforcing agency; it has now become predominantly an agency of maximizing social welfare. The range of its activities has expanded many times in several directions and it is increasingly undertaking more and more welfare and development

<sup>1</sup> The Earl Attlee, "Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public", ed. W.A. Robson, *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, London, the Hogarth Press, 1956, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Carl J. Friedrich, Cole and Taylor, *Responsible Bureaucracy*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1932, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> R. W. Rawlings, *The Civil Service and the People*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1945, p. 89.

tasks. It has also become the largest employer. The role of the civil servants has also changed from a "moral and political eunuch"<sup>4</sup> to that of "a centre of social cooperation".<sup>5</sup> A higher civil servant advises and assists a Minister not only in formulating and carrying out a policy, which generally is the policy of the majority party in the House of Commons, "but also to defend that policy against the criticisms and attacks of the party or parties in opposition. He works in the midst of party politics. He must be aware of party politics; indeed he ignores it at his peril. A first requirement of higher Civil Servant is a political sense".<sup>6</sup> In the present age, he cannot be personally neutral; it is "not a virtue but is tantamount to civic immaturity".<sup>7</sup>

In this changed context, it seems pertinent to examine the question of political rights of the civil servants. By virtue of his official position, a civil servant has some peculiar powers as well as responsibilities. But besides being an official, he is also a citizen. He must have a minimum of civic and political rights to enable him to make his full contribution to the society. But at the same time "he cannot be simply and wholly a citizen".<sup>8</sup> Thus, there is a conflict between the two principles: "between the desires and interests of the civil servants, regarded as a citizen, and the duty of the civil servant, regarded as such."<sup>9</sup> In the words of Masterman, it is desirable in a democratic society "for all citizens to have a voice in the affairs of the State and for as many as possible to play an active part in public life". On the other, "the public interest demands the maintenance of political impartiality in the Civil Service and confidence in that impartiality is an essential part of the structure of Government...."<sup>10</sup> Some restrictions on the political rights of the civil servants are thus equally necessary. An attempt is made below to examine and analyse the dilemma posed by Masterman above in the context of the Indian situation.

<sup>4</sup> R.W. Rawlings, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> D. Waldo, *The Administrative State*, New York, Ronald Press, 1948, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> K.C. Wheare, *The Civil Service in the Constitution*, London, The Athlone Press, 1954, pp. 27-28.

<sup>7</sup> O.G. Stahl, *Public Personnel Administration*, New York, Harper and Row, 1962, p. 363.

<sup>8</sup> E. Barker, "Civil Service and Civil Liberties," London, *Public Administration*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1941, p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> MacDonnel Report, Quoted by Leon D. Epstein, "Political Sterilization of Civil Servants : The United States and Great Britain", *Public Administration Review*, Autumn, 1950, p. 284.

<sup>10</sup> Masterman Committee Report, Quoted in *Public Administration*, London, Summer 1953, p. 173.

## II

The Constitution of India guarantees certain fundamental rights to all citizens of India, irrespective of their religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. These rights also accrue to the civil servants. But these rights, by their very nature, are not absolute. Article 19 permits placing of reasonable restrictions under the circumstances enumerated in the Constitution. Under the provisions of Article 16, every citizen of India has the right of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, but this also is not an absolute right. Article 309 empowers the appropriate legislature to "regulate the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed, to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of any state". This Article significantly states that this power is subject to other provisions of the Constitution, among which Part III occupies an important place.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Articles 309 and 148(5), certain rules have been framed by the Central Government, from time to time, to regulate the conduct of Government servant. These include the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, the All-India Services (Conduct) Rules, Railway Services (Conduct) Rules. The State Governments have also issued similar conduct rules for their employees. All these rules have more or less analogous provisions. *Prima facie*, these regulations put some limitations on the fundamental rights of the civil servants as citizens of India, which are guaranteed to them in Part III of the Constitution. Rules framed under Article 309 must, however, be consistent with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution. Otherwise they are liable to be held as unconstitutional. Therefore, the restrictions imposed by such Rules must be related to the purposes specified in the clauses 2 to 6 of Article 19 and must be "reasonably necessary", not vague or arbitrary, *i.e.*, in the interests of efficiency, integrity and impartiality of public services. Thus, in *C.N. Chellapau Pillai vs. State of Travancore Cochin*, 1955, it was held that "restrictions on the fundamental rights guaranteed to a citizen can be imposed in a contract of Government service provided such restrictions satisfy the tests of reasonableness and do not make a nullity of the rights conferred".<sup>11</sup> Recently, in *Kameshwar Prasad vs. State of Bihar*, 1962, the Supreme Court held that the Constitution does not exclude Government servants as a class from the protection of the several Articles in Part

<sup>11</sup> *C. N. Chellapau Pillai vs. State of Travancore Cochin*, A.I.R. 1955, Calcutta, 382.

III save in those cases where such persons are specifically named.<sup>12</sup> It is for the courts to decide if any restriction in question is reasonably necessary or not.

It may be pointed out that constitutionally, the public servant holds office during the pleasure of the President or the Governor (Article 310) and he may be dismissed at pleasure subject to the protection envisaged in Article 311 of the Constitution.<sup>13</sup> But even this protection is not available under the provisions of Article 311 (2)(C), i.e., when it is not in the interest of the security of the State. The scope of the protection of Article 311 is confined to the grant of "reasonable opportunity of showing cause" against the proposed action. In *Khem Chand vs. Union of India*, the Supreme Court held that the ambit of protection provided by Article 311 is that the civil servant must be informed about the charges against him, he must be allowed to defend himself at a departmental inquiry and finally must be given a chance to represent against the proposed punishment.<sup>14</sup> A Memorandum issued by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs in 1952 stated that the Service Rules comprised the terms and conditions of a contract which governed the relationship between the Government and the civil servants and it was open to the civil servants at any time to exercise their fundamental rights by resigning from the civil service.<sup>15</sup> The principle enunciated in this Memorandum, which has since become out of date owing to the principle laid down in *Kameshwar Prasad's* case. In *Kameshwar Prasad's* case, cited earlier, the Supreme Court held that a Government servant, like any other citizen, is entitled to fundamental rights subject only to reasonable restrictions allowed under the Constitution. The earlier principle underlying the Memorandum of the Ministry of Home Affairs resembled very closely to Justice Holmes' famous observation: "The Petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a police man .... The servant cannot complain as he takes to employment on terms offered him."<sup>16</sup>

### III

Prof. Herman Finer classifies political rights into two groups: (1) rights concerning the exercise of Vote and general political activity,

<sup>12</sup> *Kameshwar Prasad vs. State of Bihar*, A. 1962, S.C. 1166 (1172), See also *Civic Affairs*, Kanpur, March 1962, pp. 21-24.

<sup>13</sup> *Shyam Lal vs. Union of India*, 1955, S.C.R.

<sup>14</sup> *Khem Chand vs. Union of India*, 1958, S.C.R. 1080.

<sup>15</sup> Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Memorandum No. 141/51, Ests., dated 11-8-1952.

<sup>16</sup> *M. C. Auliffe vs. Mayor of Bedford*, 1892, Quoted by Stahl, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

and (2) rights in respect of candidature for legislative assemblies. For the sake of analysis these rights may be discussed under the following broad heads : (a) the right to vote, (b) the right to canvass vote for others, (c) the right to attend election meetings, (d) the right to join political parties, (e) the right to participate in demonstration or strike in aid of a political movement, and (f) the right to contest legislative elections.

At the outset, it seems necessary to make a distinction between "industrial" and "non-industrial" civil servants. The "industrial" civil servants employed in the "non-public-utility" services are, broadly speaking, at par with the ordinary citizens in the enjoyment of political rights, excepting that they cannot divulge official secrets. However, some public corporations such as Damodar Valley Corporation and the Indian Airlines Corporation, have framed special rules of conduct for their employees.<sup>17</sup> The Railway servants are governed by the Railway Servants (Conduct) Rules which are almost similar to the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules. The latter also regulate the conduct of Government servants deputed to public undertakings run by the departments of the Central Government.

Article 326 of the Constitution guarantees the right of franchise to every Indian citizen (including the Government servant) who is not less than 21 years of age and who does not suffer from other disqualifications. But the civil servants, unlike the ordinary citizens, are, under the Conduct Rules, not free to give an indication to the public of the manner in which they propose to vote or have voted. They are also forbidden to canvass or use their influence in an election to any legislature or local authority.<sup>18</sup>

The Supreme Court, in *Rajkrushna vs. Binod* (1954),<sup>19</sup> held that Government servants "are not disqualified from proposing or seconding a candidate's nomination" under Section 33(2) of the Representation of People Act, 1951. In another case, *Satya Dev vs. Padam Dev* (1955), the Supreme Court said that the civil servants can work as polling agents at polling stations provided they do no more than identify the voters. It also held that "the mere appointment of a Government servant as a polling agent in itself, and without more, is not an infringement of Section 123 (8)".<sup>20</sup> However, such interpretations

<sup>17</sup> See Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Commission of Enquiry on Emoluments and Conditions of Service of Central Government Employees (1957-59) Report, 1959.

<sup>18</sup> All India Services (Conduct) Rules, 1954, Rule 4.

<sup>19</sup> S.C.R., 1954, Vol. V, pp. 915-16.

<sup>20</sup> S.C.R., 1955, Vol. I, p. 561. Shri D.D. Basu also accepted them as applicable to present day. See his *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, Calcutta, S.C. Sarkar, 1963, Vol. IV.

stand in sharp contrast with the explanation of the All India Services (Conduct) Rules, 1954, which provided that even the display by a member of the civil service on his person, vehicles or residence of any electoral symbol should be deemed to amount to using his influence in the election. The Government servants are also not expected to attend election meetings. The instructions<sup>21</sup> issued by the Central Government provide that Government servants should not attend election meetings organized by any political party except to the extent necessary for maintaining law and order and affording normal protection to Ministers.<sup>22</sup> However, it is justified for a candidate to canvass for the support of Government servants.<sup>23</sup>

The Government servant in India cannot stand for election to either House of Parliament (*vide* Article 102(1) (a) of the Constitution, or to either House of the Legislature of a State (*vide* Article 191(1)(a)). Except in Australia and France the right to parliamentary candidature has not been conceded to the civil servants in any other democratic country. They are required to first resign and then contest the elections. In England, since the passing of the Act of Settlement, 1701, holders of "officers of profit" are disqualified from becoming members of the House of Commons. The various House of Commons Disqualifications Acts have reiterated it. The Servants of the Crown (Parliamentary candidature) Order, 1950, lays down that any civil servant seeking election to the House of Commons must tender his resignation before announcing his candidature. A notable feature of Australian practice is that when they lose the election, they are appointed to an equivalent post under the Government service.

As regards election to local bodies, till August 1959, the Government servant could stand for it with the permission of Government under proviso (iii) of Rule 4 of the Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1955. However, if a civil servant contested local elections without obtaining the prior permission of the Government and if he failed to resign his membership of the local body after being asked to do so, the Government could remove him from service on the ground of misconduct.<sup>24</sup> The above facility has, however, been withdrawn and local political life is now as much a forbidden field for the Government servants as the national political life. In the case of some classes of local bodies, like the Cantonment

<sup>21</sup> Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Circular, 7th July, 1961.

<sup>22</sup> See, *Civic Affairs*, Kanpur, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> *Raj Krushna vs. Binod*, S.C.R., 1954, Vol. V, pp. 915-16.

<sup>24</sup> Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Notification No. 25/14/59-Est(A), 12th August, 1959.

Boards or Post Trusts where local officials act as *ex-officio* members, but such participation is a part of their official duty.

Rule 5 of the Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1964, debars Government servants from taking part in politics. They cannot be members of any political party nor can subscribe in aid of, or assist in any other manner, any political movement or activity. Rule 4(A) of the Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1955, prohibited the participation of Government servants in "any demonstration" or any form of strike in connection with any matter pertaining to the conditions of service. The prohibition of strike was and is not applicable in the case of those government servants who come under the definition of "Workmen" in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. The latter Act makes strikes illegal in certain circumstances only and thus recognizes the right to strike, as a weapon in furtherance of an industrial dispute. However, the Supreme Court in *Kameshwar vs. State of Bihar*, A. 1962, held that Rule 4(A), in so far as it prohibited any kind of demonstration, was violative of Article 19(1)(a) and (b) because the restrictions it imposed were not confined to the interests of public order or any of the grounds of restriction permissible under Clause 3 of Article 19.<sup>25</sup> The Court explained that the vice of the Rule consisted in that it banned "every type of demonstration—be the same however innocent and however incapable of causing a breach of public tranquility and does not confine itself to those forms of demonstration which might lead to that result". The revised Rule—Rule 7 of the new Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1964, confines the scope of the "prohibited demonstration" to the grounds mentioned in Article 19 of the Constitution.

According to Rule 4(B) of the Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1955, Government servants could not join any unrecognized service association or an association which was not recognized by the Government within next six months. The Supreme Court in *E.X. Joseph vs. O.K. Ghosh* and another (1963) held that this Rule contravened Article 19(1)(c) because it enabled the Government to refuse or withdraw recognition on grounds other than those specified in Clause (4) of Article 19 of the Constitution.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, Rule 6 of the new Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1964, prohibits the Government servants from joining only those associations, "objects or activities of which are prejudicial to the

<sup>25</sup> *Kameshwar Prasad vs. State of Bihar*, A. 1962 S.C. 1166 (1172), *See, Civic Affairs*, Kanpur, March 1962, pp. 21-4. In the light of this decision, amendments were made by the notification, dated 13-12-1963 in the CCS (Conduct) Rules, 1955, also incorporated in Rules 6 and 7 of the new CCS (Conduct) Rules, 1964.

<sup>26</sup> *E. X. Joseph vs. O. K. Ghosh*, A. 1963, S.C. 812 (815)

interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India or public order or morality.”

Moreover, the Government servants are also subject to certain special obligations. Section 5 of the Official Secrets Act, 1923, prohibits the communication of any official document or information to any one to whom they are not authorized to communicate. Rule 8 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules has similar provisions. In the interest of the integrity and discipline of the service, they are also prohibited to make public criticism of any policy pursued or action taken by the Government.

To ensure the security of the State, Clause 2 of Rule 5 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules requires the Government servants to endeavour to prevent any member of their family from participating or assisting in any manner any movement or activity which tends, directly or indirectly, to be subversive of the Government as by law established. In case of their inability to prevent so, they are under an obligation to make a report to that effect to the Government. The object of these provisions is to facilitate their transfer from “sensitive” posts. Even in the United Kingdom, a Government servant is liable to be transferred from certain posts marked as “sensitive” on security grounds if political reliability of his wife or other class relatives is in doubt.

#### IV

It may be profitable to examine the state of political rights of civil servants in other countries. In the United Kingdom, this question was examined by the MacDonnell Commission in 1914 and by the Blanesburgh Committee in 1925. The staff side of the National Whitley Council, was persistent in its demand for the extension of political rights. As a result of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council, made under the general framework of the recommendations of the Masterman Committee (1949), a three-fold division of the Civil Service was made consisting of politically free, “restricted” and “intermediate” classes. The “free” class comprises of all the “industrial” civil servants and minor grades, constituting about 62 per cent of the total number of the civil servants in that country. They are “completely free to engage in all forms of political activities, both national and local, subject only to the maintenance of overriding considerations such as the Official Secrets Act and the ban on political activities while on duty or in official premises”.<sup>27</sup> The “intermediate” class,

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<sup>27</sup>Masterman Committee Report, p. 31.

comprising typists, clerical assistants, draughtsmen, manipulative supervisory grades who constitute about 22 per cent of the total number of civil servants, are eligible for permission to engage in all national political activities except parliamentary candidature. The granting of permission is dependent on the acceptance of a code of discretion.<sup>28</sup>

The politically "restricted" class consists of the administrative, executive, professional and all other senior supervisory officers. These constitute about 16 per cent of the total number of civil servants in that country. They are subject to extensive political restrictions, though they can participate in local elections with departmental permission. Canvassing by this class is barred.

In U.S.A., the First Amendment to the Constitution provided that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech". Still it has always been understood that the freedom guaranteed is subject to the "police power" of the State. Consequently various laws and regulations have been passed to regulate the conduct of civil servants which are "rather of the nature of undue reaction from the blatant evils of spoils system than a rational activity".<sup>29</sup> The regulations are contained in the Hatch Act of 1939 and the Federal Personnel Manual. These regulations prohibit all categories of civil servants from "assuming any active part in political management or political campaigns". In the words of Mr. Justice Black, in *United Public Workers vs. Mitchell*<sup>30</sup> "The sum of political privileges left to Government employees... seems to be this; they may vote in silence; they may carefully and quietly express a political view at their peril; and they may become "spectators"... at campaign meetings." In Canada, also, there is a bar upon the civil servants to engage in political activities.

## V

In comparison to the United Kingdom, the restrictions imposed on the political rights of the civil servants in India appear to be unduly severe and far behind the march of time. With the rapid

<sup>28</sup> The permission is "subject to the condition that they act with moderation and discretion, particularly in matters affecting their own Department and that they take care not to involve themselves in matters of political controversy which are of national rather than local significance.

<sup>29</sup> H. Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1956, p. 878. See also L.D. Epstein, "Political Sterilization of Civil Servants in the United States and Great Britain", *Public Administration Review*, Autumn 1950, p. 284.

<sup>30</sup> *United Public Workers vs. Mitchell* (1947) 330. U.S. This was the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Black.

increase in the scale and scope of public employment, the civil services in India have come to employ millions of people. The Government servants today are one of the most conscious and articulate sections of the population. To deprive all of them of any opportunity to participate in the debate of political issues which profoundly concern all would amount to "disfranchising" a large chunk of population.<sup>31</sup> This goes against the spirit of Constitution as solemnly expressed in its preamble. It is but natural that the organizations of public employees have demanded the grant and extension of political rights. The extension of such rights in the Great Britain has helped provide a stimulus to such demands.

The Second Central Pay Commission (1957-59) examined this question in some detail. The Commission rightly emphasized that the civil servants "must be required to so conduct themselves that the country can have the confidence that whatever party is in power, they should serve the Government of the day with loyalty and devotion" (P. 531). According to the Commission: "The essential conditions for permitting civil servants to engage in political activity are an assurance that they would be able to keep their personal political affiliations and activities, and their public duties, wholly apart, and that the public would accept that such a separation could be, and was in fact being, made".<sup>32</sup> In the Commission's opinion, such conditions do not exist in India, and, therefore "what may be sound and feasible in homogeneous community like that in the United Kingdom, with a long-established tradition of democratic Government, may not necessarily be sound and feasible in India".<sup>33</sup> The Commission came to the "conclusion that change or relaxation in the existing restrictions on the political rights of civil servants would not be in a public interest, or the interest of the employees themselves".<sup>34</sup>

The arguments advanced by the Pay Commission appear very cogent, though it is difficult to subscribe them in full. The political parties have come to stay as working instruments of democratic politics. It does not strengthen democracy if a significant group of citizens stand aloof from the functioning of the party system. As Morten Robert Godine remarks: "A democracy is always open to abuse of its instruments....The political neutralization of a specific group based upon the possibility of such undesirable consequences would seem to constitute a repudiation of institutional

<sup>31</sup> According to National Employment Service Report, 1962, the total number of employees under the Central Government was 1,632,283 and under State Government, 3,685,712.

<sup>32</sup> *Second Pay Commission, Report, (1957-59), op. cit.*, p. 533.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

arrangements which have become an integral part of the apparatus of a modern democratic state." There are also other groups in Indian society which are equally identified with government through subsidies or regulated enterprises but have not been deprived of opportunities for political self-expression. In the words of Arch Dotson, "it is a violation of the rudiments of justice to punish for potential offenses and equally unfair to restrain all public employees because of the acts of some."<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the aim of public policy in democratic state should be to work toward the day when the citizens who are also civil servants can assume limited political responsibilities after duty hours, while keeping partisan politics out of the civil service.

A beginning towards the adoption of such a policy in India may be made by allowing the right of full political participation to the "industrial" civil servants. As the Pay Commission also agreed, these Government employees "have no administrative or executive discretion and the nature of their work is such as not to be affected by their political affiliations. Similarly, class III and IV employees may also be given full right to engage in political activity after duty hours, subject of course that they do not blatantly violate the official trust. This may be made dependent on the acceptance of a "code of discretion", on the lines of the one introduced in England—they should be free to criticize the actions or policies of Government departments other than their own.

As regards "non-industrial" civil servants, a beginning may be made by permitting them to participate in elections for local authorities. If such extension of political rights were to ever threaten the security of the state, the Government has enough powers to proclaim a temporary emergency and deal with the situation. Against this it may be contended that the present level of social and professional consciousness of the rank and file of Government servants does not warrant the grant of political rights to them. But the British also used to argue that the Indian people were not mature enough to deserve political power and independence.

The argument that a large chunk of the society called the Government servants should not be vested with political rights to participate in the political process of the country because they are not enlightened enough is retrogressive and outdated, not suited to transitional societies that are trying to combine both democracy and development. They do need a politically conscious citizenry to propel the wheels of national reconstruction and development

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<sup>35</sup> Arch Dotson, "The Emerging Doctrine of privilege in Public Employment", *Public Administration Review*, Chicago, Spring 1955, p. 84.

along democratic lines. But what is more imperative is a bureaucracy which is enlightened and adept in the art of the democratic process of development. It is the bureaucracy which has to carry the burden of implementing large development plans with the active co-operation of the people.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly the lower and middle echelons of the bureaucracy which constitute its overwhelming number, must be politically alive, and are allowed to participate in the political process.

However, the higher civil servants, who are associated with the formulation of policy must be above politics. Excepting a few, in no country they are allowed to exercise political rights. They are rested with enormous discretionary power in a welfare state like India, and it is necessary that they remain politically non-partisan. It seems difficult, therefore, to agree fully with the Declaration of the Second International Conference of Public and Allied Employees (held in Leipzig from August 20-24, 1959) that an employee of the State and Public Services "must have the same rights as all other citizens. Since a civil servant's legal commitments towards the state are established by law, it is intolerable that the nature of his functions should be so used to restrict his rights as a citizen in any way whatsoever."<sup>37</sup> What is desirable is to adopt the middle path, as explained earlier, between these two extreme views.



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<sup>36</sup> The author is grateful to Shri Nageshwar Prashad of the Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, for this point.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted by R. Lorez, "International Conference of Public and Allied Employees", (Conference Convened by the T.U.I. of Public and Allied Employees, August 1959), *Civic Affairs*, November 1959, p. 22.

## NOTE ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

*S. K. Singh*

Under the recent 16th Constitutional Amendment, any advocacy for secession can be banned by law. The Constitutional Amendment is only permissive of legislation to be enacted on this point. The question whether legislation should be undertaken is under examination of Government. If such legislation is not undertaken it will be because of the absence of advocacy of succession in any substantial degree. Any talk of secession as such, cannot, one expects, be a legal activity in Indian democracy for long.

Banning of the issue from political forum implies that other built-in devices are available for redress of those grievances which might have aroused talks of secession. Democratic theory and practice demand that if a particular type of political propaganda is adjudged to be illegal, safety valves for letting of resentment and consideration of genuine grievances in that area should be provided and institutional machinery should be set up for that purpose.

Some channels of redress already exist in our constitutional machinery for various types of grievances, because of which certain regions may nourish a sense of neglect and consequent desire for separation. These grievances may arise from neglect of language, political suppression of a particular region, discrimination in favour of a particular region in matters relating to political rights, discrimination in practice of religion, etc. The protection afforded to fundamental rights and various other provisions in the Constitution, does provide some machinery for redress of all such grievances.

Recent experience has shown that secessionist drive feeds on feelings, real or imaginary, of discrimination on the issue of a language and economic development. These factors figure prominently in the advocacies of D.M.K. and M.N.F.—the two secessionist movements since Independence. While there are statutory provisions about language in the Constitution, there are no provisions about equity in deployment of effort in economic development of different regions of the country. No doubt the matter can be raised in the Parliament by Members, and Government may collect and furnish information in this regard. But all such statements will be subject to the fundamental limitation of being statements of the Government, which means Government by the political party in majority. They cannot in the very nature of things have that unquestioned veracity as the

statements of statutory bodies have. Allegations may be made against a party in power, of deliberately neglecting the economic development of certain regions. When the *bona fides* of the party in power are questioned, a statement by Government about the equitable distribution of effort for economic development among different regions would not be beyond contest; it will have only the status of a statement of one of the parties in dispute. On the other hand, if there is a permanent statutory Commission which is placed beyond governmental control (something on the lines of U.P.S.C. or Supreme Court), the pronouncements and findings of such a Commission would have more convincing credentials; multilateral angry accusations would be replaced by judicial weighing of evidence and reasoned findings. It may be stated that Planning Commission also cannot discharge the contemplated function, being a part of the Government.

Such a Commission may be headed by an eminent economist or educationist or a prominent person from public life. It would be preferable if the head of the Commission belongs to an area, which at that particular point of time, nourishes a sense of neglect. The Commission will require extensive assistance by way of trained staff. The Commission may engage itself in finding:

- (a) at a point of time the existing disparity in economic development of different regions,
- (b) the extent to which, within the period covered, different regions of the country, have developed economically,
- (c) if there is inequality in economic development, the extent to which it is due to the lack of private initiative or governmental effort,
- (d) the extent to which increased governmental effort is necessary for a proportionately faster development of certain regions, and
- (e) other related matters.

The report of this Commission, may be debated in the Parliament once every year.

The Commission should report only on the rate of growth of different regions. It would not make recommendations about the economic policy to be adopted by the Government.

Perhaps no other country has a statutory apparatus on these lines. But this in itself should not be an argument against the suggestion. Most of the democratic constitutions were drawn up in the background of political theories of eighteenth and nineteenth Century when the doctrine of *laissez faire* prevailed and governments did not play an active part in promotion, regulation or equitable distribution of economic development. It is only in the twentieth Century and there

also only during the last four decades that the State has emerged to be a major regulator and promoter of economic development.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that Finance Commission does not cover the contemplated ground. It deals only with the allocation of budgetary resources. Under present day conditions, budgetary resources are only one of the many agencies available to the State in promoting and regulating economic development. Even the most non-interfering government today will have at its command other powerful levers for regulating economic development.

Most of the Federal Constitutions have bodies corresponding to Finance Commission. This should lend support to the new view stated above. In the economic thinking of eighteenth and nineteenth Century, allocation of budgetary resources was, by and large, the only powerful lever available to the Government to regulate economic activity. The evolution of a whole range of other effective regulatory tools at the disposal of Government is a twentieth Century phenomenon. In this particular respect, developments in economic thinking and practice have not yet resulted in a corresponding adjustment in constitutional machinery.

The situation in most of the new democracies having large territories points to the advisability of having such an independent statutory commission. Apart from Indian experience where D.M.K. gathers strength by accusations of economic injustice, in Pakistan also the relation between the two constituent wings is strained not a little because of allegations of disparity in economic development. In all such cases the statements by the Government appear to be the statements of a party concerned in the dispute. It is only the statement of an independent Commission which will have the vestiges of impartiality.

The establishment of a statutory Commission on Regional Development may in the long run, contribute significantly to National integration by providing for judicial deliberation of charges relating to regional discrimination.

The present pattern of all-India political parties like Indian National Congress, C.P.I. or P.S.P. should not blind us to the possibility of emergence of parties having strong regional loyalties. In other democracies with extensive territories, parties with regional bias are not rare. The proposed Commission can be quite a useful institution particularly in a situation of upsurge of secessionist tendencies. It is not desirable to postpone a decision till such a situation arises; the Commission would have to build up an aura of impartiality and that takes time. When the first charge of discrimination is made, and when the first cry of secession is raised, the time should be adjudged to be ripe already.

## DECENTRALIZED IMPLEMENTATION : SOME ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

*L. C. Gupta*

THE most pressing task before the Government in India today, by common consensus of opinion, is rapid economic growth of the country. Great urgency is imparted to the task by the fact that while our per capita income is around \$70, the per capita income in most of the Western countries is between \$800 to \$1,000 and that in the more favourably placed countries like the United States, Canada and Australia it is around \$2,000. The perspective being placed before us in India is to assure an income of \$21 (Rs. 100) per mensem per family (at 1960-61 prices) by 1975-76. Given the expected rate of growth of population, this would involve a cumulative rate of growth of even higher than 6 per cent per annum, which was envisaged at the time of formulating the Third Five Year Plan. In fact, the national income grew at an average rate of 3.3 per cent per annum during the first three years of the current Plan and since population has been rising at least by 2.2 per cent, the net result has been only a slight increase in per capita income. The prospect is not altogether hopeful. At the same time it highlights the need for determined and sustained effort if anything really significant or worthwhile is to be at all achieved.

Analysing the problem a little further, it will be found that the rate of growth in the industrial sector has not been unreasonably low: it has been of the order of 8 to 10 per cent. The growth in the agricultural sector has, however, been a matter of great concern in the recent past. It is in this sector that we see the vicious circle of poverty operating on full scale and the population explosion is having the most disastrous results.

The administrative problems of inducing change and increasing agricultural production in India are really enormous. The extension agency is required to come in close touch with over 300 million people living in more than 5½ lakh scattered villages. Moreover, the problem is not merely one of disseminating a new technology, or newer practices, but of inducing fundamental social change—change in the modes of entire thinking and living of the rural masses. Whatever be the method, the task is one of emotionally involving the entire rural population, both as individuals and as social groups, into the total development effort.

This task is both political and administrative. Perhaps, it is more political than administrative and there will be occasion to refer to this aspect in passing in the subsequent pages. On the administrative side, the problem is broadly two-fold. One part of the task is concerned with the acquisition and dissemination of technical know-how and scientific skills and putting them in work-a-day operational terms. The other is to persuade the people to accept this know-how, to constantly adjust the technical priorities in line with the needs and aspirations of the people, and co-ordinate the efforts of the technical hierarchies at the area-level. This is the *raison d'être* for having "technicians" as well as "generalists" and any developmental task is bound to be frustrated unless the two act in unison.

Various devices have been used for achieving this co-ordination at the area-level. The administrative arrangement left by the British, which even to this day seems to be the really effective link, is to have a corps of "generalist" officers at the area-level known as Deputy Commissioners or Collectors. The Collector has still the pivotal position and a decisive co-ordinational role to play. However, whether on account of associations of the past or because of the new dimensions of the developmental effort undertaken after Independence or due to the proliferation of "grass-roots" theories, a separate agency known as the Community Development Organization was brought into existence for the purpose of tapping local initiative and enthusiasm for the developmental tasks. The programme, however, soon ran into difficulties because what in effect was created was another parallel agency, with the co-ordinational problem still un-resolved. Ultimately a working solution was found by bringing the Community Development Organization within the ambit of the existing administrative structure and making the Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officers squarely responsible for securing community effort. The problem of co-ordination, in many ways, still baffles us. The entire approach of the governmental machinery is to implement individual programmes through a vertical hierarchy and there are various impediments for co-ordination at the local level. John P. Lewis calls it the "functional splintering", "the deep cleavage between functions, with its emphasis on vertical chain of command, rather than upon the horizontal integration of programmes at particular geographical or administrative levels which is so characteristic of Indian Administration".<sup>1</sup>

Another attempt, which is currently being made, to secure this area co-ordination is through Panchayati Raj institutions. It has

<sup>1</sup> John P. Lewis, "Quiet Crisis in India: Economic Development and American Policy", Washington D.C., Brookings, 1962.

been broadly assumed that the Community Development movement failed because of lack of sufficient authority and resources and that salvation lies in energizing these "block" level units and in giving them sufficient autonomy and power to chalk out their own programmes. The block level authorities, to be linked downwardly with Panchayats and upwardly with the Zila Parishad, are to have the pivotal position, symbolizing and institutionalizing "public participation". The vision of 5,000 little republics, stretching across the length and breadth of the country, howsoever elusive, seems to catch the imagination of some people. Ideas borrowed from Western experience of local authorities, give substance and shape to the thinking regarding their detailed operations.

The period of actual operation of these authorities has been too short to make a truly realistic evaluation. However, by and large they have failed to make any significant impression in respect of their ability to help in increasing agricultural production. The recent food crisis has spot-lighted this failure and there are reports of falling or stagnating agricultural production and sagging public participation. Moreover, the people's representatives have not measured up to the expectations and the theory that the people would recognize the bad representatives and would disown them, has been largely belied. In brief, because of certain assumed or inherent limitations, interpreted in conjunction with the deficient performance of these local authorities, there are urgings that the whole experiment may either be scrapped or severely restricted, even though its administrative details have yet to be worked out and a fair trial yet to be given.

It is against this background that an attempt has been made below to spell out some of the contemporary issues concerning decentralized implementation of development programmes, particularly through the Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads. Since the eventual object is to channelize the entire rural developmental activity through these local authorities. It is also necessary to visualize clearly the various forces operating in the entire system and the developmental perspective against which these authorities will be required to function. The forces of decentralization are discussed in Section II which follows immediately. The strong centralizing forces emanating from the national level as well as the State Headquarters are considered in Section III. Section IV offers a brief critical appreciation of the problems of decentralized implementation through Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads and it is proposed to have a close look at the structure, functions and resources of these local authorities. Section V deals with the possible lines on which re-organization, both

at the official and the local authority level may be attempted to make decentralized implementation of development programmes a more concrete reality.

## II. FORCES OF DECENTRALIZATION

Fundamentally, the call for decentralization stems from a distrust of authority and the fear, often proved to be genuine, that it may be wrongly used or used without keeping in view the welfare of the people, over whom it is exercised. Nationalist forces before Independence particularly felt the impact of a highly centralized alien bureaucracy, and decentralization of authority, whether to Provincial Legislatures or to local authorities, was considered an effective means of wresting power from the British. Local Self-Government, thus, became a part of the national ideology.

While this was the immediate cause for an unequivocal support for decentralization, colour was added to this concept by a nostalgic vision from a hoary past, of "Ram Raj" and "Panchayat Raj" where values were essentially moral in character and were enforced by the people themselves. In common imagination, the distinction between "Ram Raj" or "Panchayat Raj" and "Swaraj" and eventually independent status for the country was somewhat hazy. The adulation of certain Englishmen like Sir Charles Metcalfe, who talked of village republics, gave a distinct flavour to the existence of small kingdoms which developed "according to the inner laws of their own and were more stable in character than the ever changing empires". The break up of these village institutions, under the highly centralized and secular system of British administration, added an urgency for their revival, once the nationalist forces had the power to do so.

Another favourable factor was the place given to local institutions in the Western world, which continues to be given atleast in its outer shape and form: according to the democratic theory, local government contributes to the strength of democratic institutions in a number of ways. First, policies that have a direct bearing upon the interest of particular communities can best be formulated and executed by local officials who are close to the people and are familiar with their problems and desires. Second, local government serves as a training ground in government practices and procedures for persons who may later serve the state or even the nation in official capacity. Third, because local units of government comprise small geographical areas and deal with less complex matters than those found at the state and national level, public scrutiny of official actions and decisions is facilitated. Fourth, the individual citizen is better able to experience a

sense of close personal identification towards a governmental unit, which covers a small area and executes services having a direct impact on his personal welfare. It is further expected that this identification would be translated into greater citizen interest and participation in governmental affairs.

Factors such as these account for the emphasis placed on Village Panchayats in the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution. The relevant provision reads as follows:

"The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as unit of self-government."

This was the psychological background, against which the Community Development programme was inaugurated with high hopes in the year 1952. It was felt that for development to be self-generating and lasting, there must be change in the outlook of the people and in community mores and practices. Without their willing co-operation and fullest participation, the foundations of democracy would be, as it were, built on sands. In the initial stages, the Community Development programme seemingly met with a considerable degree of success and it gained sizeable vocabulary concerned with "social change" and "social-cultural adaptations". People's participation became the corner-stone of this new philosophy. But disillusionment was not far distant. It was soon realized that though a certain push had been given to the amenities programme and there had been a considerable amount of building activity, the enthusiasm of the people, which was propped up by matching grants and doles, was fast waning. What was more disturbing was that no headway was being made in the agricultural field. The failure was attributed to the lack of an institutional framework for materializing the concept of people's participation, and the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee, which went into the whole question, came to the conclusion that "People's participation is not merely a question of providing a certain proportion of the cost of a particular work in cash, kind or manual labour. It is their full realisation that all aspects of Community Development are 'their' concern and that Government participation is only to assist them, where such assistance is necessary. Such participation is possible only through the organisation of elective democratic institutions."

This was the basis on which a key role has been given to the Panchayats and an attempt has been made to link them up organically to the district level, through an intermediary stage of a "block" or "tahsil" level elective body. To illustrate the objective of setting up Panchayati Raj institutions from this standpoint, one can do no better than cite

from the report of the Study Team on the position of Gram Sabha in Panchayati Raj, issued by Ministry of Community Development in April 1963.

The Team observed that Panchayati Raj was not only an effort to "ensure devolution of power to a level best equipped to exercise them in view of the fact that power now came as close to the people as possible, but this also represents an attempt to develop the concept and practice of participating-democracy, as distinguished from representative governments which function at the State and Union level". Again, "the resources which are available at the village-level cannot be surveyed and tapped by the long arm of administration trying to reach the people from the State headquarters, or the Central Government which are located at far away places and whose social, psychological and physical distances from the community are formidable. The concept of participating-democracy, therefore, takes roots in the orbit of the small communities, where face-to-face relations obtain and the assets and liabilities of each other are best discerned".

It will thus be seen that the concern here is primarily with participating-democracy and not with devolution of power to a level best suited to exercise them. A hypothesis is made that social, psychological and physical distance between the Central and the State administration and the community is formidable and participating-democracy can only take roots in the orbit of small communities. Participating-democracy, thus, becomes a dogma, an ideology, a central focal point, from which must emanate the entire set of relationships and organizational structures.

### III. FORCES OF CENTRALIZATION

#### *From National Level*

Reference may first be made to the strong, centralizing pressure exercised from the national level. It seems unnecessary to elaborate at length that the Constitution itself envisages a strong Central authority. It is, however, worth repeating that the actual authority exercised by the Central Government is far beyond what was conceived by the Constitution makers. This is because the Five Year Plan is formulated at the national level and the Plans of the States are an integral part of this National Plan. This gives the Central authority vast powers, both in the sphere of programming and financial resources. The resources allocated to the States on the recommendations of the Finance Commission are not enough to enable them to carry out their part of the National Plan. A further allocation of resources becomes necessary and this is done by the Ministry of Finance in consultation with the

Planning Commission. The Central authority in the sphere of economic planning has been accepted to such an extent that the States have hitherto largely confined themselves to schematic and financial planning, leaving matters such as growth rate of the economy, the contribution of the private sector, the effect of planning on employment situation and growth of individual incomes, largely to the Central authority. Belated attempts are being made by various States to rectify this state of affairs but without any significant results so far. In actual practice, the Central Authority continues to have a decisive voice in the sphere of economic planning and programming and all States' programmes must be fitted into the comprehensive scheme approved by the Centre, involving considerable curb on their initiative. Under the circumstances, perspective planning of any magnitude by the States can only be undertaken with serious limitation.

#### *From State Level*

Coming to the State level, one finds that the centralizing trends appear with redoubled force. The objectives of overall planning spelt out at the federal level have to be actualized in the shape of concrete schemes, which must have a high degree of correlation with the actual field conditions. Indeed, in spite of fitful cries of planning from below and the mysticism attached to "grass-roots" theories, even detailed planning (as distinct from overall policy), is in a large measure done by the Heads of Departments at the State headquarters. The overall perspective for the country as a whole is given by the National Government. The States are induced to make a better showing in respect of financial resources by the prospect of securing higher outlays. Simultaneously, schemes and sectoral programmes are hammered out in group discussions and technical committees. The special flavour to the individual State Plans is added by the pressing State needs as well as the urgency imparted to it by the political executive and the top echelons of the administrative hierarchy. Other things thrown in the crucible are items like the taxing capacity of the State, the need for balanced regional development and the implementation capacity of the State's administration. These and similar other factors determine the Plan size for the Five Year period, as well as the internal effort in terms of financial resources provided by the State Government.

Notwithstanding this, the same exercise, with a somewhat different emphasis, is repeated each year at the time of annual plan formulation. Although the outlays for each sectoral plan are fixed, and every department has to accomplish the set task in the plan period, the speed

of implementation varies: sufficiently trained personnel may not be available, the necessary stores may be in short supply due to foreign exchange difficulties or lag in manufacturing schedules of "supplier" companies, or public participation in the shape of share-capital may not be forthcoming. Again, it may be a sheer co-ordination problem between the Public Works Department and the client departments on the one hand and the structural engineer and the architect on the other. Since the total overall size of the State Plan is more or less fixed, any change in one sector has its impact on the other sectors. This involves changes in the disposition of resources and personnel both in the sector whose programme has been enlarged as well as the one in which it has been attenuated. The continual adjustment and readjustment of schemes in our planning process, has a highly centralizing effect at the initial stage of formulation of developmental schemes.

As mentioned earlier, each State Government is induced to tap more and more of financial resources to get more money from the Centre. This has a tendency towards centralizing the local financial resources in the hands of the State Government. The pressure is all the greater because there are so few elastic sources of revenue. The State's ability to tax the rural sector, on which emphasis has been made time and again by the Planning Commission, is restricted by the facts of day-to-day political life. Its ability to increase revenues from a higher levy of sales tax is circumscribed by the far-reaching extension of "excises" by the Centre. The yields from State "excises" are in jeopardy due to the prohibitionist policies. The result is that, in their search for more resources, the States tend to encroach upon the fields reserved for the local bodies. Thus, items like entertainment tax, property tax and even professional tax are State levies in the Punjab.

Centralization of procedures also adds to centripetal forces. The administrative machinery, as it is oft-repeated, was not fashioned for developmental purposes. Budgets are not used for purpose of a graded allocation of resources but for day-to-day "itemized" control. This restricts the operative powers of the departments and frequent references have to be made to the Finance Department. Whenever too many cases involving relaxations of a repetitive type come up to the Finance Department, the latter should consider, whether there is a need for codification and delegation of authority, but, more often than not, it is not done. The performance of secretariat departments is no better in this respect. Recently there was a large scale delegation of financial powers from the Finance Department, to the secretariat departments at the Centre and in some States like Punjab. The secretariat departments have been even given powers to re-delegate

their powers to Heads of Departments and levels below. It seems that not much use has been made of some of these powers, particularly the powers to re-delegate power. Purchase of stores represents another major area of centralization of procedures. Powers for the local purchase of even small items are few and these too are hedged by numerous restrictions.

Even in the realm of implementation, there are strong centralizing forces at play. The total developmental task in a sector of economy has to be divided into a number of specialities. Again, the work of these specialities has to be co-ordinated *inter-se* within the department and *intra-se* with reference to other departments, necessitating the posting of officers at the State headquarters. A number of schemes in the Punjab Industries Department are controlled from the headquarters through a number of Joint Directors and Deputy Directors. There is no regional authority, between the District and the State, and everything comes to the State headquarters. Thus work regarding, say, industrial estates, throughout the State would be done by an officer at the headquarters. This is because, among other things, the officer concerned has to co-ordinate this work with that of the Public Works Department, the Land Acquisition Officers and may be the Electricity Board, and, in deed, with other wings of the Industries Department itself. In brief, the co-ordinational problems are such that the power is concentrated at the State headquarters.

The nature and magnitude of development tasks also reinforce the trend towards centralization. At the present stage of planning, large investments are required for building up the infra-structure of the economy. This involves big projects which have to be centrally implemented. The irrigation and power projects constitute, in terms of financial outlay, half the Five Year Plan of the Punjab State and these have to be executed by a specialized agencies. Any major road normally covers atleast a whole region of the State and the planning of such roads has to be, to an extent, centralized. Even institutions for technical and industrial training, which are physically located in particular areas, have to be controlled centrally for obtaining technical personnel and specialized equipment on a pooled basis. In fact, the compulsions of the practical circumstances are so strong that even the traditional local functions are being subjected to a strong centralizing pressure. For instance, the schools in Punjab were badly managed. The standard of teaching was poor, the teachers were ill-paid, the equipment was in a bad shape. The schools were consequently provincialized. Previously the preventive and curative sides of medical care were operated in separate watertight compartments in Punjab. Recently, the cadres of the

doctors on the two sides have been merged, thus integrating the work on both the sides. Similar processes are going on elsewhere within the whole system. Efficiency or economy of scale cannot be compromised for the sake of any ideological adherence to decentralization. Unless decentralization can stand these or similar other practical tests, it will fail to have any significant impact.

#### IV. DECENTRALIZED IMPLEMENTATION AT AREA LEVEL

It has been seen that for historical reasons, decentralization of the authority to elected bodies is a part of the commonly accepted ideology, as, it is, in one form or the other, assumed to strengthen democracy. While it is yet to be seen if the actual experience is in line with these assumptions, it would be pertinent to cite the views of a keen observer, the late Paul H. Appleby. He says: "Turning particularly to the presumed identification of decentralization with democracy, I assert dogmatically that the two have no definite relationship at all".<sup>2</sup> He adds that the Philippines and Puerto Rico have advanced more rapidly both in their democratic character and in economic well being, as they have become more centralised, which only shows that democracy does not inevitably result from decentralisation. He further states that "in the long run, as India succeeds, the nature of an advancing, complicating civilisation will require the transfer of a large part of this community activity into Governmental bureaucracies with technical knowledge and technical materials, which will produce enormously more per man-hour".

As mentioned earlier, another factor in support of the creation of decentralized local authorities has been the place assumed to be assigned to them in the Western world. The fact, however, is that because of the requirements of the technical age, local bodies even in these countries are being subjected to strong centralizing pressures. The local bodies even in Britain, which have a long tradition of useful and efficient service, have been gradually deprived of a number of their functions. One by one, trunk roads, hospitals and public assistance programmes have been taken out of their purview. Responsibility in respect of education has been shifted to higher tiers of local authorities, and gas and electricity undertakings have been wholly taken away from their sphere of control. These local bodies are completely by-passed while creating new Townships. In the matter of town and country planning, a more or less regional arrangement is already in operation, even within the framework of the present local bodies. As stated by W. A. Robson, "for more than 30 years

<sup>2</sup> Paul H. Appleby, "Some Thoughts on Decentralized Democracy" *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (October-December 1962), p. 451.

the organisation of local Government has been growing obsolete and is now hopelessly out of date. Far larger units of administration than those afforded by counties or county boroughs are needed for such service as town and country planning, technical education, hospitals, sewage disposals, electricity and gas".<sup>3</sup> He even advocates the taking over of the functions of existing local bodies by the Regional Councils.

While there is, thus, little justification for the creation of new local authorities from the ideological standpoint, the compulsions of the practical situation, cited in the earlier section, render the functioning of such local authorities much more difficult. The centralised planning process has necessitated a high degree of centralisation of programming and financing, both at the national and the State level. Even in the realm of implementation, there is considerable centralisation of power at the State headquarters as well as with specialised agencies. Any experiment towards greater decentralisation of authority must, accordingly, take note of these factors and an attempt should be made to integrate the working of any such system with the efforts made at the state and the national levels. Needless to say that any decentralized authority, so created, must stand the test of efficiency and of economy of operations as well.

The problem, therefore, is to examine the extent to which the newly created local bodies—Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads—can play the role assigned to them in the developmental context.

#### *Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads*

The Panchayat Samitis in most places have been constituted at the "block" level. In Mysore, it comprises the Taluk and in Maharashtra, some Samitis consist of two or three blocks. In most cases elections are indirect, the Sarpanches of the constituent panchayats being the members. There is provision for co-option or reservation for women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and for special interests like co-operative societies and banks. M.L.As. and M.Ps. are generally *ex-officio* members without any voting right. The Zila Parishads have jurisdiction which generally extends over a district. In Assam, however, this generally corresponds to a sub-division, while in Madras, the 13 districts have been demarcated into 21 development districts. As in the case of Panchayat Samitis, members of Zila Parishad are in most cases (Maharashtra is a notable exception) indirectly elected, with the Presidents of Panchayat Samitis and local M.L.As. and M.Ps. as members.

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<sup>3</sup> W. A. Robson, *The Development of Local Government*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1954.

Panchayat Samitis are intended to take over the development functions which have been performed for the last ten years by the Community Development Blocks. Besides, they have to perform civic functions such as administration of primary education, health and sanitation, including rural dispensaries, and maintenance of village roads and irrigation sources.

Except for Madras, Panchayat Samitis have been generally entrusted with the supervision and control of Panchayats including the scrutiny and passing of their budgets. The functions of the Zila Parishad vary from State to State. In some States like Madras, Rajasthan and Punjab, it is a purely advisory and co-ordinating body. Maharashtra stands at the other end, as the Zila Parishad is the most important self-governing body with large executive functions including primary and secondary education, district roads, hospitals and dispensaries, health and sanitation, etc. Between these two extremes are to be found Andhra Pradesh and some other States where Zila Parishads have some executive functions like the administration of public secondary schools and distribution of "grants" received from the State for social welfare, etc.

Except in U.P. and Orissa, the Samitis have power to levy taxes and fees, although they usually get a share of the cesses as well as land revenues. In Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, portion of the "surcharge" on stamp duty on transfer of immovable property is also passed on to the Samitis. Funds earmarked for the community development are virtually placed at their disposal. For the most part, the Samitis depend largely on the grants given by the State Government. The Parishads have no power to levy taxes except in U.P., Gujarat and Maharashtra. In Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, they have to depend entirely on grants and a share of the land cess made available to them. In the rest of the States, grants and loans from the State Government are the mainstay of the Parishads.

### *Function and Resources*

The resources available, in a way, determine the total tasks and these may be examined first. The degree of autonomy exercised does also, to a large extent, depend on the ability of the local body to raise its own resources. In Yugoslavia, which works under a highly decentralized system, all taxes (unless specifically provided) are imposed by the "Commune" which is the local body at the ground level (average population : 34,000). The "republic" and the "federal" Governments get a share from this general pool but about 29 per cent of the share is left with the "Commune". Besides this, the "Communes" have a number of tax sources for exclusive exploitation. These include

Commune turn-over tax, inheritance tax, gift tax, etc. There are also contributions by the economic organizations within the Commune area. In England, large scale matching grants are given by the Central Government but even so 50 per cent of the resources are still provided by the local bodies. The main source is a single consolidated tax on property. In U.S.A. the primary source of revenue is the tax on lands and buildings, based on the capital value of the property, but increasing use is being made of local sales tax.

We may now consider the position with regard to the Panchayat Samitis. One major difficulty is the non-availability of relevant data. Some indications can be had from the position in Rajasthan.<sup>4</sup> For the year 1963-64, the Panchayat taxes amounted to Rs. 42 lakhs (this figure included fees also). The cess on land revenue was the most important source; even this had been levied in 10 out of 26 districts by the erstwhile District Board. The actual collection was only 55 per cent, *i.e.*, Rs. 23 lakhs. This is against the loans and grants to the extent of Rs. 9.96 crores given by the State Government. The internal effort of the Panchayat Samitis is, thus, quite insignificant.

The Santhanam Committee<sup>5</sup> which enquired into the question has not been able to suggest any new tax source except that a portion of the proceeds of the "surcharge" on stamp duty and "entertainment tax" may be earmarked for the Panchayat Samiti. Another of its recommendations is that an annual per capita grant of Re.1 be made to every Panchayat Samiti, to be shared equally between the Central and the State Government. For giving fillip to the developmental work, it has suggested that Rs. 400 crores @Rs. 10 per capita may be provided in the Fourth Plan for this purpose. The Committee further adds, that if an equal amount is contributed by Samitis and Panchayats, unspecified developmental schemes of the order of Rs. 800 crores can be executed during the Fourth Five Year Plan. Another of the Committee's recommendation relates to elementary education. In this respect, it has confined itself to recommending two general principles:

- (i) Elementary education is so important and fundamental that every Samiti without exception should be able to meet its entire expenditure out of grants and resources transferred to it especially for the purpose by the State Government, and
- (ii) Every Samiti should also have some additional funds at its disposal for its initiative in effecting educational improvements.

<sup>4</sup> Sadiq Ali Committee Report on the working of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Rajasthan.

<sup>5</sup> India, *Report of the Study Team on Panchayati Raj Finances*, New Delhi, Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, 1963.

The other major items of committed expenditure of Samitis mentioned by the Santhanam Committee are: (i) inter-village roads, (ii) minor irrigation schemes, and (iii) rural medical and veterinary services, sanitation services and the like. The Committee went into the question of financing these items and held the view that only 50 per cent of this expenditure could come from resources transferred to Samitis, viz., share of land revenue or cess, stamp duty, entertainment tax, etc. The balance has to be financed by the State Governments, partly by general and partly by specific "grants".

Examining the recommendations closely, we find a number of flaws in the Committee's recommendations. It has suggested that Rs. 400 crores may be earmarked for the Panchayat Samitis on the basis of matching contribution, but the source of the latter has not been indicated. Besides somehow finding this amount, the Samitis are required to have funds for taking initiative in effecting educational improvements and have to pay towards the cost of the inter-village roads, minor irrigation schemes, rural medical and veterinary and sanitation services. Surely all this cannot come from a small cess on land revenue and share in stamp duty and entertainment tax. Even for establishment charges, they have to depend on a grant of Re. 1 per capita to be provided by Government. It is to be noted that the urban local bodies, which are a common subject for criticism, do at least meet this part of the commitment.

The above analysis has not been given with a view to belittling in any way the Committee's recommendations. With a higher level of taxation by the Central and the State Governments than ever before, with the domination of these institutions by the comparatively richer sections of the rural society, who would rather keep down the taxes than pay more, with the high cost of collection attending on realization of petty amounts from a large number of people even in a single locality, the problem of tax mobilization by these institutions has become so baffling that it requires a very serious review. Indeed, the competence of Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis to levy and administer taxes is extremely limited.

When we come to the question of functions, the position is equally difficult. What is proposed is the channelling of the entire developmental effort at the field level. The critics are particularly agitated by the assignment of functions relating to agricultural production. So much of India's future, they argue, depends on our ability to produce food and to strengthen the agricultural base, that we cannot leave it in the hands of local bodies which are yet in the process of their initial formation. Moreover, neither in U.S.A. nor in U.K., have these functions been ever performed by the local bodies. They further argue

that what is required is the extension of technological advances by a far-flung "extension" agency and the building up of the capital base of the individual farmer, and that a local body cannot really assist in this endeavour.

The other side of the case is that it is precisely in the agricultural field that the people's participation is most required. While Government can perform certain functions through its field agencies, improvements in the field of agriculture cannot take place without an awareness for change in the rural masses. The newly created authorities only institutionalize people's participation and, therefore, it is only befitting that they should have an overall say in respect of these functions.

The whole problem needs to be looked from a broader perspective, and so viewed, the problem is both political and educational. The political aspect was recently examined at some length by Shri S.G. Barve, the then Minister for Industries and Electricity, Maharashtra, who expressed the view "that the task of development in India was too gigantic and momentous to be conceived merely in terms of an administrative undertaking". Referring to the Russian revolution, which called to its aid all the formal organs of the State and large masses of party cadres working devoutly day in and day out, Shri Barve, asks the question: What sort of a party we have to show? His observations are worth quoting: "The Congress organisation springs to life principally during general elections. It functions mainly as a gigantic vote catching electioneering machine. The constructive programmes or organisational work have been more or less wholly neglected, the organisation as such having little activity independently of the administration it has put into office". He further emphasizes the massiveness of the task and remarks that "to essay to do it merely as an administrative enterprise through an agency of stipendiary officials would be like beating wings in the void."<sup>6</sup>

The other part of the problem is educational. Unless there is a well developed civic consciousness, a certain identity of interests, and a certain degree of political maturity, any attempt at making these local authorities as instruments of social change is bound to meet with serious difficulties. Our actual experience in fact confirms these apprehensions. Where this identity of interests and political maturity do not exit, there are bitter rivalries, recrimination and party factions.

The overall position may now be summed up. There are two alternatives from which to choose: one is to have field agencies adopting "groups" techniques and associating the people in some sort of an

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<sup>6</sup> S.G. Barve's Lecture on "Good Government" in September, 1964, at the I.I.P.A., New Delhi.

advisory capacity, and the other is to have full-fledged local authorities. Our brief analysis indicates some of the severe limitations of the second alternative. Further action can, therefore, be taken in one of the two ways. One is to restrict the functions of these local authorities to purely civic functions and the other is to strengthen and energize these bodies to make them effective instruments of creating widespread enthusiasm and ensuring maximum developmental effort. Since the existing decision is to continue with this experiment, we have perforce to look to the second alternative. There has, however, to be a strong mechanism for providing supervision and guidance and the line of control has to be properly established. Their place in the total developmental effort has also to be clearly visualized and articulated.

#### V. STRATEGY OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

##### *Strengthening Local Authorities : The Need for Bigger Units*

In the last section, we discussed some of the limitations under which the newly created local authorities are operating. The most serious handicap, from a strictly local government point of view, seems to be the lack of internal resources, which threaten to turn these authorities into mere agencies of Government. It is essential, therefore, to assure them a degree of independence by earmarking certain tax sources or "surcharges" for their exclusive use, even though the taxes are collected centrally. In this regard, the States have to function *vis-a-vis* the local authorities in the same way as the Central Government operates *vis-a-vis* the States. While the bulk of the resources may be transferred on a schematic five year plan basis, the local authorities must be enabled to have a degree of flexibility in formulating their programmes by giving them untied "block" assistance. Since the whole rural developmental activity has to be channelized through these local bodies largely with the help of the resources of the State, and since these programmes are ultimately related to the State objectives and through them to the national objectives, the State will have to arrogate to itself a large measure of control, while at the same time ensuring that these bodies are not unduly stifled. This underlines the need for a local body with sufficient status to stand up to the State authority, as well as the need for keeping the number of these local authorities up to manageable level. In order to have a hand both in policy-making and supervision over implementation, the authority will have to work through a Committee system, which points to the necessity of having the local authority at a level at which the requisite

number of non-officials with the necessary will and competence would be forthcoming. There will be additional need of co-ordination *inter-se* these committees, *up* the line with technical agencies and *down* the line with lower-tier authorities and personnel in the field. There would also be the need for a regular mechanism for formulation of schemes, keeping a watch over implementation, solution of the urgent co-ordinational problems arising during implementation, budgeting, and accounting. The officials charged with general co-ordination as well as budgeting and financial control must possess sufficient status and competence to carry conviction with the committees and individual members. The local body must also carry conviction with its employees that their interests are safe in its hand and that they would not be subjected to any undue harassment or victimization. Last but not the least, it must create confidence with the State Government about its competency so that it is a moral compulsion for the latter to step up the delegation of authority and responsibility.

It seems evident that this task is too enormous for a "block" level agency to discharge. The block staff cannot be expected to have the status or the qualifications for the purpose. The members would not have adequate background for an effective committee system to be brought into operation. The State is likely to be chary of giving it greater discretion, both in the sphere of personnel and programmes. It will not have the wherewithals to collect taxes effectively, even if it has the will to do so. The cost of collection is likely to be too high. Not to speak of an area-plan, it would hardly have the competence to draw up a five year financial plan. The administrative cost of its headquarters establishment and field operations is likely to be proportionately much higher. In any case, the problem of supervision, direction and control by the State Government would be formidable. For instance, in Punjab there are 228 blocks, whereas the number of districts is only 20. While the Government can keep a line of communication with 20 units or perhaps even 40; it is a little too difficult to keep it functioning in a continuous way with 228 units. Against 300 districts, the total number of block units in the country as a whole will be about 5,000.

The reasons for having a unit bigger than that of a "block" are thus compelling. Steps have been taken by the Andhra Government in the latest re-organization towards bigger unit and the number of Samitis has been reduced. In Britain, the centralizing forces have gathered enough momentum to lead to a demand for elected Regional Councils.<sup>7</sup> In Yugoslavia, the number of Communes has been

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Robson, *The Development of Local Government*, op. cit.

reduced gradually from 7866 in 1947 to 581 in 1963. The number of the higher-tier body in Yugoslavia, *i.e.*, the district, has been reduced in the corresponding period from 427 to 40. The Taluk (Tehsil), as in Mysore, is better suited for the purpose but does not seem to meet the needs mentioned in the earlier paragraphs. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that the appropriate level for the formation of a strong local authority is the district. It is at this level alone that we can have the requisite competence and responsibility needed for all embracing developmental effort. This is subject to one qualification. Some of the districts may be much too large in terms either of population or of area. A *via media* is represented by the Madras pattern, where 13 districts have been demarcated into 21 development districts.

*Guidance and Control: The Need  
for Regional Co-ordination*

Before proceeding further with our analysis, it would be appropriate to clear one preliminary point. There are some who consider that the very idea of setting up local authorities is to give them a degree of independence, and that creating a mechanism of control would involve taking with one hand what has been given by the other. But this would happen in any case unless a suitable mechanism for control is devised and unless a clear chain of communication is established. Devious are the ways of Governments to ensure control and it may take a long time before subtler control mechanisms are evolved and the whole position is rectified. This in fact happens every day in government organizations: the power to create posts are delegated to a subordinate agency but the power to provide additional funds by way of reappropriation is held back; the power to purchase stores are given but the agency is required to go through a time-consuming process of making purchases through a centralized store purchase agency. After all, if the entire developmental effort is to be channellized through the local authorities, Government is committed both morally and otherwise to ensure that progress is being made at a satisfactory pace. It is, thus, absolutely vital that there is an established chain of communication between the State and the local level.

One method of ensuring this control would be to entrust this responsibility to the Collector. The Collector is, doubtless, the representative of the State Government in the district, acts as a friend, philosopher and guide and can also enforce directives. Effective co-ordination at district level is still his domain and shall remain so for a considerable time more. As observed by Shri V.T. Krishnamachari: "His role has changed but not diminished, for he now

has the function of guiding democratic bodies. Often he has to carry conviction with members of the democratic institutions." Much as one may wish, the Collector is not going to be displaced easily. As long as the State political executive wants to have effective control over its territorial regions by administrative means, it will have to have a nominee who has sufficient prestige and authority to carry out its directions. It does not appear necessary for the purpose of our analysis to go into the question: whether the collector should or should not be the chairman of the district-level authority or its various committees. What is necessary is that, both on account of the nature and the complexity of the task involved and the numerous commitments on his time and attention, his office should duly be strengthened and a system of reporting should be devised to keep him in day-to-day touch with the affairs of the new local authorities.

It is no less important to provide for a two-way communication from the district to the State headquarters and vice-versa. Most of the departments have regional officers, whether Superintending Engineers, or Divisional Inspectors of Schools or Deputy Directors in charge of Agricultural Circles. These field agencies have grown in number, without paying due heed to the requirements of inter-departmental co-ordination. Some of the departments have concentrated all powers at the State headquarters. Reference has already been made to the Punjab Industries Department, whose controlling officers for various schemes are located at the State headquarters. In such a case, the department will have to consider whether it would not be appropriate to "regionalize" their organization. There may be a lesson to be drawn from the British experience, whereby the country was divided into nine standard regions by the British Treasury and all departments were required to bring their regional boundaries in line with it so as to promote inter-departmental co-ordination. Deviations from the standard regions were to be allowed only if efficient administration demanded it. The Treasury also laid down a number of principles to govern regional decentralization, while accepting at the same time that the actual degree of authority devolved to regional officers should be decided internally. Devolution was seen not as an end in itself but a means to an efficient administration.<sup>8</sup> Action on similar lines seems to be appropriate at our end. Such an arrangement would be useful for inter-departmental co-ordination and control and supervision over local authorities. Since regional positions will be manned by higher level officers, the headquarters' officers should find it easier to delegate responsibility. The effective functioning at the regional level can give a solid grip to the headquarters' officers, over field problems.

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<sup>8</sup> The Acton Society Trust, *Regionalism in England*, The Trust.

Unless there is, however, an effective delegation of powers, the creation of a level of this kind would only mean duplication and waste of effort. This is a danger which will have to be firmly guarded against.

The other problem that needs to be looked into concerns co-ordinational arrangements at this regional level. The overall charge will have to be that of the Divisional Commissioner. In some States, the Divisional Commissioner has been given some statutory functions in regard to Panchayati Raj institutions, such as suspension of resolutions in case of undue exercise of authority, and periodic inspections. But he would have to be brought into the picture much more directly. He may be the chairman of the regional co-ordination committee. In practice, the number of regions devised on the basis of departmental regionalization may be more than the number of existing Commissioner's Divisions. In the long run, boundaries of Divisions and district may be redrawn from the standpoint of developmental administration. Any such fundamental re-organization, particularly of the districts, would create a host of administrative and political problems and may take considerable time, before anything concrete emerges. In the short run, therefore, some administrative arrangements would have to be devised, whereby by minor adjustments of Divisional boundaries, a Commissioner may, if needs be, look after more than one co-ordinational committee. Where the Commissioners are already over-worked, some of the existing work (revenue appeals and other court work) may be taken away from them.

Another very vital link would be the department of local government. There must be some arrangement to ensure that the decentralization takes place at the requisite speed and in the right direction. There has to be an agency which may not be concerned merely with technical performance and achievement of targets but also with ensuring that the local authorities as a whole are working with reasonable efficiency, that they are not unduly curbed, that powers and responsibility are delegated to a local authority as required by any given situation. In short, the agency will be required to perform functions which do not fall within the jurisdiction of any particular department or which require unified action.

The department concerned may be named variously in different States. Thus, for instance, in the Punjab, it will be the Development Department under the charge of Commissioner for Agricultural Production. He will have to have arrangements for representation on the regional co-ordination committees. Whether this can be done by a suitable strengthening of the existing Directorate of Guidance and Control or otherwise, would be a matter of details. What is

important is that his representative would have a very important role to play. Logically, the initiative must come from this side and this representative should be the secretary of the regional co-ordination committee which would be presided over by the Divisional Commissioner. It would not be enough for the Commissioner for Agricultural Production to keep in the closest possible touch with these committees. He must frequently attend the meetings himself. Whatever be the arrangements, depending upon the practical field situation in any particular case, arrangements for regional co-ordination on the lines suggested above can be very effective for wresting power from the State headquarters and ensuring adequate supervision and control over the local authorities.

### *Decentralized Planning: The Need for Regional Master Plan*

We have so far dealt with the problem of decentralized implementation and have tried to visualize the role which these newly-created local authorities, strengthened and energized, can play in executing developmental programmes. Reference has also been made to the need for regional co-ordination and setting up a two-way communication channel from the district to the State headquarters and *vice versa*. However, if the major objective is to bring the developmental programmes in line with the wishes and aspirations of the people, and to exploit the physical and human resources to the maximum, it would be necessary to have area plans which could be linked to the State and national plans. Traditionally area co-ordination has been done at the district level and some scholars<sup>9</sup> favour a district planning agency which is charged with the responsibility of chalking out a co-ordinated developmental plan, meshing within its ambit programmes undertaken by the panchayati raj institutions, municipal institutions, State Government agencies and in some cases Union Government agencies.

In suggesting the creation of district planning agencies, it has been emphasized that even the State Plans are not full-blown area-plans and that little attempt has been made so far to work out an integrated development plan for the State, taking into account what the Union Government and the private sector would be doing in the area. Conceding that the first task should be to have full-blown State area-plans, it seems that one of the reasons why we find it so difficult to have State area-plans is that these are no smaller area-plans which can form

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<sup>9</sup> H. K. Paranjape in "Planning from Below", *Economic Weekly*, December 1964.

the basis for an integrated State Plan. It also seems evident that in the long run action would have to be initiated at both ends simultaneously. This being the actual position, it is difficult at this stage to formulate full-fledged area-plans for all the districts individually. The initiative for any such comprehensive planning must come from the State headquarters and it is well that, to start with, it takes up various regions in the State for such planning. On various counts, whether because of the magnitude of the work involved, or due to the paucity of staff or absence of established guide-lines, the practical solution seems to be to divide the State into a number of economically distinct regions and to have "master-plans" for these regions.

Apart from the administrative problem involved, regional planning is also necessary because of the interdependence of a number of factors of optimum growth. This is particularly true of problems of town and country planning, communication, location of industries and growth points, etc. The need for it is borne out by the experience of Britain, which, though not a believer in centralized state planning of our type, has found it necessary to tackle some of its problems on a regional basis. Thus the problem of unemployment, particularly in North England, Scotland and Wales, is being tackled on a regional basis. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government has been working on an analysis of employment opportunities, transport, housing and land use in the South East region to draw up a regional plan in consultation with the local bodies. The Federation of British Industries, supporting the setting up of regional organization for industry, has stressed that the aim should be to offer a wide choice of locations to the prospective investor so as to build up industrial complexes whereby firms, dependent on each other's products and services could expand. Town and country planning is already being done on a more or less regional basis, though a large number of local bodies are involved.<sup>10</sup>

An important conclusion, which emerges from our review, is that from the point of view of practical feasibility as well as actual planning needs, it would be opportune to attempt "area-master plans" at the regional level. While a series of such plans would facilitate the formulation of comprehensive Plans for the State as a whole, they would also serve as guide-lines for the Panchayati Raj institutions, urban local bodies and other governmental agencies. It would be ideal to have these regional master plans for ten to fifteen years' perspective, comprising two to three five year plan periods, as any plan for a longer period would tend to be unrealistic. In any case the financial implications, in some broad way or the other, would


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<sup>10</sup> Acton Society Trust, *Regionalism in England*, *op. cit.*

have to be spelt out. To be of practical use, these regional plans would have to be related closely, and in clear operational terms, with atleast one Five Year Plan period.

Earlier in the section, it was suggested that overall co-ordination of developmental programmes should be attempted through a regional co-ordination committee, with the Divisional Commissioner acting as the chairman and the representative of the Local Government Department (department headed by Commissioner, Agricultural Production, in the case of Punjab) acting as the Secretary. The same committee, with the addition of a representative of the Planning Department, could act as the regional planning committee. Indeed, the job in the initial stages would be so difficult that the Planning Secretary, assisted by the planning and statistical cells at the headquarters, would have to lead such a regional body. It may also be necessary to secure the assistance of the heads of Departments for this committee.

Arrangements on these lines would establish a two-way link between planning and implementation which is so badly missing and which is so urgently required. It is on these lines that we can bridge the gap between planning and implementation, wrest power and initiative from the State Secretariat, and make decentralized implementation a more concrete reality.



## ESTIMATES COMMITTEE REPORTS ON PUBLIC ENTERPRISES (II)

J. P. Sharma

*[This is the second instalment of the Research Note by the author. It deals with "Personnel Administration" and "Financial Management" of public enterprises; the first instalment of the Note dealing with "Problems of Organization" appeared in the last issue of the Journal.—Ed.]*

### PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

The Estimates Committee's main focus of interest here was to provide a sound personnel system and a contented work-force for the public undertakings which would lead to greater productivity. The analysis of the important recommendations made below seems to suggest that the Committee held the view that personnel administration in the public sector had much in common with private industry and both needed executives with business acumen and aptitude. The public enterprises, however, required a set of rules and regulations to provide for uniformity and equity. Furthermore, a well organized personnel system, with due regard to the particular circumstances of an enterprise, was needed to produce the desired results.

#### (a) *Structure of the Services*

The Committee all along opposed the practice of drawing heavily on the various administrative services to man the managerial positions in enterprises. The services did not possess the necessary experience in business, commerce, industry and trade. The Committee suggested in May 1954 in its report on "Administrative, Financial and Other Reforms" the creation of a common cadre of capable men drawn from business, industry, commerce and trade, to whom could be entrusted the management of public undertakings, and which could ultimately be designated as the Indian Commercial and Industrial Service.<sup>1</sup> The Committee reiterated this recommendation in the 16th report (June 1955) on the "Organisation and Administration of the Nationalised Industrial Undertakings".<sup>2</sup> The Industrial Management Pool, however,

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<sup>1</sup> I, 9th, 23.

(The mode of citation adopted in this reference and subsequent references is the same as was followed in the first instalment, that is, First Lok Sabha, Ninth Report, para 23. "P" stands for page number in 'Action Taken Reports' which do not bear any paragraph numbers as do the 'main reports'. A list of the reports of the Estimates Committee which have been referred to in this instalment is given at the end).

The Government replied in September the same year and said that the matter was being carefully examined. However, it could not be said with precision whether the cadre would take the form of an All-India Service. Besides, it was neither practicable nor desirable to exclude altogether Government officers possessing requisite administrative experience. (I, 57th, pp. 51-52)

<sup>2</sup> I, 16th, 12.

The Government informed the Committee in March 1957 that a decision to constitute the Industrial Management Service had been taken. (III, 9th, p. 5)

as the new Service was called, was, the Committee recently noted, neither conceived nor implemented properly. The Committee also pointed out certain inherent limitations and deficiencies in the Pool system and suggested that the constitution of an Indian Commercial and Industrial Service might be reconsidered by the Government before it decided to abolish the I.M.P.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the general management cadre, the Committee suggested in March 1952 the formation of a Central Engineering Service consisting of Irrigation Engineers for the multi-purpose river valley projects.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the Committee recently recommended the desirability of introducing a Financial and Accounts Service for the public undertakings as a whole.<sup>5</sup>

The Committee favoured postings of officers on the administrative and managerial sides of the undertakings (but not technical or specialized positions) on a tenure basis for a period of four or five years, lest continuous stay in the posts should result in stagnation of outlook and loss of initiative and efficiency.<sup>6</sup> The Committee was opposed to any distinction in the service conditions of staff employed prior to and after the taking over of the management of the shipping corporations by the Government. This, in the Committee's view, was not conducive to harmony amongst the members of the staff.<sup>7</sup>

#### (b) Recruitment and Conditions of Service

The question of the agency responsible for recruitment, rules concerning recruitment, etc., was considered at length by the Estimates Committee time and again in its general reports (I, 16th, and III, 52nd) and reports on the major undertakings like the H.E.L. (I, 39th); H.S.L. (II, 33rd); Shipping Corporation of India (II, 38th); N.C.D.C. (III, 32nd); Indian Refineries (III, 34th); and Heavy Electricals (III, 35th). The Committee urged in June 1955 in its 16th report (First Lok Sabha) the constitution of a Special Recruitment Board for public undertakings. In December 1956 the Committee recommended the setting up of a separate Public Service Commission on the analogy of the Union Public Service Commission for recruiting personnel for all public undertakings.<sup>8</sup> The recommendation was

<sup>3</sup> III, 52nd, 50-60.

<sup>4</sup> I, 5th, 129.

The Government accepted the recommendation and said that the proposed service would include within its scope Irrigation and Power Engineers also. (I, 49th, p. 50)

<sup>5</sup> III, 52nd, 71.

<sup>6</sup> I, 16th, 24.

The Government did not fully agree with the views of the Committee and said that while the tenure system had its advantages, there were instances where specialized experience necessitated cutting across the tenure system. (II, 19th, p.41)

A. D. Gorwala had earlier in 1951 suggested that, except for permanent Government servants deputed to the business, all employees on this side should be on a contract basis, the contract being liable to termination at six months' notice. Such an arrangement would, he visualized, be an important incentive to continuous effort on the part of an employee to keep up his performance not only up to a certain standard but also to improve it. *Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprises*, 1951, p.24.

<sup>7</sup> II, 38th, 154-56.

The Government replied in October 1960 and said that the management of the Corporation had since drawn up its own set of terms and conditions of service and that they were then being examined by the Board of Directors. (II, 135th, pp. 44-45)

<sup>8</sup> I, 16th, 24 (iii) and I, 39th, 75.

In its reply to the 16th report, the Government stated in February 1958 (by then the 39th report also was available to Government) that so far as departmental undertakings were concerned, the strength of the U.P.S.C. had been increased and its staff reinforced

subsequently repeated by the Committee several times in February 1959, April 1959, March 1963, and April 1963.<sup>9</sup> It proposed that the Commission should be staffed by persons having business experience and an understanding of personnel needs of the public sector and that it should follow flexible rules and procedures. The powers of the Commission should *inter alia* extend over examination and approval of the terms and conditions of service, recruitment, promotion and other personnel policies devised by various public undertakings and prescription of model rules<sup>10</sup>. Such a centralized personnel agency would, the Committee thought, ensure uniform standards of selection, eliminate competitive bidding for scarce personnel and avoid allegations of favouritism, besides saving the time and work of public undertakings. The Committee modified its proposals slightly in March 1964 and suggested that if the constitution of one central commission was not feasible, more than one commission might be established on a regional or industry-wise basis<sup>11</sup>. So long as the proposed agency was not constituted, the Committee favoured the association of prominent non-officials and technical experts with the selection committees to inspire greater confidence in the public mind regarding fairness and objectivity in selection.

The Committee repeatedly deprecated the inordinate delay in the framing of rules for recruitment, conditions of service and pay scales attaching to and classification of various categories of employees. It urged the need for evolving and following some model rules and principles of recruitment, etc., to avoid favouritism and nepotism<sup>12</sup>. In March 1964 the Committee recommended that the Government should issue instructions to all public undertakings specifying the period (the Committee suggested six months) within which the rules should be necessarily framed. It also suggested that a committee consisting of the representatives of the Ministries of Industry, Home Affairs, Finance, Labour and heads of major public undertakings should be set up to lay down model rules in these matters<sup>13</sup>.

to cope with the additional work of recruitment to such undertakings. Besides, under the Constitution of India, Art. 315(i), there could be only one public service commission under the Union Government and so another commission could not be constituted for this purpose. As regards corporations and registered companies run by the Central Government, the question of setting up Special Recruitment Boards for making centralized recruitment was under active consideration of the Government. (II, 19th, pp. 36-38). While replying to the 39th report, the Government reiterated in December 1959 that the matter was still under consideration. (II, 68th, p. 53)

<sup>9</sup> II, 33rd, 256; II, 38th, 162; III, 32nd, 209; III, 34th, 77; III, 35th, 227.

The Government replied to the 33rd and 38th reports of the Second Lok Sabha respectively in August 1962 and April 1961 and informed the Committee that the matter was still under consideration. (III, 2nd, p. 59; and II, 135th, p. 113)

<sup>10</sup> III, 32nd, 209.

<sup>11</sup> III, 32nd, 185.

<sup>12</sup> II, 125th, 41; II, 156th, 12.

In its reply to the 156th report, the Government stated in March 1963 that the finalization of model rules was under consideration. (III, 40th, p. 4). However, in April 1964 in its observations on the 125th report, the Government while conceding to the necessity of having regular service rules for the Neyveli Lignite Corporation, pointed out that it was not feasible to frame uniform standing service rules for employees of all public undertakings. The rules, the Government added, should be flexible enough to suit local conditions, hazard of occupation, specific requirements of technical personnel, etc. The Committee was not satisfied with the reply and reiterated its earlier recommendation while commenting upon the Government's reply (III, 54th, pp. 20-21) and also subsequently in some other main reports. III, 28th, 73; III, 52nd, 113-15.

<sup>13</sup> III, 52nd, 217.

Specifically with regard to Railway Service Commissions, the Committee recommended a comprehensive review of their working by the Railway Ministry and strengthening them where necessary for efficient and expeditious disposal of work. With a view to bringing about uniformity in the procedures of selection and discussing important matters of common interest and for effecting economy, the Committee favoured holding of bi-annual meetings of the Chairmen of the Railway Zonal Commissions and the officials of the Railway Ministry<sup>14</sup>. The Committee also suggested gradual introduction of psychological tests so as to find out the aptitude of candidates for different types of jobs on the railways<sup>15</sup>.

For giving adequate publicity to various vacancies, the Committee suggested that advertisements should be published in all the leading newspapers of principal languages. It further emphasized the need for devising vigorous and effective measures by the Central Labour Ministry to ensure notification of all posts to Employment Exchanges and an increasing use of that agency. It did not appreciate direct recruitment from the open market. As to the technical personnel the Committee recommended the preparation and maintenance of an up-to-date register of experienced engineers and technicians<sup>16</sup>.

Re-employment of retired persons was considered undesirable by the Committee in a commercial organization as opportunities for the exercise of initiative by and service prospects of an individual were vital to its success<sup>17</sup>. The Committee also pointed out that there were no uniform principles being followed in respect of employment of retired persons. Employment of such persons was justified to some extent in the case of isolated specialized jobs but not in regard to ordinary secretarial jobs. Similarly, the Committee did not favour the idea of having deputationists for non-technical jobs. Such a system, besides being costly, affected adversely promotion and other interests of regular employees<sup>18</sup>.

Drift of personnel was an important issue which the Committee considered in March 1964. The Committee noted with regret that during the preceding three years 4,857 technical and managerial personnel had left

<sup>14</sup> I, 24th, 34.

The Government accepted the recommendation and said that one annual meeting at Delhi would be sufficient. (II, 29th, p. 48)

<sup>15</sup> I, 24th, 24.

The Government accepted the recommendation in principle. (II, 29th, 0. 71)

<sup>16</sup> I, 5th, 16 and 125

The Government finally informed and the Committee felt satisfied that the list of experienced engineers had been compiled. (I, 49th, p. 21 and pp. 36-37)

<sup>17</sup> This observation was made by the Committee during the course of examination of the National Projects Construction Corporation. The Committee found that at the time there were 15 retired persons employed by the Corporation, 12 of which were Section Officers and Draftsmen. II, 155th, 25.

The Government was in general agreement with the Committee on this point. At the same time, the Government pointed out that engagement of retired personnel in the higher technical grades was not only desirable but also necessary especially when younger people with the necessary background and experience were not available readily. (III, 37th, p. 6)

<sup>18</sup> In its general report on "Personnel Policies of Public Undertakings", the Committee pointed out in March 1964 that public undertakings employed over 1,000 retired personnel including those for non-technical secretarial posts. Further, there were 3,450 deputationists from Government service including non-technical secretariat officers, clerks and even peons. III, 52nd, 186-91.

public enterprises. With a view to checking the flight and reducing turnover, the Committee suggested uniformity of pay scales in all public undertakings and the desirability of introducing cadre and career development schemes.<sup>19</sup>

(c) *Strength*

The Estimates Committee deplored the lack of detailed and realistic estimates of staff required. The overall impression gathered by the Committee was that public undertakings were invariably overstaffed.<sup>20</sup> The general tendency was to employ at initial stages the staff needed at full-rated production. This, the Committee held, resulted in low productivity, higher cost of production, and more difficult labour relations. In the case of Ashoka Hotels, the Committee urged the Government to bring down the existing ratio of men employed to the beds provided, i.e., from 3.1:1 to the general ratio of 2.5:1 in India (as against .5 or 1:1 abroad).<sup>21</sup> The Committee opined that as the production programmes of the manufacturing undertakings expanded, a rise in the technical strength would be justified. However, there could be no justification for a disproportionate rise in the number of non-technical secretarial staff. For instance, the Committee suggested that the existing ratio of 1:6 of administrative staff to factory staff in the Heavy Electricals should be brought down considerably to 1:12, as envisaged in the project report.<sup>22</sup>

In the case of the P & T Directorate, where the number of Section Officers (including Accounts Officers) had increased from 26 in 1948 to 69 in 1960 and the ratio of staff working under them had come down from 1:16.7 in 1948 to 1:8.8 in 1960, the Committee proposed an investigation by the Special Re-organization Unit of the Ministry of Finance for bringing about a rational distribution of work. The Committee also viewed with concern the steep rise from 434 in 1948 to 608 in 1960 in the ministerial staff of the Directorate and said that the causes for this rise should be investigated.<sup>23</sup> However, in the case of the Calcutta Branch Office of the Exports Risks Insurance Corporation (transformed into Export Credit and Guarantee

<sup>19</sup> III, 52nd, 192-94.

Similar conclusions were reached and recommendations made in a study report "*The Flight of Technical Personnel in Public Undertakings*" submitted to the Government of India in July 1962 by Dr. H. K. Paranjape of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

<sup>20</sup> The comparatively more overstaffed undertakings named by the Committee were: (i) Indian Telephone Industries, II, 11th, 143-49 (March 1958); (ii) Ashoka Hotels, II, 119th, 28-33 (March 1961); (iii) Sindhri Fertilizers and Chemicals, II, 120th, 30-40 (March 1961); (iv) Neyveli Lignite Corporation, II, 125th, 37 (April 1961); (v) L.I.C., II, 134th, 123-31 (April 1961); (vi) National Newsprint and Paper Mills, II, 157th, 61 (March 1962); (vii) National Coal Development Corporation, III, 32nd, 194-99 (March 1963); and (viii) Heavy Electricals, III, 35th, 230-32 (April 1963).

The Government has already replied to the reports at (i) to (v) above. A perusal of the Government's replies shows that it generally noted the observations of the Committee and assured to keep the strength under control and constant review.

<sup>21</sup> II, 119th, 29-33.

In its reply the Government pointed out in September 1962 that the ratio had since shown a downward trend and then stood at 2.97:1 (III, 6th, p. 16)

<sup>22</sup> III, 35th, 230.

<sup>23</sup> II, 110th, 12.

The Government pointed out in February 1963 that the S.R.U. of the Finance Ministry had by then reported on 31 sections of the Directorate and the remaining sections were being examined and that in pursuance of the S.R.U. reports, 9 posts of Section Officers had been abolished. (III, 16th, p. 150)

Corporation with effect from January 3, 1964) the Estimates Committee recommended the reinforcement of the office strength. The Committee attributed the poor performance of the office to its inadequate strength (the office had only one Secretary, one Inspector and four brokers though it handled nearly one-fifth of the Corporation's total business).<sup>24</sup>

The Committee emphasized in several cases the need for advance planning of manpower requirements and drawing up on its basis a clear programme of recruitment for various categories of personnel required. It also recommended the setting up of O & M cells in the enterprises and a Central Manpower Consultancy Bureau to review periodically the organizational set-up and advise on the manpower requirements of all public undertakings.<sup>25</sup> The Committee held that the strength of staff employed must be related to the stage of production and must be proportionate to the tasks to be performed.<sup>26</sup> Besides, the Committee urged strict adherence to the number estimated in the project reports and suggested that no staff over and above the estimates of the consultants should be employed without the Government's prior approval.<sup>27</sup> The Committee also stressed the need for undertaking systematic and detailed job analysis, time and motion studies of the various categories of workers and laying down of uniform norms for providing staff to different categories of officers in line with the practice obtaining in the secretariat of the Government of India and various public undertakings.<sup>28</sup>

#### (d) Training

While recognizing the need for specialized training centres, the Estimates Committee was concerned over the tendency of the public undertakings to start individually training schemes without co-ordinating them with those of similar other undertakings. The Committee underlined the importance of properly phased and well co-ordinated training programmes for all public undertakings functioning broadly in the same or allied fields of technology. It preferred the utilization of the existing training facilities to the maximum extent possible to the opening up of new institutions.<sup>29</sup> The Committee recently recommended the setting up of an advisory committee, under the Directorate of Employment and Training, to act as the co-ordinating body for the training programmes and to ensure that no new training

<sup>24</sup> III, 47th, 114-18.

<sup>25</sup> III, 52nd, 106.

The Second Five Year Plan also had emphasized the necessity of advance planning for the supply of technical personnel and visualizing the difficulties likely to be encountered in meeting the demands. 1956, pp. 175-76.

<sup>26</sup> III, 52nd, 83.

<sup>27</sup> The three steel plants alone employed on December 30, 1963, 32,148 persons over and above the original estimates, the Committee pointed out recently. III, 52nd, 75.

<sup>28</sup> II, 11th (Indian Telephone Industries, March 1956), 148; II, 33rd (Hindustan Steel, February 1959), 252.

In its reply the Government pointed out in March 1960 that time and motion studies and detailed job analysis had already been conducted in the I.T.I. (II, 105th, p. 67). With regard to the 33rd report the Government replied in September 1960 that the plant authorities had been asked to do the needful. (III, 2nd, p. 29).

<sup>29</sup> I, 16th, 24; II, 156th, 12.

The Government in its reply to the 16th report said that there could be no objection to this suggestion. (II, 19th, p. 10)

institutions were started if the new needs could be met by the existing centres.<sup>30</sup> In December 1956 in its report on the air corporations the Committee had gone a step further and suggested that public undertakings should follow a liberal policy of providing, at reasonable terms, training facilities even to outsiders whose services might not be directly required by the particular undertaking itself. This view was reiterated by the Committee in some subsequent reports.<sup>31</sup>

The Committee as a rule did not favour the sending of officers abroad for purposes of training except for highly specialized work. Instead, it suggested that the services of an adequate number of foreign experts should be obtained to train technicians in India and the training facilities contemplated under the agreements with foreign consultants should be fully utilized and groups of persons with varied experience as under-studies should be attached to foreign engineers at the "designing, estimating and finishing" stages of projects. The Committee did, however, recommend the sending of Indian engineers abroad for acquiring the necessary know-how at the designing and construction stage of equipment in order to ensure that the equipment was made according to the specifications, e.g., ships to be imported into the country.<sup>32</sup>

The Estimates Committee, from its early years, laid special emphasis on "training within the industry" and "learn as you work" schemes in the various undertakings.<sup>33</sup> It also urged many a time that refresher and short-term courses should be increasingly organized at institutes of training for administrative and managerial staff.<sup>34</sup>

#### (e) Promotions

The Committee agreed in March 1956 with the views of the Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee, 1947, that greater emphasis should be laid on the honesty and integrity of the candidate and that he must have acquired certain definite standards of efficiency in a lower grade prior to promotion. The Estimates Committee also suggested in its report on the Ministry of Railways (Staff Matters) that the candidates should be interviewed by a selection committee consisting of heads of three departments at the time of first promotion to a senior scale.<sup>35</sup> The Committee, however, did not

<sup>30</sup> III, 52nd, 219.

<sup>31</sup> I, 41st, 111; III, 32nd, 267; III, 34th, 80.

<sup>32</sup> II, 38th, 91, 94 and 167.

The Government agreed to implement the recommendation as and when the opportunity arose. (II, 135th, p. 29 and 46)

<sup>33</sup> I, 16th (June 1955), 24; II, 11th (March 1958), 172; III, 52nd (March 1964), 229.

In its replies to the 16th (I) and the 11th (II) reports the Government said that it was in agreement with the suggestions of the Committee and that they would be followed in future. (II, 19th, pp. 10-11 and II, 105th, p. 25)

<sup>34</sup> I, 24th, 51; III, 52nd, 231-32.

The Government accepted in principle the recommendation contained in the 24th report. (II, 29th, p. 9)

<sup>35</sup> I, 24th, 76.

The Government replied that promotions from a junior scale to a senior scale were made on the basis of the confidential reports, and that promotions had to be approved by the Deputy General Manager (Personnel), the head of the department concerned and the General Manager. In view of this three-tier arrangement, the Government did not consider it necessary that junior officers should be interviewed by a board of heads of three departments. The Committee was not satisfied with the reply and while reiterating its earlier recommendation said that an interview at the time of first promotion was very necessary to have a balanced view of the candidate's suitability. II, 29th, 3.

favour restricting the area of selection to Grade II posts to departmental candidates alone by promotion and favoured direct recruitment if staff of requisite standards were not available within Grade III.<sup>36</sup>

While recognizing the need for suitably rewarding good work by way of promotion the Committee was opposed to too rapid and accelerated promotions. In its report on the N.C.D.C., the Committee in March 1963 said, "While it is important that the senior posts in public undertakings should reasonably be filled from within the undertaking, the rapidity with which such promotions are made should broadly correspond to the opportunities available to similarly qualified persons in other public undertakings and Government service. Apart from other considerations, this is necessary to avoid the drift of technical persons from one undertaking to another. It is also essential that the senior officers acquire the requisite training and experience before they are promoted. Too early a promotion may tend to create stagnation at the higher places and give rise to discontentment among them."<sup>37</sup> Similar views were expressed by the Committee in the case of Heavy Electricals where 54 officers had got two or more promotions within five years and were drawing double the pay than before joining the H.E.L. The Committee observed, "Promotions should be made on well-defined principles and should broadly correspond to those followed in other undertakings and Government service. . . . The matter may be examined by the Government in a comprehensive manner with a view to bringing about some rationale and uniformity in the present mode of promotions in the various undertakings."<sup>38</sup>

The Committee laid in recent years special emphasis on the desirability of laying down well-defined promotion rules by the Government for the guidance of public undertakings and devising a system of merit rating.<sup>39</sup> With a view to inspiring confidence in the employees and avoiding premature promotions, the Committee suggested that a minimum of three years' service should be invariably insisted upon and highly specialized posts should be advertised so that outsiders who have the necessary qualifications and experience could also compete.<sup>40</sup>

Besides, promotion policy should be closely co-ordinated with suitable training and the undertakings should be able to forecast the number of people required for different posts so that their employees are in the know of opportunities open to them for advancement and can compete if they could equip themselves.<sup>41</sup>

#### (f) Pay Scales and Incentive Awards

The Estimates Committee more than once drew attention to the disparity between pay scales and allowances attaching to posts with similar

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 79.

Till the end of September 1958 when the Committee submitted the report on the 'Action Taken on the 24th Report', the Government had not sent any final reply in this regard. (II, 29th, p. 80)

<sup>37</sup> III, 32nd, 204.

<sup>38</sup> III, 35th, 238-40.

<sup>39</sup> III, 32nd, 204; III, 35th, 238-40; III, 52nd, 196.

<sup>40</sup> III, 52nd, 205.

<sup>41</sup> I, 24th, 82.

The Government took note of the observations of the Committee and issued instructions to the Railway Administrations to take necessary action. (II, 29th, p. 51-52)

duties and responsibilities in various undertakings. Such variations, it pointed out, had led to dissatisfaction among the personnel of different undertakings and their flight from one undertaking to another.<sup>43</sup> With a view to evolving a rational and sound policy concerning pay scales, with due regard to the place of location of the industry, the Committee recently suggested the setting up of a committee consisting of the representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Home Affairs, Industry, Central O & M Division, and major public undertakings. The proposed committee could also help evolve a system of classifying posts with more or less similar responsibilities and standardize their designations.<sup>44</sup>

As regards the comparatively higher pay scales and benefits prevailing in the private industry, the Estimates Committee recently affirmed that "the risks and uncertainties which management face in regard to capital, production, cost, demand, pricing, profit, etc., in the private sector are not comparable to those in the public sector. The criteria of judging performance in the two sectors are also not the same. Moreover, the public sector which is emerging as the biggest employer should set the pace for other employers by pegging the salaries rather than compete with the private sector in this regard."<sup>45</sup>

The Estimates Committee many a time recommended that the Government manufacturing concerns should increasingly introduce piece-work rating and wage incentive schemes for skilled labour and technical staff.<sup>46</sup> In its 44th report, February 1964 (III Lok Sabha), on the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works (run as a departmental undertaking under the Ministry of Railways), the Estimates Committee pointed out that as a result of the introduction of piece-rate wages, the locomotive out-turn had stepped up from 98 in 1954-55 to 183 in 1962-63, i.e., 86.5 per cent and, that of boilers during the same period from 70 to 186, i.e., 166 per cent. Further, as a result of the manufacture and fabrication of components in the factory itself, the imported content had been brought down from over Rs. 1 lakh per W.G. locomotive to Rs. 4,000 only. Also, the cost of direct stores had been reduced from Rs. 3.75 lakhs in 1951-52 to about Rs. 2.40 lakhs in 1962-63. The more important thing was that the strength of staff during this period increased by about two-thirds only. The Committee urged for the extension of the system to all possible railway operations gradually and invariably on a uniform basis.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> II, 38th, 158-60; III, 35th, 237; and III, 52nd, 124-30.

In its reply to the 38th report (Second Lok Sabha) the Government, while conceding in principle to the desirability of uniformity in scales of pay, said that rigid and concrete scales of pay for all posts in all the undertakings were neither desirable nor practicable to be prescribed; the pay scales had to bear some relation to the nature, location and size of the industry and the nature of responsibilities in respect of various posts even when they were similarly designated. The Committee was satisfied with the reply. (II, 135th, p. 100-101)

<sup>44</sup> III, 52nd, 124-30.

<sup>45</sup> III, 52nd, 131.

A. D. Gorwala had in 1951 said that the pay scales offered should be sufficiently attractive and compensative enough to attract capable men on contract basis. There should be no attempt to 'assimilate' them to Government pay scales. *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> I, 13th, 77; I, 21st, 129; I, 24th, 92; I, 27th, 39; II, 11th, 156; III, 32nd, 112.

Acting upon the Committee's recommendations the Government has introduced the piece rate wages on a pilot or regular basis in a number of concerns.

<sup>46</sup> III, 44th, 42.

Other incentive schemes proposed by the Committee included rewards for exceptional and outstanding initiative, conduct and performance or handling of hazardous items and constructive suggestions from members of the staff that would contribute to the efficiency, economy or organizational improvements.<sup>47</sup> Such rewards could be either financial (e.g., honorarium, promotion, increase in salary, stipends, etc., to the inventors or their children for study in India or abroad) or non-financial (e.g., letters of appreciation, medals, etc.). The Committee stressed the necessity of widely publicizing the incentive award schemes among the workers and of giving every possible encouragement to them to come forward with suggestions.<sup>48</sup>

#### (g) Labour Relations

The Estimates Committee's overall findings as indicated in its recent report on personnel management (III, 52nd) were that labour-management relations were not very cordial in a number of public undertakings, and that public enterprises lagged behind considerably in the implementation of labour laws (Paras 246-47). With a view to improving the position, the Committee in this report and earlier reports made a number of suggestions the more important of which are as follows:

- (1) early constitution of elected Works Committees and Labour Relations Committees as instruments of democratic administration of labour matters and of progressive association of the workers and technicians with the management;<sup>49</sup>
- (2) organization of programmes of workers' education to broaden their outlook and their understanding of management's point of view, inspire a sense of belongingness and reduce absenteeism;

<sup>47</sup> I, 24th, 99; I, 26th, 112; I, 41st, 122; I, 48th, 232.

The Government noted the observations of the Committee in this respect in reply to the 24th, 26th and 41st reports. As to the 48th report on the major ports, which was submitted in February 1957 and had, *inter alia*, recommended that the question of making some suitable additional payments to workers for the handling of hazardous cargo should be sympathetically considered, the Government could not send any final reply in this matter till December 1959 when the Committee brought out the Action Taken Report. (II, 67th, p. 71)

<sup>48</sup> I, 24th, 97; II, 110th, 47; III, 44th, 42; III, 45th, 37.

The Government noted the recommendations of the Committee in this matter also. (II, 29th, p. 32; III, 16th, pp. 26-28). In the case of Railways (24th report) the Committee had also suggested that non-officials also should be associated with the screening committees constituted to examine the suggestions. The Government, however, did not endorse the views of the Committee and said that outsiders would not be able to assess and appreciate the value of suggestions in technical matters. Besides, there would be difficulties in the convening of meetings, etc. The Estimates Committee was not convinced with the reply and suggested reconsideration of the decision. (II, 29th, p. 82)

<sup>49</sup> I, 41st, 125; II, 22nd, 31; II, 33rd, 273; III, 35th, 251; etc.

The 41st report concerned the Air-India International. The Government replied that the A.I.I. had not been instructed thus far, as required under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, section 3(i), by the concerned Government, i.e., the Government of Bombay, to constitute Works Committees. Besides, the setting up of Works Committees would result in unnecessary duplication of labour management consultation functions already covered by the existing Labour Relations Committee. The Estimates Committee accepted the reply. (II, 34th, p. 27). In reply to the 22nd report the Government pointed out that workers could not be profitably associated with the too technical issues dealt with by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. The Committee was not satisfied and reiterated its earlier recommendation. (II, 103rd, p. 51). As to the 33rd report, the Government stated in August 1962 that the recommendation which concerned the Government as a whole, was under consideration. (III, 2nd, p. 72)

- (3) creation of separate welfare funds, improvement of general services, advertisement of suggestion schemes, special recognition for promptness and hardwork, introduction of attendance bonus schemes, laying down of grievance procedures, etc.;<sup>50</sup>
- (4) prompt settlement of disputes in a spirit of mutual understanding, cordiality and with a humanitarian approach. In regard to Railways, the Committee in 1956 said, "Cordial relations between the executives and the staff can be achieved only by properly appreciating the human values, by mutual understanding and closer contacts. The Railway Officers on tour should contact all the staff desirous of meeting them, study their problems and grievances in a sympathetic manner and guide them about the reasonableness or otherwise of their demands. There should also be closer contact amongst the officers and their staff to create an *esprit de corps*."<sup>51</sup>

The Committee also more than once recommended that a rule should be laid down to the effect that the trade unions would be managed invariably by the employees of the concern themselves and outsiders should not be allowed to act as office-bearers.<sup>52</sup>

#### FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

Stress on economy and development of tools of stricter financial control seem to have been the main focus of the Committee's numerous recommendations in the field of financial management. The Committee has, however, also dealt with subjects like the financial structure of the undertakings, investment of funds, accounting and audit and their pricing policy.

##### (a) Financial Structure

In its 9th Report, May 1954 (First Lok Sabha) on "Administrative, Financial and Other Reforms" the Committee recommended that early steps should be taken and a clear procedure laid to ensure channelizing of all monthly earnings and expenditure of public enterprises through the Consolidated Fund of India.<sup>53</sup> The Committee in certain cases also recommended the creation of specialized funds like the River Valley Development Schemes Fund comprising the betterment fees levied uniformly in respect of all the river valley schemes,<sup>54</sup> and a Port Development Fund (by levying a surcharge

<sup>50</sup> I, 5th, 123; I, 43rd, 160-61; I, 67th, 99; II, 11th, 158; III, 52nd, 248; etc.

The Government noted the recommendations of the Committee in all the cases and said that the various measures suggested by the Committee had either already been taken or were proposed to be taken in due course of time.

<sup>51</sup> I, 24th, 131.

The Government replied that suitable instructions for the purpose were already in force on the Railway Administrations. (II, 29th, p. 27)

<sup>52</sup> I, 24th, 132; III, 52nd, 249.

<sup>53</sup> I, 9th, 25.

In its reply, which the Committee accepted, the Government said that provision of initial capital and later additions, as also payments of subsidies, were already being channelized through the Consolidated Fund of India. To go beyond that, the Government held, would be against the autonomy of the undertakings. (I, 57th, p. 17)

<sup>54</sup> I, 5th, 121.

The Government did not accept the Committee's plea for uniformity in the levy of betterment fees which, it said, must correspond with the rainfall in particular areas and each case must be decided on its merits. (I, 49th, p. 31)

of 6 Paise per ton of goods imported or exported which had earlier been recommended by the National Harbour Board).<sup>65</sup>

The Committee in its 16th Report, June 1955 (First Lok Sabha), on "Organisation and Administration of Nationalised Industrial Undertakings", recommended that at least 25 per cent of the share capital of joint stock companies in the public sector should be made available for subscription by the public. At the same time the Committee cautioned that in order to avoid individual or group monopolies and other similar abuses, the Government should fix ceilings on the holding of shares, as also any dividends that might be declared.<sup>66</sup> The Estimates Committee had observed in March 1952 that prior to the launching of a project, the Government must work out its full economics and once a project had been started, funds must flow according to the schedule of work and time, without any higgling and haggling on either side, to avoid wastage of manpower, machinery and time.<sup>67</sup>

In the case of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation the Committee found that the authorized capital initially fixed in January 1955 at Rs. 25 crores was increased in July 1959 to Rs. 50 crores and the Committee understood in April 1961 that this had been further revised to Rs. 80 crores.<sup>68</sup> In Nepanagar Paper Mills, the capital estimates had increased steeply from Rs. 250 lakhs in 1950 to Rs. 600 lakhs in 1951.<sup>69</sup> The Committee felt that "frequent revisions of the capital structure of the public undertakings having regard to specified targets of production" were not desirable as they appeared to

<sup>65</sup> I, 48th, 47.

The Committee had not received any final reply from the Government when it submitted the relevant "Action Taken Report" 2 years and 9 months after its original report. (II, 67th, p. 71)

<sup>66</sup> I, 16th, 6.

The Government noted in March 1957 that the recommendation was too general in nature. The Government added that while there could be no objection to a minority participation in the share capital by the public, there would be, for reasons of Government's dividend policy or otherwise no attraction for the public to invest in public undertakings. Besides, in cases like the defence establishments, it would not be advisable to have public participation for reasons of security. The Committee was not convinced with the arguments advanced by the Government and though agreeing with the Government's view-point that each case should be considered on its individual merits, it reiterated its earlier recommendation. The Committee also emphasized that the implementation of the recommendation would evoke enthusiasm of the public for contributing their bit to the national development and at the same time ensure effective functioning of the concerns under the vigil of a body of shareholders who would in their own interest keep a watchful eye on the working of the undertaking." II, 19th, 4.

<sup>67</sup> I, 5th, 120.

In this connection A. D. Gorwala, while commenting on the financial autonomy of the D.V.C. in 1951, had observed, "The flow of funds to it (D.V.C.) must be rational and not erratic. It must conform to a schedule and not be allotted to it on an annual basis and it must be left free to decide when to spend it, how much out of it to spend and for what purpose. A report on expenditure may of course be called for." *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, p. 34.

The Government, while admitting that the recommendation as it stood was unexceptionable, said that the flow of funds would of necessity have to be determined by the budgetary position. The Committee over this remarked that it had already been aware of this fact and that it was anxious to know how it was ensured that funds were made available for unhindered progress of work during a particular financial year. The Government later on clarified the whole position in a statement laid on the Table of the House on September 25, 1954. (I, 49th, pp. 49-50)

<sup>68</sup> II, 125th, 43.

<sup>69</sup> II, 157th, 47.

indicate lack of proper planning. It suggested that the role of a particular undertaking might be carefully assessed from time to time and suitable provision made, on the basis of the projects entrusted to it and the targets expected to be achieved to avoid too frequent a revision in the capital structure for the projects thus planned.<sup>60</sup>

The Committee strongly disapproved of the practice obtaining in some of the enterprises like the National Coal Development Corporation, the Life Insurance Corporation, the Industrial Finance Corporation, etc., to draw large sums not immediately required and keep them either in cash or as deposits in the banks. In the case of the N.C.D.C., the Committee found that the Corporation had during 1957-58 deposited on short-term basis with the banks over 50 per cent of its deferred liabilities amounting to Rs. 557 lakhs. The Committee regarded such substantial advance drawals of loans as "unnecessary locking up of funds."<sup>61</sup> A similar situation existed in the Industrial Finance Corporation where the Corporation had in cash and banks a balance of Rs. 206.5 lakhs on June 30, 1962. The Committee recommended that such money should be reduced to the minimum.<sup>62</sup> In the case of the L.I.C. the position was that the Corporation had operating and call-deposit accounts in no less than 52 and 20 banks respectively. The Committee recommended that the L.I.C. should have operating and call-deposit accounts only with the State Bank of India which, besides covering risks, would considerably save the accounting effort. The Committee also suggested a bi-weekly review of the position of cash at hand so that the surplus in current accounts could be transferred into call-deposits.<sup>63</sup>

The Estimates Committee emphasized that there was a general need for public enterprises to build up adequate reserves to cope with unforeseen situations, besides meeting recurring expenditure on administration, etc.<sup>64</sup> This was all the more necessary to enable the undertakings to make in the long run a substantial contribution to the cost of their capital development out of their own earnings and finance the setting up and further expansion of related new projects so as to reduce the drain on public exchequer on that account. In this connection the Committee thought that the Government should, in consultation with the Company Law Administration, lay down a policy for the creation of various kinds of reserves considered essential.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> II, 156th, 47.

The Government noted the recommendation and said that it would be kept in view in future. (III, 40th, p. 9)

<sup>61</sup> II, 93rd, 15.

The Committee understood later that the procedure of drawals had since been revised and the Corporation could not draw funds as and when required without resorting to short term deposits with banks. The Committee proposed and the Government agreed to extend the scheme to other undertakings also under the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel. (II, 152nd, p. 4)

<sup>62</sup> III, 36th, 93.

<sup>63</sup> II, 134th, 84-88.

The Government accepted the views of the Committee on these points as a matter of both policy and practice. (III, 41st, pp. 15-16)

<sup>64</sup> I, 48th, 50; II, 125th, 46; II, 157th, 57-58; III, 32nd, 240; III, 47th, 103.

The Government has already replied to the 48th and the 125th reports. The Government pointed out that it was the Government's intention and policy that public enterprises should build up sufficient reserves for lean years and that after a specified period they should be in a position to redeem from their accumulated funds considerable amounts which Government could utilize for other purposes. (II, 67th, pp. 20-21; III, 54th, pp. 8-9)

<sup>65</sup> II, 157th, 58; III, 32nd, 240.

*(b) Investment Policy and Procedure*

The Committee generally held that the investment policies of the financing institutions in the public sector should be geared to the fulfilment of the priorities and objectives of the successive five-year plans and of balanced regional development. The Committee suggested in April 1961 that the Government should take over as an unfunded debt the entire investible funds, nearly Rs. 450 crores, of the L.I.C. and pay a mutually agreed interest (the Committee suggested 3 per cent or a little more) and invest the money as and when required in the public and private sector undertakings. The Committee felt that such a measure would not only relieve the L.I.C. of the controversial and distracting work of investment and thus enable it to devote its entire time and energy to expansion of its business and servicing of policies, but also equip the Government to better realize the objectives of nationalization. Referring to the past working of the Corporation the Committee added that in December 1959, 71 per cent of the total investment of the L.I.C. was in Government and approved securities alone and the return the L.I.C. was getting for this was only 3·4 per cent (excluding refund of income-tax). During 1959 the L.I.C. had been able to buy only Rs. 17·15 lakhs worth of shares debentures of newly floated companies and Rs. 205·57 lakhs worth of shares debentures floated by the existing companies. This, the Committee remarked, did not meet fully the objectives of social advancement, diversification of investment (geographically and industry-wise) and avoidance of speculation.<sup>66</sup>

As regards balanced regional development, the Committee in its report on the Industrial Finance Corporation pointed out in April 1963 that up to June 1962 private concerns in the less developed States of Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan had received only Rs. 1·28, 0·28 and 1·79 crores respectively as against Rs. 13·7, 23·67 and 10·97 crores respectively made available to industries in the States of Madras, Maharashtra and West Bengal. In case of other States also the loans ranged between Rs. 3·77 and 7·88 crores. The Committee recommended relaxation of the criteria governing assistance so as to encourage the growth of industry in the backward areas.<sup>67</sup>

In the case of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission the Committee found in March 1962 that handicraft co-operatives had been given 75 per cent of their share capital and working capital as a two-year loan, and 50 per cent of the recurring expenditure on special supervisory co-operative staff as management grant for three years, as against 87·5 of the share value,

<sup>66</sup> II, 134th, 106-22.

The recommendation was not accepted by the Government. The Government replied that the advantages accruing from the acceptance of the recommendation were likely to be far outweighed by advantages in allowing the L.I.C. retain its investment functions which were not incompatible with its other functions. Besides, the divestment of investment functions, if done, would adversely affect the quantum of bonus currently paid; the higher rate of interest which the Government may have to pay would affect its borrowing programme; and its effect on stability of Government securities market and stock exchanges might impair the economic climate of the country. (III, 41st, p. 47)

In its comments on the Government's reply, the Estimates Committee said that these points had already been taken note of by the Committee at the time of making its recommendation and that the reasons advanced by the Government were not valid and convincing. The Committee urged that the Government should reconsider the matter and examine the feasibility of implementing the recommendation. III, 41st, 7-9.

<sup>67</sup> III, 36th, 28-32.

and 25 per cent management grant for four years to the khadi and village industries co-operatives. The Committee underlined the need for uniformity in the pattern of assistance by Government to like institutions, and the reduction of the management grant.<sup>68</sup> Further, the Commission had granted financial assistance directly to some institutions while it dealt with others through the State Boards. The Committee recommended that the Commission should channel all its financial assistance through the State Boards which were in a better position to adjudge the suitability of an institution for assistance.<sup>69</sup>

### (c) Operational Costs

The Committee viewed with grave concern the steep rise in the cost of operations of some of the public undertakings. In the case of the National Coal Development Corporation, the Committee pointed out in April 1960 that the total expenditure during 1957-58 worked out to about 106 per cent of the total sales (*i.e.* Rs. 662.3 lakhs out of Rs. 624 lakhs) of which 77.7 per cent was on staff alone.<sup>70</sup> In the Air-India International the percentage of general administration expenses to total expenditure had risen from 6.4 per cent in 1954-55 to 7.9 per cent in 1955-56.<sup>71</sup> The Committee noticed similar increases in general establishment costs of other state undertakings also, *e.g.*, C.W.P.C. (I, 5th, 20); Hindustan Antibiotics (I, 27th, 21); L.I.C. (II, 134th, 124); Nepa Mills (II, 157th, 61); Heavy Electricals (III, 35th, 168-69); Industrial Finance Corporation (III, 36th, 95); etc. The Committee attributed this generally to the tendency on the part of public undertakings to recruit staff in excess of their needs and poor manpower planning. This extra staff, besides increasing the cost of production, the Committee noted, vitally affected the working and efficiency of the concern and had a "demoralizing effect" on the other staff. With a view to avoiding such an unhappy state of affairs, the Committee insisted, as mentioned elsewhere also, that recruitment of staff must be related to requirements,<sup>72</sup> and that the staff position must be reviewed at periodical intervals and their out-turn measured against well defined standards so as to ensure that there was no surplus of idle manpower.<sup>73</sup>

In March 1964 the Estimates Committee undertook a horizontal study (50th report, Third Lok Sabha) exclusively of the office accommodation rented by public undertakings in the principal cities of Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and the guest houses and vehicles maintained by them.

<sup>68</sup> II, 167th, 44.

The Government informed the Estimates Committee in February 1963 that in pursuance of the Committee's recommendation a committee had been appointed to examine the pattern of financial assistance in regard to its scale, continuance and utilization and suggest a revised pattern. As regards management grant, the Government said that it was already on a progressively decreasing scale. (III, 57th, pp. 34-35)

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

The recommendation was accepted in principle. (III, 57th, p.7)

<sup>70</sup> II, 93rd, 6.

<sup>71</sup> I, 43rd, 77.

The Government noted the Committee's observations and said that it was the Corporation's endeavour to stop disproportionate rise in expenditure in all directions consistent with the efficient running of the organization. (II, 62nd, pp. 8-9)

<sup>72</sup> III, 35th, 168-69.

<sup>73</sup> II, 157th, 61.

The Committee found that there had been no planning about the requirements of office accommodation either by the public undertakings themselves or by the concerned administrative ministries. With a view to effecting economy, the Committee suggested the pooling together of the requirements of office accommodation, guest houses, etc. and the construction of multi-storeyed buildings to house the offices of the various enterprises located in one city. The Committee deprecated the tendency of allowing staff cars for the exclusive use of senior officers and suggested the framing of staff car rules or adoption of Government rules in the matter to ensure proper use of the facility. Another practice vehemently opposed by the Estimates Committee was the maintenance of liaison offices by the public enterprises at Delhi mainly for "chasing references" on various matters to the Government departments. The necessity of such offices, the Committee thought, could be obviated, if not eliminated altogether, by streamlining Government procedures, etc.<sup>74</sup>

#### (d) Budgeting

The Estimates Committee over and over again advocated that state enterprises should progressively switch over to the preparation of programme-cum-performance budgeting and that they should have a common financial year corresponding to the Government practice. The Committee also stressed the desirability of preparing of performance and programme statements which should, *inter alia*, include information on (i) main objectives of the concern, (ii) principal current activities, (iii) achievements in physical terms during the previous year, anticipated during the current and the following years, (iv) brief analysis of the balance-sheets, and (v) explanation for wide variations, if any. The administrative ministries should incorporate in their budget statements the above information concerning the enterprises under their control. These statements should subsequently be consolidated into one volume for a better appreciation of the working and net results of various concerns.<sup>75</sup>

The Committee had been critical of the poor estimating of expenditure on the part of public enterprises, which invariably resulted in wide variations between the estimated costs and the expenditure actually incurred. For instance, the estimates of the Bombay Marine Oil Terminal Project of the Bombay Port Trust increased from Rs. 4.3 crores to Rs. 9.82 crores; in the case of Rourkela plant the increase was to the tune of Rs. 14 crores; in the N.C. D.C. the increase amounted to 60 per cent (from Rs. 101 crores to Rs. 166 crores) and in the Heavy Electricals, within a period of 18 months (June 1955 to November 1956) the variation of estimates of capital cost touched a mark of 77 per cent. Such unusually wide variations, a feature common to most enterprises, the Committee felt, rendered effective financial control difficult. The Committee, therefore, recommended standardization of budgeting procedures as far as possible, realistic estimating and a thorough, and detailed screening of the preliminary estimates before a

<sup>74</sup> III, 32nd, 173; III, 50th, 20-21.

The Committee also noticed that in some cases the names of liaison offices had been lately changed to sales offices, etc.

<sup>75</sup> II, 20th, 25-27; II, 73rd, 25; II, 134th, 94; III, 9th, 3; etc.

The Government accepted the recommendations and pointed out that some undertakings were already giving the information in their annual reports, etc., and that others also would be supplying similar information in future. (II, 60th, p. 4; III, 41st, p. 16)

project was actually sanctioned.<sup>76</sup> Such a scrutiny of the estimates, the Committee pointed out, had not been done in the case of the Heavy Electricals and the project was sanctioned on the basis of the Consultant's estimates which were later termed as "intelligent conjecture."<sup>77</sup> In some cases like the O.N.G.C. and the National Mineral Development Corporation, the Committee recommended development of statistical and analytical techniques of realistic budgeting and that budgeting should be done in terms of operational expenditure grouped under proper "heads".<sup>78</sup>

(e) *Accounting and Audit*

In its general reports (I, 9th and I, 16th) and reports on particular undertakings like D.V.C. (I, 5th), air corporations (I, 41st), telephone industry (II, 11th), steel plants (II, 33rd), lignite corporation (II, 125th), oil industry (III, 28th), heavy electricals plant (III, 35th), etc., the committee and the Government generally accepted the need for a well-trained and well-staffed cost-accounting organization in industrial undertakings to serve as a scientific tool of financial and managerial control.<sup>79</sup> In its 5th and 9th reports submitted in March 1952 and May 1954 respectively, the Committee visualized the role and importance of such an organization "to locate and promptly eradicate the bacilli of waste and inefficiency". In the 9th report, the Committee also recommended the setting up of an Institute of Cost and Works Accountants.<sup>80</sup> The Committee also felt that it should be the duty of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India to see that every undertaking maintained accounts in the prescribed manner, to draw pointed attention to any defects in the procedure and suggest measures for improvement.<sup>81</sup>

In its 11th Report, March 1958 (Second Lok Sabha), on the Indian Telephone Industries, the Committee suggested the appointment of an

<sup>76</sup> I, 48th, 128; II, 11th, 74; II, 33rd, 151; II, 119th, 7; II, 156th, 40; III, 32nd, 217; and III, 35th, 139.

The Government replies to the various reports on which action has already been taken show that the Government generally noted the Committee's suggestions for future guidance. In some cases the Government correlated the variations in the estimated and actual expenditure to the unanticipated rise in the market prices. (III, 2nd, p. 17). In the case of the Marine Oil Terminal Project, the Government attributed the raise to the magnitude of the project. (II, 67th, pp. 58-59). The replies did not satisfy the Committee and it again urged that a greater care should be taken for accurate estimating, planning and control over expenditure. III, 40th, 3.

<sup>77</sup> III, 35th, 139.

<sup>78</sup> II, 22nd, 45; II, 156th, 22.

The Government took note of the Committee's suggestions. (II, 103rd, p. 4; III, 40th, p. 5)

<sup>79</sup> I, 5th, 118; I, 9th, 27; I, 16th, 20; I, 41st, 74; II, 11th, 77; II, 33rd, 167; II, 125th, 48; III, 28th, 52; III, 35th, 164; etc., etc..

<sup>80</sup> I, 9th, 28.

The Government informed the Committee that there already existed at Calcutta an Institute of Cost and Works Accountants, a body registered under the Indian Companies Act, and it would be unnecessary to set up another such institution. The Committee was then in March 1957 satisfied with the reply. (I, 57th, p. 18). However, in its 11th (March 1958) report (Second Lok Sabha), the Committee felt that in view of the large requirements of trained Cost Accountants, the question of re-organizing the Institute and decentralizing its activities should be considered by the Government. II, 11th, 168.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

The Government in its reply pointed out that this was already being done. (I, 57th, pp. 16-17)

expert team to examine afresh the entire system of accounting (financial, costs and stores) in all the state undertakings with a view to making it fool-proof and achieving standardization of accounting procedures to the extent possible at least in all manufacturing units.<sup>82</sup> In the case of transport undertakings like the Shipping Corporations and Railways, which had a commercial value that could be measured in quantitative terms, the Committee urged the adoption of a satisfactory system of compiling and analyzing the various statistics of performance and working out "a correlation of the expenditure with performance" and "a practicable operational co-efficient".<sup>83</sup>

The Committee in addition emphasized the necessity of having an expenditure audit control agency, both within and outside the undertaking, to conduct a continuous audit of transactions and payments. For this purpose, and in line with the spirit of the Constitution and sound financial propriety, the Committee suggested that audit should be conducted either by a representative of the C. & A.G. or by commercial auditors appointed by him (and not by the Directors);<sup>84</sup> the audit staff should be located at the headquarters to conduct concurrent audit; the auditor's report should be submitted to the C. & A.G. and laid on the Table of Parliament; and the C. & A.G. should report on serious cases of fraud, irregularities, bad management, etc., if any.<sup>85</sup>

#### (f) Pricing Policy

In its views on the pricing policy of state enterprises the Committee seems to have been guided by pragmatic considerations. To proceed somewhat on a chronological basis, in its report on the Salt Organization, the Committee favoured in June 1955 the lifting of controls and fixation of the price of salt by a free play of the forces of supply and demand which, it hoped, would also help bring down the price.<sup>86</sup> About the Hindustan Antibiotics the Committee remarked that in order to avoid incurring of any losses, care should be taken to ensure that selling price was, as far as possible, not below the cost of production and that at any rate it included a certain amount of return on capital, etc.<sup>87</sup> With regard to the profit

<sup>82</sup> II, 11th, 77.

In its comments on the reply of the Government the Committee pointed out in January 1961 that an expert committee had since been appointed by the Government. (II, 105th, pp. 70-71)

<sup>83</sup> I, 31st, 21-22; II, 38th, 142.

The Government accepted the recommendation in both the cases. (II, 51st, p. 3; II, 135th, p. 41)

<sup>84</sup> I, 9th, 24.

The Government accepted the recommendation and said that in some cases this was already being done while in others arrangements were being made by amending the Companies Act. (I, 57th, p. 16)

<sup>85</sup> I, 5th, 124.

The Government replied that necessary action will be taken wherever necessary. (I, 49th, p. 20)

<sup>86</sup> I, 15th, 112.

In its reply the Government pointed out that no price control over salt was being exercised by the Central Government; a ceiling was fixed by State Governments only to ensure that the retailers did not charge higher prices, and even some of the State Governments had relaxed the price controls. (II, 3rd, p. 33)

<sup>87</sup> I, 27th, 36.

The Government agreed to implement the recommendation as far as possible. (II, 13th, p. 6)

margin increased by the Indian Telephone Industries the Committee opined that the increase (2.5 per cent for P & T Department and 7.5 per cent for private parties) was unobjectionable so long as it assisted in self-financing of future development projects. The Committee also pleaded that a public enterprise should not only realize a financial profit but also produce the required products to achieve the optimum output and ensure production by economic and efficient methods.<sup>88</sup> With regard to oil refineries the Committee preferred the setting up of a body or team like the Tariff Commission under the aegis of an international body to examine the problems of pricing of the petroleum products with particular reference to the cost structure.<sup>89</sup> In the case of Hindustan Shipyard, the Committee did not think it desirable to link the prices charged by the concern with those obtaining in any other country. The two main considerations suggested by the Committee to guide the fixation of prices here were (i) it should give some incentive to the Shipyard to reduce its cost of construction, and (ii) the buyer should not be asked to pay appreciably more than what he would have paid for a similar ship constructed elsewhere.<sup>90</sup> The Committee did not cherish the idea of fixing the price of heavy electrical goods after taking into account the price of imported equipment. The Committee regarded this policy as neither economical nor sound; price had got to be determined on the actual cost of production and should leave an adequate margin of profit to the company.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> II, 11th, 57.

The Government noted the suggestion. (II, 105th, p.7)

<sup>89</sup> II, 22nd, 87.

The Government informed the Committee that an agreement had since been reached with the private oil industries and prices fixed on an *ad hoc* basis and at reduced rates. In the circumstances the Government did not feel any necessity of an enquiry by an expert team as suggested by the Estimates Committee. The Committee did not approve of this *ad hoc* agreement and reduction in prices and said that in future price should be fixed on a more rational basis. (II, 103rd, pp. 61-66)

<sup>90</sup> II, 116th, 34-36.

The recommendations of the Committee were noted by the Government. (III, 10th, p. 15)

<sup>91</sup> III, 35th, 101.

While insisting that the price charged by public enterprises must be the real cost determined after taking into account and exhibiting properly the element of subsidy from the Government and hidden tax, if any, A. D. Gorbala had in 1951 contended that "taking several years together the enterprise should make neither loss nor profit". He added, "public enterprises should not, as a rule, be expected to assist Government finances" except, of course, where the surplus, permissible under sufficient safeguards, was to be used "for some special purpose likely to increase the efficiency of the concern itself". *Report, op. cit.*, 1951, pp. 27-28.

The Second Five Year Plan also conceded in 1956 that resources required for the developmental effort of the country could be raised, among others, through appropriate pricing policies in respect of the products of public enterprises. *op. cit.*, p. 91.

The Third Five Year Plan assigned a definite role to public enterprises in the matter of enlarging public savings. It said: "They must, therefore, operate at a profit.... Their price policy should be such as would secure an adequate return on the investment made from public funds." *op. cit.*, p. 127. Further, "By efficient conduct of enterprises and following a rational and economically sound price policy for its products and services, the public sector undertakings ought to...contribute their full share to the increase in the portion of national resources devoted to investment." *op. cit.*, p. 264.

## CONCLUSIONS

The revelations made by the analysis of the Committee's approach to and recommendations on matters of organizational improvements are further supported by the nature and content of the Committee's numerous recommendations in the field of personnel administration and financial management of public enterprises. While it is again recognized that the Committee's impact on the working of enterprises cannot be assessed in precise terms, the Committee has been definitely successful in impressing upon the Government the necessity of constituting the Industrial Management Pool<sup>1</sup> and the Central Engineering Service,<sup>2</sup> drawing up a list of engineering personnel,<sup>3</sup> increasing the ratio of officers to subordinates (in the P & T Directorate),<sup>4</sup> setting up of Works Committees, creation of welfare funds and progressive association of workers with management. Similarly, in the field of financial management the Government could but accept the Committee's plea for introduction of programme-cum-performance budgeting,<sup>5</sup> realistic estimating,<sup>6</sup> cost and works accounting,<sup>7</sup> etc.

The Committee has also been partially successful in moving the Government to keep under constant review and reduce the operational costs and strength of staff,<sup>8</sup> "training within the industry" and "learn as you work" schemes,<sup>9</sup> introduction of piece-work rating and incentive award schemes,<sup>10</sup> devising of statistical and analytical tools of financial control,<sup>11</sup> undertaking of work and time and motion studies,<sup>12</sup> test audit by the C. & A. G. himself, advance assessment of financial requirements commensurate with yearly targets fixed and uninterrupted flow of funds with adequate delegation of financial powers<sup>13</sup>, etc. It may be argued here that the Committee had little new and original to contribute to these areas in the sense that these ideas had either already been threshed out by experts in the field and the three five year plans or were being generally followed in practice as a matter of general policy of the Government. However, the Committee must be credited for making use of ideas originating elsewhere and putting them forward in the right context and proper perspective.

In a number of cases the Committee pleaded for evolving and following of uniform principles with regard to all public enterprises. These matters mainly concerned rules governing selection of personnel,<sup>14</sup> their

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<sup>1</sup> *fn. 2 supra.*

<sup>2</sup> *fn. 4 supra.*

<sup>3</sup> *fn. 16 supra.*

<sup>4</sup> *fn. 23 supra.*

<sup>5</sup> *fn. 76 supra.*

<sup>6</sup> *fn. 77 supra.*

<sup>7</sup> *fn. 79 supra.*

<sup>8</sup> *fn. 20 supra.*

<sup>9</sup> *fn. 33 supra.*

<sup>10</sup> *fn. 45, 47 supra.*

<sup>11</sup> *fn. 83 supra.*

<sup>12</sup> *fn. 28 supra.*

<sup>13</sup> *fn. 56 supra.*

<sup>14</sup> *fn. 10 supra.*

conditions of service<sup>15</sup>, employment of retired persons and inviting deputations from Government service even for non-technical jobs<sup>16</sup>; pay scales and promotions;<sup>17</sup> levy of betterment fees by river valley project authorities<sup>18</sup> pattern of financial assistance to different units located in different regions;<sup>19</sup> and maintenance of accounts and audit procedure.<sup>20</sup> The Committee finding itself not equipped to suggest something categorical, advised the Government to appoint expert Committees to investigate and make suggestions to the Government in most of these cases.

The Committee at the same time coupled its advocacy for uniformity with flexibility to suit the requirements of individual enterprises depending upon their location, stage of development and nature of their operations. This points towards the sense of pragmatism with which the Committee examined the working of enterprises. Another glaring instance of the Committee's pragmatic approach is that though the Committee all along opposed the general tendency to employ staff over and above the actual requirements, it also recommended reinforcement of the staff of the Calcutta branch of the Export Credit and Guarantee Corporation.<sup>21</sup>

The Committee's approach has also been highly consistent and persistent. For instance, the Committee repeatedly advocated constitution of a separate Public Service Commission (lately modified into regional or industry-wise agencies) for public sector as a whole,<sup>22</sup> making 25 per cent of the share capital of joint stock companies available to public contribution<sup>23</sup>, and taking over of the entire investible funds of the L.I.C. by the Government.<sup>24</sup> The Government on its part either said that the matter was under consideration or came forward with the argument that it was not feasible in the public interest to accept the recommendations without reservation. The Committee was not satisfied with the arguments and hence followed its stand up.

On the whole, the Committee has done an excellent job for the legislators, the administrators and the common citizens so far as the examination of the organization and management of public enterprises is concerned. Its varied recommendations on improvements in organization and administrative and financial procedures go a long way in toning up the organization and management of public sector undertakings. The Estimates Committee has, in more than one direction, paved the way for the new Committee on Public Undertakings which has to learn a good deal from the experiences of its predecessor in the examination of public enterprises.

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<sup>15</sup> *fn. 12 supra.*

<sup>16</sup> *fn. 17, 18 supra.*

<sup>17</sup> *fn. 38 supra.*

<sup>18</sup> *fn. 54 supra.*

<sup>19</sup> *fn. 68 supra.*

<sup>20</sup> *fn. 82 supra.*

<sup>21</sup> *fn. 24 supra.*

<sup>22</sup> *fn. 2 through 11 supra.*

<sup>23</sup> *fn. 56 supra.*

<sup>24</sup> *fn. 65 supra.*

## THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

The new Committee on Public Undertakings came into being in May 1964 in view of the need for more intensive, continuing and undivided attention by a parliamentary organ which would examine whether the affairs of public undertakings are being managed, having regard to their "autonomy and efficiency", in accordance with "sound business principles and prudent commercial practices". Like the British Select Committee on Nationalized Industries, and perhaps to satisfy the growing body of opinion against the Estimates Committee's intrusion in matters of day-to-day administration, the new Committee has been debarred from investigating "matters of major Government policy as distinct from business or commercial functions of public undertakings", "matters of day-to-day administration" and "matters for the consideration of which machinery is established by any special statute under which a particular public undertaking is established".

The new Committee has to date submitted 11 (8, "main" and 3 "action taken") reports\* on the various undertakings some of which had already been reported upon by the Estimates Committee. Although there is not much publicly known about the staffing pattern of its secretariat and its detailed methods of enquiry, it is believed that they are not substantially different from those of the Estimates Committee.

It is too early to draw conclusions and make generalizations from the small number of the new Committee's reports. However, it seems that the general approach of the Committee to the varied problems of organization and management of public enterprises and the coverage of its reports would broadly correspond to those of the Estimates Committee reports. It has couched most of its recommendations in almost alike terminology directed to meet mainly the same objectives" viz., efficiency and economy in management. This is all the more evident from the frequent references in the "main reports" to the Estimates Committee reports and its view-points and in the "action taken reports" submitted so far wherein the new Committee has reiterated with equal force the recommendations of the Estimates Committee. However, in a few cases the new Committee also seems to have taken a stand different from that of the Estimates Committee. For instance, the Estimates Committee had suggested, which the Government did not, of course, agree to, the taking over by the Government of the entire investible funds of the L.I.C. On the other hand, the new Committee has recommended that nothing more than the statutory minimum of 50 per cent should be invested in the Government and other approved securities.

The Committee has generally opposed the appointment of Secretaries and Additional Secretaries to the Government on the Boards of Directors and the frequent changes of the incumbents of the posts of Chairmen and Managing Directors in the interests of continuity of direction. In one case, however, where the Finance and the administrative ministries were not represented on the Board, the Committee said that it was very desirable for maintaining close liaison and co-ordination with the undertaking that their representatives were appointed on the Board on a part-time basis. In the case of L.I.C., where the posts of Chairman and Managing Director were

\*A list of the reports of the Committee on Public Undertakings submitted so far is appended at the end.

combined, the Committee pointed out that this constituted a departure from the management pattern envisaged in the Life Insurance Act, 1956, and the matter should, therefore, be reviewed. In another case (Oil and Natural Gas Commission) the Committee, however, suggested that with a view to facilitating better supervision and control over day-to-day activities of the Commission and expediting implementation of the programmes and policies the question of combining the two posts in the full-time Chairman should be examined. The Committee has favoured inter-locking directorships for concerns operating in the same or allied fields of productive activity, prescription of qualification and experience of the like undertaking for the members and laying down of broad principles to determine the strength and composition of the Boards. It has also viewed as desirable to have the clientele view-point represented on the Boards.

The Committee has drawn pointed attention to the necessity of having detailed long term plans of work and project reports, fixation of yearly targets of production, establishment of technical planning cells at the unit and headquarters level, setting up of machinery for inspection and cost reduction and introduction of statistical quality control techniques. It has also suggested the undertaking of systematic work studies, case studies and job analysis for different posts. It expressed regret over the high operational cost, improper estimating and planning of projects, the inordinate delays in their completion and commissioning and inadequate inventory of spares, parts and stores wherein huge sums of money had been locked up.


In the field of personnel management the Committee has underlined the importance of detailed manpower planning and the development of a nucleus of top managers through advance selection, proper training and orientation in the line. The Committee was surprised to note the disproportionate rise in the number of class I officers and excessive manpower employed in most of the concerns studied so far. It did not favour the multiplicity of categories of staff and excessive hierarchical layers. Similarly, it opposed the tendency of having deputationists from Government for ordinary positions as they did not have stake in the organization and were costly because of the incidence of deputation pay, leave salary and pension contribution.

The terms of reference of the new Committee also enjoin upon it the responsibility for the examination of reports and accounts of public undertakings, and the relevant reports, if any, of the Comptroller and Auditor General. It is also expected to discharge such other functions as are vested in the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee in regard to public undertakings or which may be allotted to it by the Speaker under the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. The Committee's reports accordingly contain general recommendations on the form and manner of maintenance of accounts (financial and stores), their timely finalization and submission to Government and evolving of a standard accounting manual for all public undertakings. It has also drawn attention and suggested remedial measures for certain financial irregularities pointed out by the C. & A.G. in his audit reports.

In addition to its reports on individual undertakings, the Committee has, on the analogy of the practice followed by the Estimates Committee, undertaken a horizontal survey of the townships and factory buildings of 42 public enterprises. The examination has revealed that much avoidable expenditure (nearly 11 per cent of the total out lay) had been incurred on

the construction and maintenance of townships and that there was urgent need for laying down suitable guiding principles, norms and standards for the cost and scale of the various services and facilities provided by public undertakings.

The omission of "improvements in organisation, efficiency or administrative reforms" from its terms of reference does not appear to have precluded the new Committee from going into matters of day-to-day administration and of major Government policy. While it is difficult to demarcate in precise terms matters of detail from those of general importance, it should not be difficult to cite instances from the new Committee's reports where the Committee seems to have gone into such matters. For example, timely circulation of agenda and papers to the members of the Investment Committee of the L.I.C., collapse of a tank belonging to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, abolition of the post of Transportation Adviser and non-advisability of creating the Industrial Relations Adviser's post in the Fertilizer Corporation of India are seemingly matters of day-to-day administration. Similarly, raising of the 2.5 per cent profit margin in the National Buildings Construction Corporation, reorganization of the L.I.C. into autonomous zonal corporations (which would obviously require amendment of the parent Act) and restricting investment of its funds in Government and approved securities to the statutory minimum of 50 per cent, and transfer of the management of the Koyali Refineries from the Oil and Natural Gas Commission to the Indian Oil Corporation seem to be matters of policy of the Government. These matters have perhaps indirectly been covered by the terms "sound business principles and prudent commercial practices" which it is the duty of the Committee to see that the affairs of public enterprises are managed in accordance with.



# REPORTS OF THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE REFERRED TO IN THE NOTE (II)

<i>Report No.</i>	<i>Ministry and Subject</i>	<i>Action Taken Report No.</i>
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## FIRST LOK SABHA

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| 5.  | The Central Water and Power Commission and Multi-purpose River Valley Schemes, 1952.                             | 49(I) 1957  |
| 9.  | Administrative, Financial and Other Reforms, 1955.   | 57(I) 1957  |
| 13. | Ministry of Production: Sindri Fertilizers, Hindustan Cables, Hindustan Housing Factory and Nahan Foundry, 1955. | 1(II) 1957  |
| 15. | Ministry of Production: The Coal Commissioner's Organization and State Collieries, 1955.                         | 3(II) 1958  |
| 16. | Organization and Administration of Nationalized Industrial Undertakings, 1955.                                   | 19(II) 1958 |
| 21. | Ministry of Railways: Track Renewal, etc., 1956  | 27(II) 1958 |
| 24. | Ministry of Railways: Staff Matters, 1956.   | 29(II) 1958 |
| 27. | Ministry of Production: Hindustan Antibiotics and Hindustan Insecticides, 1956.                                  | 13(II) 1958 |
| 31. | Ministry of Railways: Finance and Accounts, 1956.  | 51(II) 1959 |
| 39. | Ministry of Defence: Bharat Electronics, Ltd., Bangalore, 1956.  | 68(II) 1959 |
| 41. | Ministry of Communications: Air Corporations (General Matters) and Air-India International, 1956.                | 34(II) 1958 |
| 43. | Ministry of Communications: Indian Airlines Corporation, 1956.   | 62(II) 1959 |
| 48. | Ministry of Transport: Major Ports, 1957.  | 67(II) 1959 |
| 67. | Ministry of Defence: Hindustan Aircrafts, Ltd., 1957.  | 65(II) 1959 |

## SECOND LOK SABHA

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|-----|---|--------------|
| 11. | Ministry of Transport and Communications (Department of Communication and Civil Aviation): The Indian Telephone Industries, Ltd., 1958. | 105(II) 1961 |
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20. Budgetary Reforms, 1958. 60(II) 1959
22. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Oil Refineries, etc., 1958. 103(II) 1960
33. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: Hindustan Steel, Ltd., Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur Steel Projects, 1959. 2(III) 1962
38. Ministry of Transport and Communications (Department of Transport): Eastern Shipping Corporation, Ltd., 1959. 135(II) 1961
73. Preparation of Budget Estimates of Public Undertakings and Presentation of their Annual Reports and Accounts to Parliament, 1960. 9(III) 1962
93. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: National Coal Development Corporation, Ltd., 1960. 152(II) 1962
110. Posts and Telegraphs Directorate, 1961. 16(III) 1963
116. Ministry of Transport and Communications: Hindustan Shipyard, Ltd., 1961. 10(III) 1962
119. Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply: The Ashoka Hotels, Ltd., (Reports and Accounts), 1961. 6(III) 1962
120. Ministry of Commerce and Industry: Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals, Ltd., 1961.
125. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel (Department of Mines and Fuel): The Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Ltd., 1961. 54(III) 1964
134. Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs): The Life Insurance Corporation of India, 1961. 41(III) 1963
155. Ministry of Irrigation and Power: National Projects Construction Corporation, Ltd., 1962. 37(III) 1963
156. Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel: National Mineral Development Corporation, Ltd., 1962. 40(III) 1963
157. Ministry of Commerce and Industry: NEPA Mills, Ltd., 1962. 9(III) 1965\*
167. Ministry of Commerce and Industry: Khadi and Village Industries Commission, 1962. 57(III) 1964

**THIRD LOK SABHA**

28. Ministry of Mines and Fuel: Indian Oil Company, Ltd., (Reports and Accounts), 1963.

32. Ministry of Mines and Fuel: National Coal Development Corporation, Ltd., 1963. 7(III) 1965\*
34. Ministry of Mines and Fuel: Indian Refineries, 1963.
35. Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries: Heavy Electricals (India), Ltd., 1963.
36. Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs): Industrial Finance Corporation of India, 1963. 10(III) 1965\*
44. Ministry of Railways: Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, 1964.
45. Ministry of Railways: Integral Coach Factory, 1964.
47. Ministry of International Trade: Export Risks Insurance Corporation, Ltd., 1964.
50. Public Undertakings—Accommodation rented in Principal Cities; and Guest Houses, Staff Cars, etc., maintained by them, 1964.
52. Personnel Policies of Public Undertakings, 1964.

#### REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

1. National Buildings Construction Corporation, Ltd., (Ministry of Works and Housing)
2. Hindustan Insecticides, Ltd., (Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals)
3. Shipping Corporation of India, Ltd., (Ministry of Transport)
4. Life Insurance Corporation of India (Ministry of Finance)
5. Oil & Natural Gas Commission (Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals)
6. Fertilizer Corporation of India (Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals)
8. Townships and Factory Buildings of Public Undertakings
11. Rourkela Steel Plant of Hindustan Steel, Ltd., (Ministry of Steel and Mines)

\*These "Action Taken Reports" on the main reports of the Estimates Committee have been submitted by the Committee on Public Undertakings and are numbered separately.

## INSTITUTE NEWS

The Standing Committee of the Executive Council has, at its seventyninth meeting held on May 26, 1965, appointed an Evaluation Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri S.G. Barve*, Member, Planning Commission, to assess the work of the Institute and School. The terms of reference of the Committee are: (1) to make a broad review of the work of the Institute and the School in the context of the objectives of which they have been set up; (2) to evaluate, in particular, the progress of research work done in the Institute/School, as envisaged in paragraph 11 of Section II of the Report of the Five Year Plan Committee appointed by the Executive Council in 1961; and (3) to suggest ways and means for improvement or revision of the pattern of activities, which the Committee may consider necessary and desirable in the light of the review and evaluation.

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A three-day Conference on Development Administration, as a part of the First Orientation Course on Development Administration, was inaugurated by *Shri T.T. Krishnamachari*, Union Finance Minister on May 6. The Conference was attended by senior administrators from the Centre and the States and other experts, including some academics with wide experience or specialised knowledge of planning. The Conference reviewed the studies and reports prepared by the participants in the Course during their six weeks residential study at the School on selected crucial problems of development administration.

The subjects for discussion at the Conference included: (1) Personnel Planning, Training and Moti-

vation (Chairman: *Shri H.C. Mathur*, M.P.); (2) Area Development Programme and Intensive Agricultural Development (Chairman: *Prof. V.K. R.V. Rao*, Member, Planning Commission); (3) Project Management and Planning of Supplies and Inputs (Chairman: *Shri S.S. Khera*, Chairman, Hindustan Aeronautics); (4) Financial and Administrative Problems (Chairman: *Shri S.G. Barve*, Member, Planning Commission); (5) Reporting, Appraisal and Evaluation (Chairman: *Prof. D.G. Karve*, Member, Finance Commission).

*Shri L.P. Singh*, Editor, "PERSPECTIVES: Studies in Social and Political Forecasting" (biennial supplement to the IJPA) and *Dr. J.N. Khosla*, Director of the Institute, represented the Indian Council for Future—a Committee of the Institute—at a Conference on "Futuribles" held at Paris from April 5 to 7, 1965. The Conference was attended by over 100 participants from different countries. It was formally opened by *Mr. Emile Roche*, President du Conseil Economique et Social. The subjects for discussion at the Conference were: (1) Development as a Responsibility of Government; (2) The Trend Towards a Strong and Durable Government; (3) On the Complexity of the Active Power; (4) Look-out Agencies as a Requirement of Active Government; (5) Contestation, Opposition and Control; and (6) Thoughts for a New Constitutionalism.

The Editor, *Shri L. P. Singh*, addressed the Conference on "The Trend Towards a Strong and Durable Government". The Director presided over the session on "Look-out Agencies as a Requirement of Active Government".

The Ninth Annual Conference of Members of the Institute will be held this year, as usual, on the day following the Annual Meeting of the General Body, which is proposed to be convened on a date convenient to the Prime Minister, who is the President of the Institute, tentatively in the second half of October 1965.

The subject for discussion at the Annual Conference is: "Administrative Tasks for the Fourth Five Year Plan—with special reference to: (i) Urban Administration, and (ii) Area Development Administration. Any member desiring to contribute a paper on the subject for the Conference may kindly send it to the Director, well in advance.

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At the instance of, and in collaboration with the Department of Administrative Reforms of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, the Indian School of Public Administration has organized an eight-week Appreciation Course on "Techniques of Administrative Improvement" for officers of the level of Deputy and Under Secretaries in the Central Ministries and Officers of comparative level in the State Governments. The Course was inaugurated by Shri L.P. Singh, Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, on April 12. The object of the Course is to make possible a better appreciation of the practical problems and needs of administrative reforms in Government departments at the Centre and in the States. The emphasis is on the orientation of officers in the practical application and use of administrative techniques to enable the officers not only to programme and organize administrative reforms in their respective spheres, but also to execute those programmes, and to guide others in carrying out similar programmes. The tools of instruc-

tion in the Course will include lecture discussions, seminars, O & M surveys and practical assignments. This is the first of the service of such courses to be organized by the School every year.

The USAID has, in collaboration with the Institute, organized in the Indian School of Public Administration an eight-week Course in Survey Research Methodology from March 22 to May 15, to develop survey research facilities in the IIPA and in universities and some States. Twenty-two representatives from various universities, State Governments and a few members of the Institute's research staff are attending the Course. Dr. Donald C. Pelz, Programme Director, Survey Research Centre, University of Michigan, is directing the Course.

On the principle of learning by doing, participants are conducting a pilot survey on "Coordination, Initiative and Communication in Administration on Agricultural Development" and are interviewing officials and non-officials at district and block levels in Alwar, Mathura and Ludhiana districts. In the latter half of the year, the participants will constitute survey units at each university to carry out a broader survey of the same topic in their respective states. In subsequent phases, it is proposed to extend the training to some other States, with object of establishing survey units to cover the entire country.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration, in collaboration with the Management and Administration Division of the Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission, organized two four-day courses on "Project Planning and Scheduling", from May 17 to 20, and May 24 to 27, 1965. The Courses, which aimed at imparting training in some of the latest techniques of Planning and Scheduling, like PERT

(Programme Evaluation and Review Techniques) and CPM (Critical Path Method) were attended by 40 to 50 senior technical officers drawn from 15 public and 4 private sector enterprises. *Shri S.G. Barve*, Member (Industries), Planning Commission, inaugurated the two Courses.

\* \* \*

The Seventh Annual Day of the Indian School of Public Administration will be held at 5 p.m. on July 15, 1965.

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*Dr. H.K. Paranjape*, Professor of Economic Policy and Administration, Indian School of Public Administration, has been requested by the United Nations (Public Administration Division) to work as the Regional Consultant for Asia regarding a study project on public

enterprises in developing countries which is being undertaken by the United Nations. The purpose of the study-project is to identify some of the basic problems in this field, formulate general guidelines for the establishment, management and effective supervision of public enterprises with special reference to their role in national development and to recommend a programme of further research and training activities to meet the needs of these institutions. In co-operation with National Correspondents in Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Philippines, *Dr. Paranjape* will prepare a Regional Report on Public Enterprises in these countries and in India. Similar Regional Reports are being organized in Africa, Latin America and Europe. *Dr. Paranjape* is visiting Iraq, Iran and Philippines in this connection.

## The Government Explains

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## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

### (I) INDIA

The National Planning Council of the Planning Commission has set up 12 study groups for detailed consideration of problems of development under the Fourth Five Year Plan. A Study Group has been constituted for each of the following 12 areas: irrigation and power; management; agriculture and land reforms; education; scientific research; industry and minerals; labour and employment and social welfare; transport; family planning; manpower planning; international trade; and natural resources.

The Government of India has constituted special inter-ministerial teams for the development of special areas which have been placed under the charge of the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The teams will draw up integrated resource development plans for the areas, particularly for migrants from East Pakistan, and indicate the programmes that may be undertaken to supplement similar schemes to be included in the Fourth Plan.

The Government of India has appointed a Commission for the Hill Areas of Assam, headed by *Shri H.V. Pataskar*, to recommend a detailed scheme for re-organizing the administrative set-up of the hill areas. It will also recommend the administrative, financial and legal measures necessary for giving effect to the scheme.

Some significant organizational changes have taken place recently in the Union Ministry of External Affairs. At the headquarters, consequent on change in the personnel of Secretaries, the designations of

Commonwealth Secretary and Special Secretary have been abolished. These have been replaced by the designations "Secretary, External Affairs I" and "Secretary, External Affairs II," to provide for greater facility in the distribution of work in accordance with the experience of officers appointed to these high posts and the changing requirements of execution of foreign policy. Effective co-ordination between the Secretaries has been provided for by instituting daily conferences to promote collective thinking in the formulation of policy.

There has also been a re-organization of Territorial Divisions to provide for greater and more concentrated attention being paid to countries of South-East Asia, West Asia and Africa. Separate Directors now deal with these territories and necessary co-ordination is effected at higher levels. In view of the growing complexity and importance of relations with Pakistan, the Pakistan Division has been placed under a Joint Secretary. An Economic Division has been established to co-ordinate all matters pertaining to economic co-operation and technical assistance with respect to African countries.

A Current Research Division has been established, independently of territorial divisions, to concentrate on research for formulation of policy and to prepare policy papers for consideration of Government.

The Central Government has intensified the in-service training programmes of the Indian Foreign

Service. The period of training in the districts has been increased from 3 to 6 months to provide for a better appreciation of the problems of rural areas, India's cultural heritage and national requirements in fields of economic development and social progress. The new programme also provides for a few weeks of military orientation training, similar to the one given to IAS probationers. Further, for imparting a more intimate and thorough knowledge of the working of the Ministry of External Affairs, the period of training at headquarters has been increased from 3 to 6 months. Thus, the total period of training has been increased to 21 months. It has also been decided to introduce a short course of "pre-posting" training at headquarters for all new entrants to the junior branches of the Service before they proceed to Missions abroad. Greater attention will henceforth be paid to refresher and mid-career training by taking advantage of courses offered by the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington, the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, and the National Defence College, New Delhi, and other institutions. A beginning is also being made with career planning.

Further, the Government of India has appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of the former Secretary-General, *Shri N.R. Pillai*, to make a comprehensive review of the structure, organization and functioning of the Indian Foreign Service. The Committee will examine recruitment, training and service conditions of the Foreign Service as well as the functioning of the Service, both at headquarters and abroad.

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The Department of Administrative Reforms has initiated a study of the working of the all-India Service, the I.A.S. and the I.P.S., to be followed up by a series of

studies on related subjects. The study will include an examination of problems of present and future cadre strengths, whether planning for recruitment is done systematically and in time to ensure least imbalance, questions of career planning and deployment of officers, and machinery for processing cases of promotions, penalties and representations or appeals. To begin with, the study has been started in five States, namely, Assam, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. If the results obtained are representative enough, they would be considered for application on an all-India basis. In the alternative, further studies would be taken up of other State cadres.

The Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power has set up a Committee headed by the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission, to review the progress of work on irrigation projects in nine States, which are in an advanced stage of construction and to recommend measures for resolving the difficulties experienced in their execution. A similar Committee of officials has also been appointed to review the progress of certain power projects.

The Union Ministry of Steel and Mines has set up a Complaints Cell, under *Shri N. D. Gupta*, Joint Secretary, to attend to complaints from the public, and handle their grievances promptly.

An Administrative Reforms Unit has been set up by the Government of Maharashtra, headed by an Under Secretary, for assisting the Special Secretary to the Government in formulating and co-ordinating the programme of work studies, and deciding the lines of investigation to be carried out by the four Work Study Teams functioning in the State. The Unit will isolate particular problems requiring to be tackled in a particular office or department, watch

implementation of recommendations made by Work Study Units, and make suggestions for administrative reforms.

The Government of Orissa has set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri Nilomoni Reutray*, Deputy Chief Minister, to report on the strength of officer cadres in the various departments, and to recommend retrenchment or economy keeping in view the requirements of efficiency of Government administration.

The Government of Punjab has fixed the tenure of Secretaries, Heads of Departments and Commissioners at a maximum period of five years. The same Administrative Secretaries and Heads of Departments will now be associated with the formulation and execution of a major part of the Plan. Their posting will be arranged in such a manner that they get into position during the fourth year of a current Five Year Plan when the next plan is to be formulated, and remain in their jobs up to the end of the third year of the next Plan.

Formerly there used to be a maximum tenure of seven years for the posts of Heads of Departments, which has now been replaced by a more elastic tenure of five years, making allowance for its extension in case of non-availability of other suitable personnel or any other special circumstances.

The tenure of Deputy Commissioners will vary between three to four years. The tenure of Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries will be three and two years, respectively.

There will be no objection to the transfer of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries after the completion of their tenure, from one Department to the other in the same capacity. However, care will be taken that

officers circulate in the field and the Secretariat reasonably.

At the time of postings of Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police, the overall importance of the district, as the quantum of work, and all other relevant considerations will be kept in view by the Government, and officers appointed keeping in view their seniority and suitability.

The State Government has transferred the administration of the Punjab Professions, Trades, Callings and Employment Taxation Act, 1956 from the Finance to the Excise and Taxation Department.

The Government of Rajasthan has appointed a high-power panel, consisting of one senior officer and a representative each from the four departments, to co-ordinate the activities of the agriculture, irrigation, co-operation, and animal husbandry departments with a view to stepping up food production in the State.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has re-organized the Agriculture Department. In the revised set-up, each Revenue Division will be headed by a Joint Director of Agriculture, who would be in overall charge of all activities of the Agriculture Department in his Division. The Joint Director will be assisted by six Class II officers to function as subject-matter-specialists in extension, marketing, information, accounts, soil conservation, supply schemes including seeds and fertilizers, plant protection, horticulture, etc. There will be a Deputy Director of Agriculture in Class I service in complete charge of all agricultural activities and programmes over an area comprising about two districts under his jurisdiction, and he would be assisted by one Technical Assistant and three Agricultural Assistants as subject-specialists. The present Assistant Directors of Agriculture or District Agriculture

Officers in Class II service in the districts will function under the Deputy Director of Agriculture posted in the areas concerned.

The Government of Maharashtra has created a Press Relations Cell in the Agricultural Information Unit of the Agriculture Department, under the overall charge of the State Agricultural Information Officer. The Cell would supply regularly information on agricultural matters to newspapers and journals in the country.

The State Government has also appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri B. A. Patil*, Deputy Minister for Forests and Revenue, to go into the question of afforestation and development and conservation of forests in the State.

The State Government has further set up, in each Zila Parishad, a Planning Unit, under the charge of a Planning Officer of the Deputy Collector's grade to attend exclusively to work of preparation of schemes for the Fourth Five Year Plan. The Unit will co-ordinate the work of the Consultative Committees already set up at Divisional, District and Block levels for formulating detailed Fourth Plan schemes.

The Orissa State Legislature has passed the Orissa Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad (Amendment) Bill, 1965. It enables the Government, whenever they deem it expedient so to do, to extend, from time to time, the term of office of the elected members, including that of the Chairman, of all or any of the Samitis or Parishads, provided the total extension in respect of any Samiti or Parishad does not in the aggregate exceed two years.

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The Government of India has set up a Committee under the chairmanship of *Shri L. Elayaperumal*, M.P.,

to examine the questions of untouchability and economic uplift of Scheduled Castes. The terms of reference of the Committee are : (1) to study the various aspects of untouchability, in particular the working of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, and the restrictions, if any, imposed on the entry of Harijans into public places of worship, and to suggest remedial measures; and (2) to study the problem of the economic uplift of the Scheduled Castes, evaluate the impact of the present schemes, and make recommendations as to the further measures that may be necessary.

The Union Government has also set up an Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri B.N. Lokur*, Secretary, Ministry of Law, to examine proposals for the revision of existing lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country.

With a view to ensuring the betterment of Scheduled Tribes, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has directed all Collectors to enquire promptly into complaints received from them, and also take suitable action as early as possible to render them all possible help, wherever necessary.

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The Government of India has introduced a scheme of terminal benefits for the teachers of aided schools in Union Territories which provides as follows: (1) Contributory Provident Fund with the employer's contribution at the rate of 5 per cent of the teachers' pay. (2) Pension equal to 1/120 of the teachers' pay for every completed year of service (after 10 completed years) up to a maximum of 30/120 of the pay. (3) If the teacher has put in 5 years service but less than 10 years, he will be entitled to gratuity up to a maximum of 4½ months pay.

The Government of Bihar has made girls education free up to Class VII and revised the pay scales of teachers, headmasters and principals serving in non-Government schools, with effect from April 1, 1965.

With a view to providing incentive for spreading education among girls, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has decided to exempt all girls from the payment of tuition fees up to the level of Higher Secondary stage of education.

The State Government has also constituted a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri B. A. Mandloi, M.L.A.*, to enquire into various educational problems and to suggest remedial measures.

The Government of Maharashtra has constituted a Committee, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Minister for Social Welfare, to review the existing position and recommend measures for the education of children in Adivasi and backward areas of the State.

In order to have better co-ordination in the matter of technical education in the State, the Government of Uttar Pradesh has decided to centralize all work relating to diploma and higher courses of Technical Education in a new Department to be known as the "Department of Technical Education". All work relating to technical education up to certificate course standard will, however, be dealt with in the Labour Department, and looked after by the Director of Training and Employment.

\* \* \*

The Union Ministry of Finance has directed other Central Ministries to ensure that non-official organizations receiving Government grants are free from corrupt practices, and that they utilize the grants properly. No grants should be sanctioned where there is a reasonable suspicion or a

suggestion of corrupt practice, unless, the institutions concerned are cleared of the allegations. To ensure this, the grant giving authority should certify in each case that this aspect had been considered before recommending the grant and that there is no reason to believe that the institution concerned is involved in any corrupt practice. When the institutions submit annual reports and audited accounts to the Government, a specified officer should certify proper utilization of Government grants.

In keeping with the recent trend in other States, the Government of Kerala and Orissa have set up Vigilance Commissions, headed by a Vigilance Officer.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee on Prevention of Corruption, the Government of India has decided that whenever cases of officers are being considered for promotion to high administrative posts or to gazetted grades from non-gazetted grades, the selecting authorities should give particular attention to the integrity of the individuals concerned, and all those whose integrity is not above board should not be promoted to these posts.

\* \* \*

The Government of India has constituted a Supernumerary Cadre for research workers under the Indian Council of Medical Research with a view to enabling medical scientists under training in foreign countries and in India to continue research in their special fields.

The pay structure of the recently set up Central Health Service has been revised by the Union Government. Class I Service for general duty officers will be in the scale of Rs. 450 - 30 - 660 - EB - 40 - 1100-50-1250. The minimum qualification for entry into this service will be

five years experience after registration as medical graduate. For the special grade in the scale of Rs. 600 - 40-1000 -EB-50-1300 the minimum qualification will be a post graduate degree with at least three years standing in the profession in a responsible position connected with a speciality, or a post-graduate diploma qualification with at least five years standing in the profession and two years' experience in a responsible position connected with a speciality. Two super-time scales of Rs. 1300 - 60 - 1600 - 100-1800, and Rs. 1800 - 100 - 2000-125-2250 have also been created. They will cover all professors and additional professors as well as administrative posts and senior non-teaching specialist posts.

The other categories of posts will be amalgamated in Class II service for general duty doctors. Class IIA will be for medical graduates in the scale of Rs. 350-900 and Class IIB for licentiates with five years experience in the scale of Rs. 350-600. A suitable share of the vacancies in Class IIA will be reserved for outstanding members of the Class IIB licentiates. Non-practising allowance for Class II service will be raised from 25 per cent to 33½ per cent of the basic salary. For Class I service, non-practising allowance will be raised to 50 per cent of the pay subject to a maximum of Rs. 600 per month.

With a view to removing the shortage of doctors in the State Medical Services, and making their service conditions more attractive, the Government of Uttar Pradesh has merged the P.M.S. I, P.M.S. II, and the Selection Grade in P.M.S. I into the Pradeshik Medical Service, consisting of Ordinary Grade posts in the scale of pay of Rs. 500-50-1200 and comprising 7½ per cent of the total number of permanent posts in the Ordinary Grade.

The Government of West Bengal has appointed an Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of *Dr. J. C. Banerjee*, to assess the suitability of the medical officers for teaching appointments in different undergraduate and post-graduate medical colleges and institutions. The State Government has also re-organized the cadre of the West Bengal Health Service in pursuance of the recommendations of an Expert Committee constituted by the Government of West Bengal in 1962.

\* \* \*

The Government of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have appointed Pay Commissions for their respective State Government employees. The Commissions will review the whole of their pay structure with a view to revision and rationalisation to the extent possible, having due regard to Government's other financial commitments and to its resources as well as to the existing pay-scales for corresponding levels of responsibility in the various services under the Government of India and other States.

The Government of Maharashtra has sanctioned a temporary additional pay of Rs. 5 per month to Government servants and employees under the Zila Parishads with effect from April 1, 1965. The temporary pay will be admissible to those drawing a basic salary of up to Rs. 715 per month (revised) and Rs. 650 (unrevised) under the Maharashtra Civil Services (Revision of Pay) Rules, 1963.

In order to avoid inconvenience caused to gazetted Government servants by delay in payment of salary, the Government of Uttar Pradesh has decided that the Accountant General will issue: (i) pay slip on receipt of orders of appointment/transfer/leave without waiting for formal notifications; (ii) provisional pay slip for a period

of three months in the first instance, in cases in which sanction to the post is not available, on the request of the Head of Department; and in cases in which Last Pay Certificate is not available, on the request of the Head of Department; and in cases in which Last Pay Certificate is not available, at the request of the officer concerned; and (iii) leave salary slips on the basis of the orders sanctioning the leave and the report of handing over charge.

The duty pay slip will be valid if the officer returns to the same post after expiry of leave.

The Government of Maharashtra has liberalized the pension rules. The period of eligibility of family pension has been extended up to the date of death or re-marriage, whichever is earlier, in the case of widows, and to the date of attaining majority in the case of children (until marriage, if earlier, in the case of daughters).

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A departmental Committee, headed by the Chairman of the Posts and Telegraphs Board, has been set up to consider schemes for merit awards and certificates. The award winning employees would be posted at a place of their choice and scholarships for technical education would be awarded to their children.

The Government of Maharashtra has decided that in cases where a Government servant who was superseded for promotion to a higher post is later promoted on the orders of higher authorities, the supersession being treated as unjustified, the Government servant concerned should be deemed to have been promoted to the higher post from the date from which he would have been promoted but for the wrongful supersession, and allowed arrears of pay and allowances from that date. This also applies to cases of persons who are superseded for promotion to gazetted posts within the purview

of the Public Service Commission and the supersession is later considered by Government, in consultation with the Commission, as wrongful, and the officer concerned is promoted.

The Government of Goa has decided to give legal assistance to poor persons whose annual income does not exceed Rs. 1,800. The assistance will include payment of fees to lawyers engaged for defence and remission of all court fees. An accused person claiming relief will have to apply to the Standing Committee constituted for the purpose, which will in turn nominate an advocate from a panel drawn up for each centre or court, in consultation with the judges concerned. In cases of urgency, the presiding judge of the court would nominate the counsel from the panel.

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The Union Government has decided to set up a Petro-chemical Corporation in the public sector to manage the Petro-chemical units proposed to be set up in the Fourth Plan. The Corporation will make efforts to develop indigenous designs and know-how in the industry.

The Government of Bihar has decided to form two public corporations during the current Plan period: Bihar State Agro-Industrial Corporation, with a paid-up capital of Rs. 25 crores, and Bihar State Textile Corporation, with a paid-up capital of Rs. 50 crores. The Agro-Industrial Corporation, will set up a number of industries based on agricultural and forest products, including rice, sugar, flour, paper mills, dairies, poultry and piggeries. The Textile Corporation will launch "advance action" during the current Plan period for opening 15 Textile mills in the State, licences for which have been granted but not utilized so far. The State Government has also constituted a Committee to enquire

into the working of inland water transport, suggest whether any special technical organization is needed to prepare detailed schemes for its development and or maintenance of the existing water services, etc.

The Government of Kerala has established the Kerala State Road Transport Corporation, to deal with problems of road development and co-ordination of roads, with other forms of transport.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has decided to set up a corporation

under the supervision and management of a Staff Welfare Board with its headquarters at Lucknow, for the supply of essential commodities at normal rates to the State Government employees.

The Government of India has set up an Advisory Board for Tax Credits for Exports, under the chairmanship of *Shri D. S. Joshi*, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, to advise the Government on the commodities for which and the rates at which tax credit certificates should be granted in relation to exports.

## (II) ABROAD

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism appointed by the Government of Canada has, in its report submitted recently, observed: (1) There is a large, dynamic and distinct French-speaking society within Canada, strongly dissatisfied with present conditions. (2) Wide-ranging negotiations must be initiated between the Federal and Provincial Governments to work out a truly equal partnership between the English and French-speaking societies (3) All Canadians must overcome the myths, prejudices and ignorance separating them and put the development of the nation above all other considerations.

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The Government of Nepal has decided to establish a model village panchayat in each of the 14 zones of the country, which would assist in the augmentation of output of goods and commodities, and thus raise the living standard of the people.

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The Republic of Philippines has set up the Philippines National Railways by taking over the functions of the Manila Railroad Company. The Corporation will serve as a nation-

wide railroad and transportation system. It is established for a period of 50 years.

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The National Economic Development Council of U.K. has appointed the Economic Development Committee, under the chairmanship of *Lord Caldecote*, for taking co-ordinated action to speed the movement of goods for export.

The Government of U.K. (Ministry of Labour) has conducted Manpower Research Studies on "Future Manpower Resources in the U.K." The Report reveals that economic activity in the United Kingdom generally will be maintained at a high level over the next five years and beyond. Between 1963 and 1968 the working population is expected to grow at a slower rate than hitherto. On the assumption of a generally high level of economic activity, continued growth of employment is expected in both the manufacturing and the services sector, offset to some extent by a continued net decline in employment over the rest of the economy. Between 1968 and 1973 the growth of the working population is expected to slow down very substantially, while the total

population continues to grow at much the same rate as before. At this range, forecasts of employment must be very hazardous, but it is reasonable to expect continued growth in the services sector and a further decline in the rest of the non-manufacturing sector; manufacturing employment may be affected by technological development as yet unforeseen, and at least some slackening in its previous rate of growth seems probable. However, the very slow increase in the labour force during this period suggests that a situation of overall shortage is much more likely than one of surplus,

and that the strain on manpower resources may well be more severe than during the previous five years.

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In co-operation with the Comparative Administrative Group of the American Society for Public Administration, the Institute of Public Administration in New York City has established a clearing house for information concerning comparative urban government research. The documentation on such activities will form part of IPA's International Urban Documentation Centre.



## INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

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(\*) Article written in either French or Spanish, with an extensive summary in English.

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## DIGEST OF REPORTS

*INDIA, REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PANCHAYATI RAJ ELECTIONS*, Ministry of Community Development & Co-operation, 1965, 62p. (Stencilled)

The Committee was appointed in February 1964, under the chairmanship of *Shri K. Santhanam*, to make recommendations on: composition, strength, and methods of elections to Panchayati Raj bodies at the village; block and district levels to ensure their efficient functioning; the need for and manner of co-option measures for ensuring adequate and effective representation to the weaker sections; method of election of office-bearers; the association of the Members of Parliament and State Legislatures; terms of membership and the period of elections; feasibility of securing unanimity in elections; the extent to which political parties should participate in Panchayati Raj elections; measures to ensure free and fair elections; and desirability of setting up a State level Commission for the purpose.

The Committee submitted its report in March 1965. Its important recommendations and findings are as follows :

### *Village Panchayat*

The number of members in different States varies from a minimum of 5 to maximum of 31. A Panchayat should consist of not less than 9 and not more than 19 members; further split up would be as follows : (a) 9 for Panchayats with population less than 2,000; (b) 1 additional member for every increase of 1,000 thereof up to 7,000 of population; (c) 1 more additional member for every increase of 2,000 or part there-

of above 7,000 up to 17,000; and (d) 19 members for population above 17,000.

All members (including women) should be elected by primary voters by secret ballot and in single member wards.

Any voter on the electoral roll of a ward in the village should, if otherwise qualified, be entitled to stand for any ward, whether he resides in it or not. This will prevent the exclusion of any candidate in case of re-adjustment of wards and would also enable persons resident in the reserved wards who would be debarred from candidature if the residential qualification is imposed on standing from other wards for election.

It should be compulsory for every voter to vote in primary Panchayat elections, and if he fails to do so, he should be fined Re. 1, exemption being given only on reasonable grounds.

In every Panchayat, there should be atleast two seats reserved for women members to be elected from reserved wards and these should be changed in each Panchayat election so that every constituency may have the privilege, in rotation, to be represented by women.

In all Panchayats, there should be one seat reserved for Scheduled Castes where their population is less than 10 per cent and also one for Scheduled Tribes where their population is more than 5 per cent. This should also be rotated but only among the wards where Scheduled

Castes/Tribes have some people belonging to them.

In some States, the executive head of the Panchayat is at present directly elected by the entire electorate of the Panchayat and in other States he is elected indirectly by the members of Panchayat. The Sarpanch should be elected directly by all the voters of the village. However, a person should be permitted to be a candidate for the office of the Sarpanch, as well as for membership of the Panchayat. In case a person, who is not a member, is elected as a Sarpanch, he should be deemed to be an additional member of the Panchayat. If the Sarpanch dies, resigns or is removed, his successor should be elected from among the members of Panchayat indirectly for the remaining period of the term. The Up-Sarpanch should be elected indirectly by members of the Panchayat from among themselves.

The term of office of the members of Panchayat, the Sarpanch and the Up-Sarpanch should be five years, beginning from their date of election. All the Panchayats in a State should have the same term. All mid-term elections should be for the remaining term only.

There is no need for a Committee for Village Panchayat, there should, however, be the *ad hoc* Committee to supervise particular work, which would automatically be dissolved as soon as the work is completed. The entire Panchayat should do all the work jointly.

#### *Panchayat Samiti*

A Panchayat Samiti should have between 20 to 40 members. The Sarpanch of every Panchayat should be an *ex-officio* member of the Samiti. Where the number of Panchayats in a Samiti is more than 40, Sarpanches of Panchayats with population of 3,000 or more should be *ex-officio* members. For Pancha-

yats of population less than 3,000, there should be one representative for a group of two or three Panchayats each participating in representation by rotation. If the number of Panchayats in a Samiti is less than 20, Panchayats with a population of 3,000 in Orissa, and 7,000 in Kerala should each have one representative. Similarly Panchayats with population 3,000-5,000 in Orissa and 7,000-10,000 in Kerala should have two representatives; and for Panchayats with higher population, three representatives. The Sarpanch should be an *ex-officio* representative in all cases, and the other representatives should be elected by the members of Panchayats. Where there are two additional representatives, the election should be by single transferable vote.

Four women members of Panchayats should be co-opted by every Samiti, only from among the elected women members.

If the population of the Scheduled Castes in the Samiti is less than 10 per cent, two members, if it is more, four representatives should be co-opted. As regards Scheduled Tribes, two representatives should be co-opted, if their population in a Samiti is not less than 5 per cent. The co-opted representatives will be in addition to other members of the Samiti. Co-option should be by the method of single transferable vote, subject to the further condition that no two co-opted members should be from the same village Panchayat.

The term of office of the Samiti and its Vice-Chairman should be five years.

(1) Every member of the Samiti should be on some standing committee, but not more than one standing committee. (2) The Chairman or the Vice-Chairman should preside over only one Committee. (3) The Chairman of the Committee should be nominated by the Samiti

Chairman. (4) There should be an Executive Committee consisting of the Chairmen of all standing committees to co-ordinate their work.

### *Zila Parishads*

The strength of Zila Parishad should be between 40 to 60 to give reasonable scope for representation for the various parts of the districts.

The Chairmen of the Panchayat Samitis should be *ex-officio* members of the Parishad. Each Samiti should elect another member so that the Panchayats and Samitis are equitably represented in the Parishad. In Districts having less than 15 Samitis, a second additional member may be elected by every Samiti. Where there are two additional members, they may be elected by a single transferable vote.

Eight women representatives of Samitis should be co-opted by the Parishad.

(1) If the Scheduled Castes' population in a District is less than 10 per cent, four Scheduled Castes representatives from Samitis should be co-opted. If their population exceeds 10 per cent, there should be eight representatives. For Scheduled Tribes, four representatives should be co-opted if their population in the district is not less than 5 per cent. (2) The co-option of these representatives (including women) will be by single transferable vote, subject to the condition that no two members should belong to the same Samiti.

The President of the Zila Parishad should be elected by an electoral college consisting of members of the Panchayats comprised within the jurisdiction of the Parishad and this election should be held simultaneously with those of the Chairmen of the Panchayat Samitis. He should be a primary voter in any Panchayat of the district.

A candidate should not be able to stand for two elections, that is for chairmanship of a Samiti and presidency of the Parishad at one time. If vacancy is caused in President's Office, his successor should be elected for the remaining period by the members of the Parishad. The Vice-President should be elected by the members of the Parishad.

The term of office of the Parishad, its President and Vice-President should be five years.

Every member of the Parishad should not be a member of more than one standing committee.

The President or the Vice-President of the Parishad should not preside over more than one committee.

There should be an Executive Committee consisting of the Chairmen of all the standing committees for co-ordinating the work of various committees.

Where the Zila Parishad is purely an advisory and co-ordinating body, without any executive functions, its composition should be as recommended for other States.

The District Collector should not be the *ex-officio* President of the Zila Parishad or its standing committees.

### *Association of Members of Parliament and State Legislature*

Members of Parliament and State Legislatures should be prohibited from becoming members of Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis or Parishads, and Members of Rajya Sabha or Legislative Councils should not be given *ex-officio* status in either.

A Member of Parliament should be an associate members in only one Samiti where he resides. A M.L.A. would be an *ex-officio* associate member without the right to vote in the Samitis which are wholly in the

constituency of the Zila Parishad. All Members of Parliament and the State Legislative Assembly should be associate members without right to vote.

### *Representation for Special Groups*

No representation to any sections other than women and Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be provided.

There should be no nomination of outsiders on the score of eminence or experience.

Functional Committees should be permitted to co-opt outsiders but they should only be associate members.

No Government official should be a full or an associate member of any Panchayati Raj body. He should attend as an adviser whenever requested to do so.

The Chief Executive Officers should function only as official Secretaries and not as members.

### *Qualifications and Disqualifications of Voters*

Every voter whose name is included in the rolls of the State Assembly relating to a Panchayat should be deemed to be a qualified voter.

A person should be disqualified for membership only if he is not registered on the Assembly electoral rolls or is an undischarged insolvent in the service of the Government, local bodies including Panchayat Samiti or Parishad, has been dismissed by any such body for wrongful conduct, or has been convicted for an offence and sentenced to a term of imprisonment for not less than two years. These disqualifications should operate only for a period of three years after the dismissal or expiry of the period for which he is bound down.

Ability to read and write the local language should be laid down

as the minimum qualification for becoming a Sarpanch or for membership of office in the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad.

### *Conduct of Elections*

Elections to Panchayats should be held at a time which does not clash with the general elections to Parliament and State Legislatures.

The Chief Electoral Officer of the State, who is responsible for the conduct of other elections (to State Legislature and Parliament), should also be statutory Election Authority to supervise the elections to Panchayati Raj institutions.

Electoral rolls maintained for elections to the Parliament and State Assembly should be used in Panchayat elections also and the electoral rolls as they exist at the time of issuing the notification announcing the Panchayat elections should be treated as final. In order to discourage frivolous nominations, a non-refundable nomination fee should be prescribed at the following rates: membership of village Panchayat, Rs. 5; for Sarpanch, Rs. 10; for Samiti Chairman, Rs. 20; and Rs. 50 for Parishad President. Elections to Panchayati Raj bodies should be completed within a period of two months after the notification.

(1) Camps where food and drinks are served should be banned. (2) In non-prohibition areas, liquor shops should be closed for one week preceding the Panchayat elections and 3 days preceding the elections of Samiti Chairman and the Parishad President. (3) Appropriate restrictions should be placed on the number of motor vehicles a candidate can use. (4) With a view to preventing undue interference by courts in the conduct of Panchayat elections, Article 329 of the Constitution should be made applicable to matters relating to such elections also.

*The Role of Political Parties*

There should be no legal provision prohibiting political parties from influencing Panchayati Raj elections. No political party symbols should be issued in any election to Panchayati Raj institutions, neither should official recognition be accorded to political party groupings among members of Panchayati Raj bodies.

*Unanimity in Panchayati Raj Elections*

Panchayat Parishads should be encouraged to do propaganda for unanimity but no material inducement or cash prizes should be offered in election.

*Supervision and Control*

All powers of guidance, inspection, supervision and control over Panchayati Raj institutions should be concentrated in a District Panchayat Commissioner, to be appointed for six years. He should be assisted by District Panchayat Officers and Panchayat Supervisor. In the alternative the District Collector may be entrusted with this work, provided he is kept at this post for 4 years.

At the State level, a Panchayati Raj Board, on the lines of the Board of Revenue, should be set up to prepare an annual report on the working of Panchayati Raj institutions in the State and submit it to the State Government, who should place it before the State Legislature.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*INDIA'S ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY*; By CARL C. TAYLOR, DOUGLAS ENSMINGER, HELEN JOHNSON and JEAN JOYCE, Calcutta, Orient Longmans, 1965, 694 p., Rs. 18.

The team of authors of this remarkable essay in applied sociology is led by Carl C. Taylor, the internationally famous doyen of American Rural Sociologists. Among his colleagues is Dr. Douglas Enslinger who had devoted considerable study to problems of rural change before he came to India in 1952 as Resident Representative of the Ford Foundation. Individually and institutionally both of them have been in continuous and intimate touch with the planning and execution of the several programmes of rural development undertaken as parts of the national plan of India. On almost all critical occasions their advice was sought by Indian authorities. They had also opportunities to observe similar programmes in a number of developing countries other than India, viz., Puerto Rico, Ghana and Jamaica. They are, therefore, in a position of exceptional advantage when they apply their mature scholarship and unrivalled practical knowledge to an assessment of India's experience in trying to bring about rapid development in rural communities, as parts of a democratic State.

The result of their and their colleagues' efforts is a production which has major significance in three areas of thought and action. Most directly it is an evaluation of Indian planning in general, and of Indian rural planning in particular, which is at once scientific, sympathetic and constructive. The number of newly independent nations with backgrounds of colonial existence and traditional ways of

life has steadily increased during recent years. It would be correct to say that most of these would instinctively prefer ways of democratic living, provided progress in material and social spheres could be achieved by measured yet rapid stages of growth. The Community Development programme of India attracted unusual attention from the rest of the world because it was the first major effort for achieving comprehensive transformation through democratic processes. What the authors have to offer by way of a critical and constructive analysis of the philosophy and practice of India's Community Development and Extension has unmistakable relevance to planned development in other developing countries as well.

Above all, the student and analyst of human relations will find in the pages of this book what he has long been waiting for—a study of the sociology of development. Whereas technology, economics and administrative management of development have received growing attention from scholars, the basic fact that though development is *for* humanity, to be real and lasting it must be development *of* and *by* humanity, has not been sufficiently stressed. Almost for the first time this book offers a study in the Sociology of Development, parallel with similar publications on technology and economics of growth. Scientifically, nationally and internationally the contents of this book should attract wide attention from all those

who hope for rapid and continuous development of free societies.

The characteristic contribution of this book is unmistakably brought out in an enunciation that "in the development of economies which start largely from the basis of subsistence agriculture, there needs to be considerable emphasis on the fact that social development is essential before what Rostov calls the 'Take off stage' in economic development is reached. Development is to be brought about by individuals living in communities, and unless their motivations, relationships and modes of associated action change in conformity with the needs of development, mere physical and technological means will not ensure progress". This is really what the critics of Rostov have urged against the apparent, though perhaps unintended, overtones of automatic upward spurt in the presentation of the sequence of stages of economic growth. The authors of this book also believe in stages of development, as distinguished from a school of sociologists who think in terms of almost fixed types of community life. But a stage of growth has to accommodate all aspects including the basic aspect of human motivations and relationships.

In two obvious respects this much needed emphasis on the sociological aspects of better living is easily brought out. While the end product is to raise the levels of living among developing peoples, it has been proved again and again that supply of means of better life is by itself not enough to ensure better living. Provision of most modern bath-rooms to people whose traditional practice is a cleansing in the open fields, has invariably proved wasteful. The moral, namely, that unless at least the same attention is paid to standards of living, that is to what the people concerned actively

desire, as is paid to levels of living, that is to what may currently be made available, the latter would in practice not be realized. As the authors aptly observe: "to borrow standards which are elevated too high above the standard of living of a people is to forget, or not to know, that standards too are products of growth."

The same perspective has to be maintained in another vital aspect of developing societies. While it is true that in the early stages of development, leadership must come from the top down, and not necessarily from the bottom up, development as an achievement of individuals and communities cannot be said to have taken place until leadership, that is initiative and direction, flow naturally in all communities. The substance of development lies not only in its physical attributes but also, and even more, in the effort made by individuals and groups to attain them.

The factors which condition development in the various parts of the hitherto underdeveloped world are in many respects similar, though not identical. Thus while rigid and even religiously sanctified social stratification is fairly widespread the caste system in India has some special features. The authors have approached this subject not in a pedantic but in an informed and practical manner. At least as important to the process of upward societal development are the inhibitions created among the "lower" castes, as are the assumptions to superior status among the higher castes. In most parts of the country sub-castes or extended families, are even now very active and living social entities. Without objective findings of group behaviours among them, which may show significant variations in different localities, no effective process of community development can be initiated.

On the connected subject of the joint family system the authors have made some significant observations. The type of pluralist society of a variety of local groups for several purposes such as youth clubs, women's organizations and business associations comes up against the strong barrier of socially and economically self-contained joint families and castes. Whereas the economic advantages of the caste are rapidly crumbling, and its social limitations are progressively confined to marital unions, both the economic and social functions of the joint family are yet so valuable as to make the joint family in some respects even more resistant to change than the caste system. Considering both the structure and functions of the joint family it would be more truthful to say that it is becoming progressively modified in degree of jointness rather than being broken up or actually disappearing. That the economic self-sufficiency of joint family is breaking up, and that unless its social functions are otherwise provided for, the process of unplanned loosening of familial bonds is a source of social as well as economic instability, and devitalization cannot be denied. Especially families among the lowest castes in the villages are suffering both at the rural and the urban ends. Like the principal economic problem of rural areas, namely, agriculture which is inextricably connected with the prospects of industrialization in the urban areas, the social problems of villages are also inextricably connected with the absorbing capacity of urban communities.

The authors have a sociological explanation to offer for the widespread practice of nepotism when they observe: "In a society where familism is as dominant a sentiment and practice as it is in India, family sentiments induce nepotism

as a deep moral obligation." Avoidedly, to explain is not necessarily to justify, but the duality of moral standards, which are essentially social, and civic standards, which are enjoined by law, cannot be ignored.

In all countries, certainly in India, there has been a lot of wishful thinking about villages, mostly by non-villagers. Such imaginative speculations have seriously hindered both the lateral and vertical expansion of rural life. One such cliché, almost a fetish, is the unity of a village, which term as applied to India would refer even to the 380,000 villages, out of a total of 550,000, which have a population of less than 500. That at several periods in the past these villages were living a life of enforced isolation is a fact, but it does not in all cases connote a positive virtue of being self-sufficient in either social or economic health. A self-contained village was in reality an isolated village, and all normal progress was towards building up greater inter-village relationships. As the authors observe:

"Within-village relationships were, therefore, not the only, and in a number of ways were not the dominant, set of social relationships between individuals and families.... In the light of these facts, and the fact that village peoples and villages as units of social action were expected to play such prominent roles in India's development programme, it would have been pertinent to raise such questions as the following: to what extent and in what ways can old social structures which, for at least a century, have not played a role in the national

society's progress be utilised in planned future development?"

Obviously this was not adequately considered, and "a knowledge of what sort of social structure villages were seems to have been taken for granted". Both for building a democratic and pluralist society this aspect of the life of village people is so important that the authors' observations on the subject may be quoted in a little further detail.

The village "is not the only social unity or solidarity in which they participate. Their caste loyalties and their caste participation are not confined to their home villages. Occupational, business and political activities require functioning in wider than local village groups, and require a degree of loyalty to these groups and their objectives", and again,

"India will, for some time, continue to be a society with a predominant village structure, but village structure will not escape the necessity and inevitability of change. One problem of overall economic and political development will be not only how to make village social structure more democratic, but how to develop inter-village associations, even inter-village institutions which will be required as villages by necessity become more inter-dependant and more co-operative with those who live beyond their old socio-economic village boundaries".

More forthrightly the authors state: "The necessity for the formation of such groups was not

foreseen by development programme planners and directors because of their assumption that each village was an integral social group and also because of their social unawareness of the roles played by special interest and special purpose groups in mobilizing those living in local communities for effective local action."

It is fervently to be hoped that the merits of an expanding and pluralist community life will be appreciated by Indian planners better in future than in the past. Whether they do so or not here is a lesson enunciated by the learned and responsible authors which should not be ignored by other developing communities.

If the special feature of Indian policy and practice during the last decade or so is that they constitute a democratic pattern of achieving rapid socio-economic developments of a traditional society, the causes of the noticeable gap between the formulation of objectives and methods on the one hand, and the actual implementation and achievement on the other must be carefully studied. There is advantage in this for India, for other developing countries and for the students of sociology and development everywhere. Land reform, co-operation, local planning, agricultural extension, small industry, package programme, local government institutions and social welfare are some of the topics in respect of which the Indian plans have been subjected by the authors to a searching analysis. The results are both striking and helpful. Indeed there is little of real significance in our general philosophy and methods of development, especially rural development, which has escaped the authors' notice, and their analysis as well as findings and suggestions merit a careful perusal in the original. There are two areas of rural

reorganization in respect of which considerable merit for achievement is claimed in this country. They are rural co-operation and community development. It may, therefore, serve some useful purpose if the findings on these two subjects are briefly reviewed.

Firstly, in regard to co-operation, the authors firmly state; "We do not believe that cooperatives alone or in any substantial way should assume the major responsibility for solving all the problems of all the disadvantaged groups which abound in India." Many of the "tasks assigned to cooperatives are the responsibilities of government itself, and even more of them are the responsibility of the programme of community development". This is true enough, but one would not easily share in the feeling of reassurance expressed by the authors when they go on to say: "The first evidence of the growing recognition of this fact was taken when the Community Project Administration was raised to a Central Government Ministry and made responsible for the development of Co-operatives and Panchayats." Would that this were so?

Actually as a consequence of the fact that one central ministry was authorized to deal with community development, co-operation and panchayats, all of which were State subjects and were organized in appropriate departments, a somewhat shortsighted mix-up of the legitimate functions of all types of rural institutions was sought to be promoted with central direction and support. That this effort did not succeed, or was not fully pursued, was due more to the practical good sense and experience of workers in the States. On the contrary, agriculture, which is the principal economic activity in which development by co-operative action is sought to be brought about, continues for the most part to be separately organized

both in the Centre and in the States. Admittedly this has been equally to the disadvantage of co-operation, agriculture and community development. The detailed observations made by the authors for the reorganization of the co-operative movement, most of which conform to the pattern recommended by experienced cooperators in the country, deserve the special attention of rural reformers in all countries.

India's Community Development and extension programme for which much is claimed, and in respect of which the authors had ample direct knowledge, has been subjected to a critical analysis by them. Their findings have great theoretical and practical significance. Of the several criticisms which after careful study they have been constrained to offer, the following are the leading ones:

- (i) The description of the role of the village level worker as friend, philosopher and guide of the villager reflected a view-point which was not so thoroughly in keeping with successful community development experience. The typical village level worker was generally friendly enough, but he was indifferently qualified to be a philosopher and was not in most cases, sufficiently equipped to be a dependable guide to the villager in dealing with his important problems.
- (ii) There was considerable absence of understanding of the role which voluntary local groups have to play in community development methods, by which people who live in local villages or communities are involved in helping to improve their own economic and social conditions and

thereby become effective working groups in the progress of national development.

- (iii) Government personnel in India have not only assumed major responsibility for determining what the needs of the villagers were, but assumed the responsibility for prescribing how these needs could and should be met.
- (iv) Targets set by others may be dysfunctional rather than functional. This is very likely to be the case if attempts are made to provide levels of living which are not in fact the conscious standards of those to whom these levels of living are provided. In all too many cases, development leaders have been more successful in attempting to arouse unwarranted expectations than they have in implementing warranted expectations. It is our judgment that Indian development leaders have stimulated this frustration by providing types and amounts of material assistance which was unsolicited by local self-help groups, instead of working consistently and effectively at the task of gradually developing aspiring local groups and then helping these groups to implement their aspirations.

These and similar findings will not come as a surprise to those who have maintained all along an evaluating and understanding attitude towards the nation's plans of rural development. Coming from authors of proved competence, objectivity and friendliness they should make our plan administrators more circumspect in future. It would be extremely unfortunate if all these lessons drawn from the working of community development and extension over the last twelve years and more are neglected in the new "campaign" in favour of Panchayati Raj. No progress is real which is not desired, planned and carried out by the people comprising each community for themselves. A centrally planned and directed programme of democratic decentralization would be neither democratic nor would it result in effective centralization. A quantitative index of achievement and a standard of success measured in terms of total expenditure have led to considerable misdirection in the fields hitherto covered by our rural programmes. If this tendency is to be arrested and if new measures are to be free from basic defects such as the ones mentioned by the authors a major re-searching of policy, and determination to fresh action are called for.

Rural reformers and rural sociologists everywhere will appreciate the severe analysis, firm findings and constructive recommendations contained in this scholarly production. They constitute an invaluable contribution to the Sociology of Development.

D.G. KARVE

**TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OVERSEAS: The Case for Development Administration;** By EDWARD W. WEIDNER, Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1964, 247 p., \$ 8.

Technical assistance in public administration, though of comparatively recent origin, has been

extended on a substantial scale during the last 15 years. Multiplicity of administering agencies and

diversification of projects are the inevitable concomitants of expansion in this as well as other fields.

The book is the outcome of research carried out by Dr. Weidner who has to his credit more than a decade's participation (1954-64) in technical assistance in public administration. An academician of distinction, Dr. Weidner did field work in 23 countries in Latin America, Europe, Asia, Africa and the U.S. to collect data of this book. The result is an overview of a number of projects of various kinds organized by the U.N., the U.S.A.I.D., the Ford Foundation, some consulting firms and American universities.

There are 11 chapters in the book. The first three chapters describe the major programmes of technical assistance in public administration while chapters 4-7 broadly examine their impact on host governments and institutions engaged in the study of public administration as an academic discipline. The last four chapters represent an attempt to reach some conclusions as to the significance of these programmes and contain the author's interpretations and evaluations.

Technical Assistance in Public Administration is largely an American programme to promote the development of poverty stricken and politically stunted countries. Modernization of public services is a *sine qua non* for the success of development efforts of governments in many developing countries. The case for development administration is thus founded on the close relationship between public administration and national development. It is Dr. Weidner's contention that this relationship is not always adequately appreciated or emphasized, with the result that "priorities based on a specific strategy

for maximising development have been lacking" (p. 47).

Broadly speaking, there are two important results sought by technical assistance programmes in public administration: stimulation of public administration as an academic discipline and betterment of the practice of public administration in the host country (p. 73). The activities engaged in to achieve these twin objectives are many and varied. So, too, are the devices used. In the host countries, administrative, operating and technical personnel are provided; preliminary or general surveys made; advisers or consultants sent; and institutional training programmes assisted. These have been supplemented by participant-training occasional two-way exchanges; provision of books and equipment; international seminars; and collection, publication and dissemination of information.

In his analysis of the various programmes, Dr. Weidner finds that the approaches of the three important organizations, viz., the U. N., the U.S.A.I.D., and the Ford Foundation are by no means similar. Many are likely to agree with his assessment that while the U.N. approach is usually traditionally-oriented, that of the Ford Foundation is adaptive and pragmatic, with the U.S.A.I.D. finding a place midway between these two. He feels that the private character of the Ford Foundation enables it to be less bureaucratic and hidebound in its ways and to move more swiftly into such sensitive areas as research and national planning.

The final chapter of the book sums up the authors' conclusions and opinions based on his study and experience. There is bound to be widespread agreement with

his remark that technical assistance in public administration can "contribute much if it is put in the mould of development administration and is extended in a manner that conforms to local circumstances and contributes to meeting local needs" (p. 240). The process of administrative change is not alike in the various developing nations because of differences in social, political and economic environments.

The book is well-documented. There is considerable evidence in the book to show that the author has spared no effort to present the relevant data and the opinions of a large number of respondents scattered in many countries. The general picture presented bears the stamp of neat and competent handling of an important subject. The book is worthy of study by all those interested in the betterment of public services in developing nations.

D. N. RAO

*OFFICE ECONOMY BY O & M; By G. E. MILWARD and P. H. S. WROE, London, Macmillan, 1964, viii+140 pp., 21s.*

"The purpose of O & M is research in the office, to design methods that will give management what is required at a minimum of cost and an organisation that will work smoothly and economically." Human nature being what it is, the simplification of office procedure in this way is not easy, as people generally tend to make things complicated. Training in the technique of methods' research and design is, therefore, of singular importance to one who has a desire to adopt it as a profession. This book is "a preliminary text book on methods" written primarily to meet the requirements of a beginner in O & M. However, apart from meeting this need, it would be quite useful to junior managers as well, because an understanding of the subject of organization and methods is of considerable value to anyone entering industry or commerce before specializing in the work of any one part or function of the business. The structure of the book is clear and the writing lucid and straight-forward. It is very difficult, indeed, to write a book on this "intensely practical subject" which should be liked by the students of O & M, and which should not be thrown away in disdain by the

practitioners. The authors of this book have been able to find a nice balance between the theoretical and the practical.

The strategy which the authors suggest for methods' simplification "is to reappraise the purpose of the work; remodel that purpose to match present requirements; prepare a simple and economical method with the forms and equipment needed to achieve this agreed purpose; cut out all unnecessary paper work". This very approach is further explained and illustrated in the chapters which follow. Chapter I defines the scope of the O & M, and Chapter II deals with the verification or appraisal of the purpose of the work. The mechanics of devising a new method and the tools of analysis are explained in Chapter III. The Diagnostic Chart designed to combine the description of the work with the analysis of the office processes used, which will point to possible simplification, is published for the first time in this book, in this Chapter.

To design a new form which should perform several different processes at one writing or typing is like making of multi-purpose machine tool. Forms Design is

an important part of the subject to cover recognizable series or cycle of operations. Some tricks of Forms Design have been given in Chapter IV. Chapter V deals with the reproduction and copying of documents and information, and Chapter VI with Clerical Aids. The various stages in the Conduct of the Enquiry are explained in Chapter VII alongwith the procedure charts. In another chapter the considerations which should weigh in the evaluation of a new method have also been summarized.

A visit to the Business Efficiency exhibition any where is generally very confusing because of the alarming number and complexity of the

machines exhibited there. In under-developed countries, the Government being the major employer, it may not always be feasible to introduce these complicated machines in Government offices. This book should be of special interest in comparatively under-developed systems of administration because of its emphasis on small machines which have a variety of different uses. There is a whole chapter dealing with a variety of such machines. This should be very helpful, therefore, in a country like ours for the O & M Units in the States which look after office managements in the districts and other not too-big organizations.

R. C. AGGARWAL

*THE TWILIGHT OF CITIES*; By E. A. GUTKIND, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, 208 p., \$5.

*CITIES IN FLOOD: The Problems of Urban Growth*; By PETER SELF, London, Faber & Faber, 1957, 189 p.

*CITY AND REGION: A Geographical Interpretation*; ROBERT E. DICKINSON, London, Routledge, 1964, 588 p.

The three books have been taken together because they have a common theme—rapid expansion of cities in recent years and the need for a regional approach to urban planning. They, and many others, published during the last few years, describe the “explosion” of cities which beginning in Europe and North America with the advent of the automobile, has now become a world-wide phenomenon. Expansion of cities began with the industrial revolution. It gathered momentum with the development of the means of mass transport—the railway and especially the automobile. But in the years after World War, II. when middle class car ownership has become a reality in many industrialized countries, it has assumed the character of a flood—a flood which engulfs increasingly large areas of the country-

side and threatens, in some regions of the World (Southern England, the Atlantic Seaboard of U.S.A., parts of Western Europe and Japan) to obliterate the distinction between town and country. It has rendered most previous concepts and principles of city planning obsolete. Even the terms used for large urban settlements—city metropolis, conurbation—are proving inadequate. The British writers, Self and Dickinson, have both used the term “city-region” to describe the new gigantic, urban-suburban sprawls created by expansion of the conurbations of London and Birmingham. The term is somewhat cumbersome and somehow fails to give a picture of the nature of the growth. But it does not have, happily, the nightmarish association of the term “megalopolis” used by Gottman (to describe a

similar sprawl of American cities along the Atlantic Seaboard), Doxidis and others.

The books are of interest to planners and administrators in India, because even though India's urban population is still small (18 per cent of the total in 1961) the inadequacy of meeting the growing problems of our large metropolitan cities—Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras—on anything other than a regional basis is being realized by all concerned with metropolitan planning. The Master Plan for Delhi was formulated with a "metropolitan region" as its unit. The region included, besides the urban area of Delhi and New Delhi, the entire rural area of Delhi State. Further, the Plan made proposals for development of satellite industrial towns, regulation of land-use, and various other measures to be taken in the adjoining districts of U.P. and Punjab. The need for making a regional approach to the problem of the city has been realized increasingly in the years after the formulation of the plan, when problems of acute water scarcity, drainage and flood control have had to be faced. It is becoming increasingly clear that as Delhi grows, the measures to meet its various problems will have to be taken on a regional level, with increasing co-operation of the adjoining States of U.P., Punjab and Rajasthan.

The "metropolitan region" concept has been accepted in planning for other cities also. The planning work for Calcutta, currently in progress, has as its unit the Calcutta Metropolitan District which includes, besides the cities of Calcutta and Howrah, about 35 municipalities and intervening villages—an area of nearly 450 sq. miles. The plan for Bombay, published recently, relates

to the Greater Bombay area. Besides, the Maharashtra Government proposes to prepare a regional plan for the Thana-Kalyan region, which is getting industrialized as a result of dispersal of industry from Bombay city. Attention has begun to be given to examining the relationship between the cities and the regions in which they are situated, and with which they have commercial, administrative and other service links. The need for adopting the regional approach in city planning and of understanding the relation between the city and the region were major themes in speeches at the recent Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Town Planning Department of Maharashtra. One can be sure that this is only the beginning, and as our cities follow the Western cities in their sprawling growth, much more attention will be given to this subject.

Gutkind's book, based largely on the American experience, is in the main, a tirade against gigantism in city growth and city planning. He gives an historical account of growth of cities, examines the characteristics of European cities in the mediaeval and Baroque periods, traces the movement in city development in the 19th Century after the Industrial Revolution, and describes the developments in the 20th Century at length. The conclusion that the modern city has outlived its utility and place in human history and should cease to be, is apparent from the beginning. The book ends with a vigorous plea for a regional approach to the problem of human settlement.

Self's book\* is of much greater interest to the Indian planners and administrators, because it gives an excellent analysis of regional deve-

\* This book was first published in 1957. The second Edition reviewed here, contains a Prologue which analyses the developments up to 1961.

lopment, town and country planning, creation of new towns and satellite towns and other "planning efforts" made in U.K. in the years after World War II. The issues, the policies and the experience with various legislative and organizational measures are discussed adequately, if briefly, and in terms which the Indian reader can understand and appreciate. Describing the trends in metropolitan development in U.K., Self notes that nearly 40 per cent of the population of England and Wales is now concentrated in and around six large conurbations which centre on the cities of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and New Castle. Similarly, about 40 per cent of the population of Scotland is concentrated in Clydeside. The two large conurbations of Greater London and the midlands, centering on Birmingham alone, have nearly 25 per cent of the total population of Great Britain. Further, considering the present trends, it appears that these two conurbations will soon merge to form a continuous urban-semi-urban zone.

Besides the growth of population, the other factor responsible for the continuous urban expansion is the need to relieve congestion in the central areas of cities and to improve housing conditions. Describing the various measures taken to meet these needs, the author analyses the comparative experience with satellite townships and the new towns. Both were started with the same objective—to transfer population out of the central areas of London and other cities. However, the satellite townships created by city governments with the sole purpose of relieving their housing problem (by providing houses to persons on the cities' housing lists) have only resulted in creating distant semi-dormitories, from which a large proportion of the residents travel to work in

the cities. They go to the cities also for shopping, recreation and cultural pursuits, because facilities for these, within the townships are inadequate or unsatisfactory. Even the feeling of being permanent residents of a new community is not possible in these townships because the children of the residents may not be able to live in them. They will have to move out in search of jobs or simply because they cannot be allotted houses of their own. The writer concludes: "Thus the post-war satellites cannot be viewed as more than modified failures. Built in the near vicinity of a large conurbation, their prospect of developing an independent existence were anyhow precarious. The method of selecting their inhabitants made failure from this point of view almost inevitable. The L.C.C. (London County Council) satellites will remain at best distant half-dormitories with a tendency to attract tenants who work in the outer areas on the same side of London. Despite the L.C.C.'s best efforts, the satellites are too closely tied, administratively as well as geographically to the capitals apron strings to develop into real communities" (p.86). The new towns are far more satisfactory, because in creating them attention has been given to all aspects of individual and group life: they provide housing, employment, facilities for shopping, recreation and cultural activities. Secondly, they are sufficiently distant from the cities (the eight London towns are between 18 and 32 miles from Charing Cross) to think of themselves as independent communities. Moreover, in their development an attempt has been made to provide work and housing simultaneously. Subsidised housing was provided for all (or most) employees of factories which decided to locate in the new towns. Houses of several categories were built in order to ensure

that all grades of employees—from executives to unskilled workers—could live in the towns. Most of the new towns have grown into flourishing, satisfying communities: experience with them is prompting the Government to go even farther from the cities to create newer towns. Self advocates a programme of launching enough new communities (some of them located far away from existing conurbations) to accommodate at least a million families over the next twenty years.

In the discussion on the organizational arrangements for building and managing the new towns, Self favours the development corporation, an autonomous body created by the Government in preference to management by local government agencies.

The chapter on regional development entitled "Jobs on the Move" analyses the measures taken in the post-war years to stimulate economic growth in the depressed areas—the North-East, South Wales, Clydeside and others, which had experienced chronic unemployment during the 1930s. "Development areas" were constituted in each of these depressed regions and a number of measures—leasing vacant munition factories, preference in supply of building materials and industrial raw-materials, preference in giving approval to establishment of a new factory—were taken. These measures were taken first under the emergency powers and later under the Distribution of Industry Act of 1945 and the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. The Labour Government in the immediate post-war years was most vigorous in pursuit of this policy, so much so that for some years it was virtually impossible to get the various permits for building a new factory anywhere except in the development areas. But after 1948, the policy was followed less vigorously

and emphasis shifted progressively from regulatory measures to incentives. The Conservatives, after they came to power in 1952, relaxed the policy further. The policy has undoubtedly resulted in considerable economic development in the depressed regions. "The development areas contain about a fifth of total manufacturing employment; at the end of 1954, they had accounted for a third of post-war factory completions" (p. 129). But it has not succeeded in reversing the pattern of much faster industrial growth in the South East and the Midlands (London-Birmingham area) than in the depressed regions. This trend, which was a marked feature of the 1930s, has continued after World War II. The most rapidly growing industries—electronics, plastics, petro-chemicals, household appliances and various other consumer goods—all tend to locate in this region. They find the attraction of the metropolitan city with its large market, specialized facilities (banking, insurance, advertising) and decision-making (in company head-offices and in government offices) irresistible.

This experience of U.K. should be of interest to all in India who are concerned with industrial dispersal. Dispersal of industry has been advocated both to relieve congestion in the cities and to stimulate economic growth in the backward areas, and a number of measures have been taken to achieve these objectives. But if the British experience is any guide, these measures, while they will stimulate economic growth in the backward areas and relieve congestion in cities to some extent, may have only limited success in reducing growth of large cities.

In the concluding chapter, Self for brings out very convincingly the need a regional approach to planning for urban development. The continuous

expansion of the conurbations has rendered planning by local government agencies—counties, city boroughs, rural boroughs, etc., completely obsolete and made the regional approach inevitable. Planning by local bodies will always be pre-occupied with local interests and problems: it can result in utter confusion when the area of a single large conurbation, which has to be viewed as one unit for many planning purposes, extends over the boundaries of scores of local government agencies. The author says: "The region is the proper unit for socio-economic planning, just as the locality is the right unit for controlling design and layout. Certain things have to be planned at the regional level or they will not really be planned at all. These include the distribution of industry and population; the reservation of green belts and the protection of areas of natural beauty; the alignment of main roads and public utilities; and the siting of new towns and major towns expansions. Neglect of regional planning has vitiated many of the efforts of local authorities.... The only fully satisfactory solution would be to transmute the present local government system into a system of local and regional government." (p. 178-9).

It is this convergence on the regional approach which gives Dickinson's book, its interest. The book is not an essay on urban or regional planning, though it contains a rather extensive historical survey of regionalism and regional planning in the United States, Britain, France and Germany. Written by a geographer, it contains perhaps the most detailed and systematic analysis available in the English language of the relationship between the city and the region. The sections analysing the structure of the city, the nature of the region and the relation between the city and the region are of interest to all

concerned with urban and regional planning. Of particular interest are detailed case studies of city-region relationships for four cities—Lyons (France), Cologne (West Germany), Leeds-Bradford (U.K.) and Salt Lake City (U.S.A.)—and less detailed studies of a number of other cities. These studies describe the physical structure of the cities, their economic organization and the different kinds of relationship between them and their regions. The maps on the "commuting region", "newspaper circulation region", "services region", "telephone region" illustrate the detailed work needed for adequate understanding of city-region relationship. Little precise data is available on the subject in India so far: the studies made in connection with the Delhi Plan represent perhaps the one noteworthy exception. But such data will have to be collected for all major cities of India if planning for them has to have a scientific basis.

Similarly, the section on town-village relationships and on the theory of the central place (the place which serves as a commercial and service centre for a certain area in its vicinity) is of interest for both rural and urban planning. Its interest for rural development will be apparent from the fact that small and medium-sized towns (*mandi* towns, community development block, subdivision or district headquarters) which are service centres for their neighbouring rural areas, are becoming increasingly important in the life of the rural people. The latter are utilizing the services available in these towns—educational, medical, administrative, commercial—to an increasing degree. The importance of these centres will grow rapidly as education spreads, use of modern medicine becomes more popular and agriculture becomes modern and commercial. Rural

people will then depend on these centres for a variety of services. There has grown in recent years an entire body of theory of "central places"—their hierarchical order, the types of services rendered by the central places at different steps in the hierarchy, the inter-relationship between places of different orders—which is of considerable interest to all concerned with urban and rural

planning. This subject of rural-urban relationship will need more purposeful attention in future. Adequate attention to it will ensure that the service needs of the rural people are met adequately and efficiently and that the towns grow, deriving sustenance from the growth of the regions which they serve.

V. NATH

*MANPOWER AND EDUCATION—COUNTRY STUDIES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*; By FREDERICK HARBISON AND CHARLES A. MYERS, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965, xii+343 p.

This book contains an interesting cross-sectional view of the experience of twelve developing countries in planning manpower and education in relation to economic development. The countries covered are Argentina, Chile, Peru, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Nyasaland, Uganda, Iran, Indonesia, Communist China and the commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The study of each country is based upon the first hand experience of a foreign manpower consultant and represents his special approach to the problem. In the concluding Chapter, some basic issues of manpower policy are discussed with reference to the contrasting situation in East Africa and S.E. Asia.

In the first essay on Argentina, Prof. Horowitz has concluded that the most critical aspect of the Argentine manpower situation is that of quality. This is partly explained by the inadequately organized educational system ('part-time student body with part-time faculty') and partly by the absence of suitably structured economic incentives. There is no overall plan for economic development in Argentina, and although the political situation continues to be abnormal, there is little likelihood that a plan will be formulated in the foreseeable future. There is also no manpower planning. However, Argentina is

not an "underdeveloped" country in the sense that she "passed beyond the traditional-society stage a few decades ago and attained a significant level of economic development many years back". But the economic forces of the labour market have apparently not succeeded in bringing about a closer correlation between the demand for high level manpower and the needs of the economy. Social and cultural factors predominate in the choice of education. During 1901-1960, the largest proportion of university graduates was in medicine (21.8) per cent followed by lawyers (14.1) per cent and engineers (11.1) per cent. Most of this high-level manpower is concentrated in the urban industrial area. There are serious shortages of trained agricultural scientists, management and administrative personnel, highly specialized engineers and technicians but there is a surplus of lawyers, teachers and doctors specially in urban industrial areas. Reliable statistics of unemployment are, however, not available. Numbers in surplus categories, specially teachers, seem to be increasing even now, in the absence of any system of employment service, vocational guidance or career counselling. The salary structure does not reflect the pulls and pressures of the demand-supply

relationship. A significant proportion of high-level manpower is migrating to the United States: Engineers 8 per cent of the outturn per year, Chemists 7 per cent. Doctors 5 per cent etc.

Although in broadly sketching out the major manpower problems of Argentina, Prof. Horowitz has drawn attention to many key areas where urgent action appears to be required, he has stated that "with no forward-looking economic planning in Argentina, there is little that a manpower planning agency can do to gear the future supply of high-level manpower to the needs of the future". This observation raises a fundamental question regarding the role of a manpower agency. The concept of human resource development is wider than manpower planning for a given plan or programme of development and, therefore, from an organizational point of view it may not be wholly appropriate to limit the tasks of a manpower agency or to conceive of them within the limited framework of manpower budgeting. Forecasting future requirements and gearing educational expansion and adjustment to future manpower demand is only one aspect of the work. There are other important areas of manpower policy which are not dependent on a programme of economic development.

In many ways, the manpower situation in Peru resembles that of Argentina. The expansion of educational system does not appear to bear a close relationship with the needs of the economy. Social and prestige factors appear to predominate. There are shortages of Administrative personnel, agricultural scientists and veterinarians, architects etc. Although engineering enrolments are increasing fast, the increase is unrelated to demand aspects. There is a general concentration of professional men in

the Lima area. The authors have identified three key problems of economic growth: (1) the low status of manual work, (2) the suspicious Peruvian, and (3) the motivational drag on development. These are social and cultural constraints which hardly provide a basis for further action in the manpower field.

The study of manpower and education in Chile is confined to demand and supply projections of a few selected categories of high-level manpower. It appears that manpower shortages in terms of the CORFO Plan will be in the categories of engineers, forestry engineers, nurses and technicians. The supply projections are, however, based on past and current trends and do not allow for a deliberate increase in facilities. Chile is a level III country according to Harbison—Myers classification and should have many other manpower problems of semi-advanced countries. On these, the study throws no light.

The case of Puerto Rico is unlike developing areas elsewhere mainly because of the unusual economic concessions. However, a good deal has been achieved within a relatively short period in Puerto Rico in the field of human resource development by concerted efforts and this serves as a pointer to what is possible.

The study of Senegal, Guinea and Ivory Coast in West Africa lays emphasis on the problem of allocating resources for educational expansion at different levels. Since 1957, educational expansion in these countries has been very rapid and the proportion of national income spent on education has been more than 4 per cent. On the one hand, however, the per capita cost of education has been very high and on the other, its relationship with the employment market is very weak. The structure of secondary and higher education follows generally the

metropolitan traditions of France and is being too slowly adapted to West African needs. The migration of high-level personnel to France also appears to be significant. How these difficulties have affected the problem of "africanization" is not quite clear. No detailed manpower assessments appear to be available.

Both Malawi (Nyasaland) and Uganda are level I countries in East Africa, which have embarked upon modernization programmes with better preparation than Senegal or Ivory Coast. There are fairly detailed projections of manpower requirements and efforts to adjust the educational system to manpower demand are afoot. The chief concern appears to be "localization" or "africanization" of the senior and middle-level positions in the country, but this does not seem related to any manpower considerations. The two studies have also touched upon manpower utilization aspects and the problem of manpower organization. While the Malawi study recommends the setting up of a high-level manpower council or board, in Uganda there is already a Manpower Planning Committee working closely with the Ministry of Economic Development and responsible to the Standing Development Committee of the Council of Ministers.

The two studies are based on detailed work undertaken by the authors in association with the Governments concerned and provide a good starting point for action on manpower aspects. Perhaps a second enquiry regarding the progress since made would be a rewarding and worthwhile experience.

The Chapter on Iran's experience with manpower planning by George Baldwin brings out in considerable detail the difficulties experienced by manpower strategists in developing countries. Perhaps only with minor changes, the description would re-

flect the situation in many other countries. The author has also succeeded in bringing out very vividly the difficulties caused by a multiplicity of experts in different but interrelated fields of human resource development, often with overlapping and even conflicting rather than complementary roles. So many international agencies, foreign governments and philanthropic foundations are now involved in the business of international technical assistance that one cannot help feeling that most developing countries are over-advised. The advisors are often chosen or asked for without a complete examination of the need or nature of jobs to be done or already available assistance or selection of counterparts. The burgeoning interest in the inter-disciplinary field of human resource development has made it one of the worst sufferers in this regard in recent years.

Another important point successfully brought out by the author is that an ineffective manpower organization can do more harm than good in the field of human resource development. Iran's experience in manpower planning could well have been more hopeful with adequate organizational effort. From my own recent study of organizational arrangements for human resource development in a few countries, it appears that an adequate and high-level manpower agency is crucial to the success of any effort in this field.

The author has stressed the "overwhelming importance of developing, among the small group of people engaged in manpower and educational planning in any country, a common way of thinking about the problems they are dealing with". This is really an understatement in as much as the problem is much more serious. The need for developing a common language and

approach, a common terminology and a clearer understanding of the nature and scope of human resource development among the many specialists, consultants and advisors working all over the world is more than apparent even from a reading of the essays in this book. In the Introduction, Professors Harbison and Myers have stated (p.x) that "human resource development encompasses many constituent and interrelated elements" and have in the rest of the paragraph excluded from consideration the problems of utilization, motivation and conservation of human resources. Throughout in the country studies too, important aspects of human resources development have not been touched.

The discussion of the Indonesian experience highlights the failure of the two Five Year Plans in systematic programming of human resources either in terms of their growth or optimal utilization of existing high-level manpower. The massive efforts made by Communist China stand in clear contrast. In China, the educational system has been completely transformed in anticipation of economic development and industrialization goals. There have been phenomenal increases in enrolment at the secondary and higher levels with a very significant shift in favour of science and technology. Chinese higher education has been radically transformed in philosophy, form, content and method.

Such a change can, however, be hardly brought about in less totalitarian or democratic societies, even though manpower aspects may be emphasised in educational or economic development. This has been very clearly brought out in a series of three exploratory studies conducted by the Institute of Applied Man-

power Research, New Delhi, in which comparisons have been drawn between the economic, educational and professional manpower situation of Communist China and India.

The last Chapter by Guy Hunter is very thought-provoking and makes a number of controversial assertions. For instance, it is possible to argue successfully against his concept of "shortage" and "surplus" areas or his method of setting manpower targets. His observations about the role of the manpower advisor are, however, particularly relevant. No one could agree more with him when he states "it is clear that the consultant, if he is genuinely concerned with the whole field of human resource development, must make the effort to grasp the whole pattern of the social, economic, and political life of the nation with which he is concerned. He must have a good insight into social conditions and motivation; a shrewd view of what is politically or administratively feasible; an ability to discriminate between development plans that are pious hopes or prestige symbols and plans that can be completed". There is little doubt, however, that consultants and advisors endowed with such accomplishments are a "serious shortage category" throughout the world.

This book is undoubtedly a welcome contribution to the growing literature on human resource development. Although a number of country studies reflect the failure to organize effective manpower planning in relation to national needs, it can be hopefully stated that as our understanding of the processes of human resource development increases, many of the initial constraints might be overcome. The whole field is new and challenging and there are many inherent difficulties in co-ordinating and weaving

together into a comprehensible frame the many interrelated limbs of human resource development, specially when some of them, like education, also derive strength from a multiplicity of other contacts. There is, moreover, an increasing lack of communication bet-

ween workers in this field resulting in the evolution of several dialects rather than a common language. Unless quick and effective measures are taken to correct the situation, serious difficulties may arise later.

R. K. SRIVASTAVA

*ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS UNDER THE ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES ACT, 1955*; by Dr. M.P. JAIN, Bombay, M. Tripathi, 1964, xviii + 220 p.

The days of *laissez faire* economy are gone even in the countries like U. K. and U. S. A. The Indian economy too is equally a regulated one with a vast number of laws enacted by the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures, as also various administrative orders. According to the study made by the reviewer in 1963, which was published under the title "The Pace of Economic Legislation in India in the Post-Independence Period" in a series of two articles in the *COMMERCE*, a Bombay Weekly, there were no less than 266 economic Acts passed by Parliament by the end of 1961-62, of these 122 Acts were passed in the post-Independence period. Since 1961-62, the number of economic laws has gone up. The Essential Commodities Act, 1955, is one of the important enactments intended to regulate production, supply and distribution of, and trade and commerce in a number of commodities.

Dr. M.P. Jain's work prepared under the auspices of the Indian Law Institute, New Delhi, is a commendable attempt aimed at investigating the administrative process operative under this Act. In this connection Dr. Jain, besides tracing the history behind the presently exercisable by the Government, the procedure prescribed for, the purpose and the safeguards

available under the Act, has also tried to give his comments about the fairness of the administrative procedures under the Act.

While tracing the history of commodities control during 1939-45, Dr. Jain finds that the various control measures during the Second World War were not well-planned. In view of the lack of integrated policy of control from the stage of production to that of distribution and consumption of essential goods, price control alone could not be an effective instrument to meet the situation.

Coming to commodity control during 1946-50, Dr. Jain has pointed out the circumstances leading to the formation of the Commodity Price Board in February, 1947, to formulate an integrated price policy for India, as also the circumstances leading to its end. The reasons as to why the Board was created, viz.,—(i) the need to fix particular price levels for the controlled commodities; (ii) the need to maintain a reasonable relationship between the prices of cash crops and the prices of foodgrains on the one hand, and between agricultural prices and industrial prices on the other, if producers and consumers alike were not to be put under a constant sense of grievance and agrarian and individual unrest was to be prevented; and (iii) the desirability of reinforcing

public confidence in the equity of the Government's decisions by virtue of the fact that such decisions had the benefit of advice of an authoritative body—are of considerable interest to us even today in view of scarcity and inflation starting right in our face.

While explaining the "Commodity Control Today", Dr. Jain brings out the distribution of powers relating to commodity control as between Centre and State Governments. He has also described the judicial control of administrative action in the sphere of commodity control and has, in this connection, discussed the case law on various provisions of the Constitution. The discussion on constitutional validity of the various restrictions on movement of commodities, requisitioning and freezing of stocks, price fixing and licensing makes an interesting reading.

The study gives concrete instances of the Central Government's exercise of power in various spheres such as regulation of distribution, price fixing and licensing, regulation of movement of commodities, requisition of stocks and issue of directions to producers or dealers regarding production, maintenance of stock, sale, price-grading, packing, storage and distribution.

Dr. Jain has made a searching and illuminating review of the various controls and their administration in the case of cotton textiles, sugar, jute goods, non-ferrous, iron and steel, fertilizers, fruit products and food grains. He feels that "vast powers, in many cases unguided and unregulated, have been conferred on the administration to regulate production, distribution, price fixing, movement, consumption, etc., of essential commodities and a huge administrative apparatus has been built up to administer the

various control measures". Indeed, according to him "the delegation of power on the executive under Sec. 3 of the Essential Commodities Act is so broad that it is virtually not possible for the courts to control its exercise or to hold that an order made under it is *ultra vires*". Nor is the provision of Sec. 3(6) of the Act for "laying" before both Houses of Parliament the orders made by the Central Government, regarded as a "substantial safeguard" by him.

To remedy the situation, Dr. Jain has made a number of suggestions. Firstly, he wants that a manual containing all the rules and orders promulgated by various Governments should be published in a consolidated form separately in respect of each commodity. The proposed manual, intended to keep up-to-date rules and orders easily accessible, can prove to be useful only if the number of amendments to them is kept to the minimum. Dr. Jain's second suggestion, *viz.*, that the orders made by the State Governments which are at present not laid before the State Legislatures or some committee of the Parliament also deserve consideration. As the orders are made by the State Governments, perhaps the legislature of the respective State Governments would be the proper forum for the purpose. (Since, however, Dr. Jain does not believe in the efficiency of the "laying" procedure, it is doubtful whether he is really keen about this suggestion.) Dr. Jain's another suggestion which has wider implications than suggested is that the Essential Commodities Act should be amended to make it "essential to have a consultative body (consisting of all interests) for each commodity controlled". Dr. Jain goes a step further when he wants the advisory bodies to be associated with the administration in areas where the interests concerned are very intimately affected.

An important point made by Dr. Jain, however, is that the orders should lay down the standards to guide and regulate administrative discretion. Since these standards are designed to provide a wholesome check on administration, they can be of use only if they are definite instead of being couched in a general language. On the procedural side, Dr. Jain has suggested that a minimal general procedure should be laid down in the Act itself so that it becomes binding on all administrative agencies connected with commodity control. This procedure should provide a right to the licensee to be informed of the reasons for taking action against him as also provide him with a right to be heard and have the decision reviewed. Dr. Jain, accordingly insists that each order relating to a commodity should prescribe "detailed" procedures for its administration. He also

wants the "administrative practices" to be codified. No doubt these are noble objectives, yet codification has its own limitations and shortcomings. In codifying excessive safeguards to individuals we may not negate the very objects we seek to serve. Indeed, as Dr. Jain himself admits, a proper balance has to be drawn between individual freedom and governmental control.

The book is both illuminating and thought provoking. The inclusion of a summary of the various orders issued by the Central Government under the provisions of the Essential Commodities Act and that of the appendix on "Price Control in America" and "Commodity Control in England" enhances its value. On the whole, it is a useful addition to the books on economic legislation in India.

RAJ K. NIGAM



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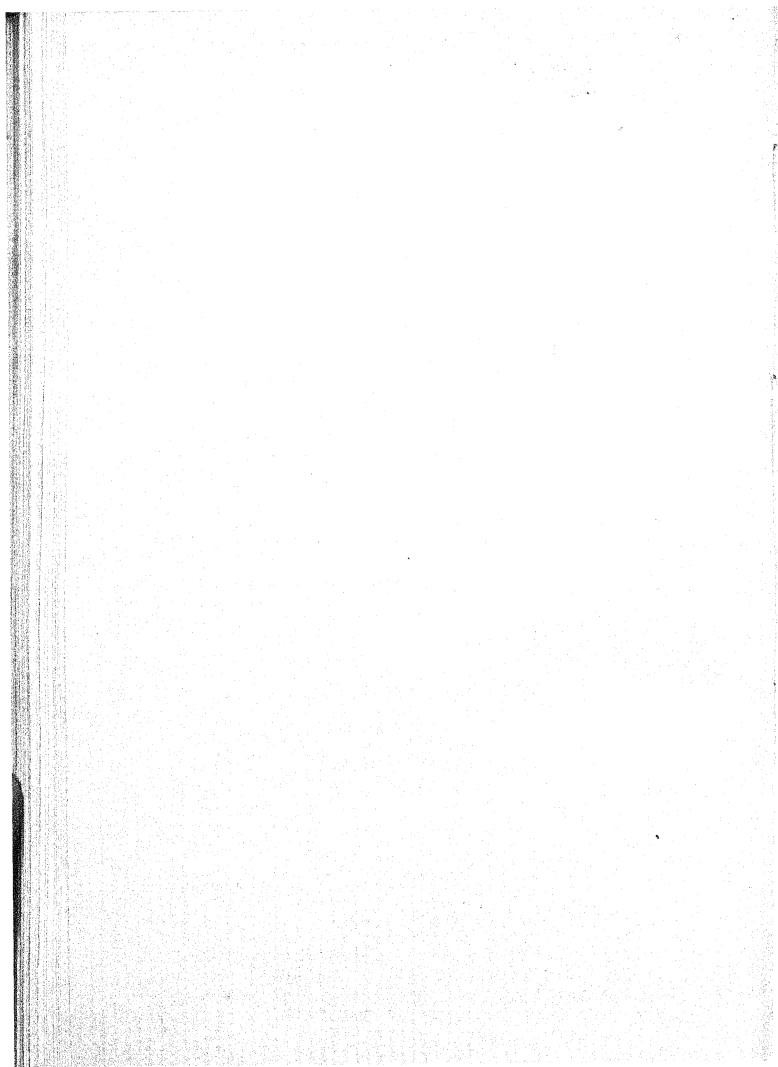
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## SPECIAL NUMBER

## ON

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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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## Editorial Note

The role of the Collector in the Nineteen Sixties is in many ways significantly different from what it was before Independence. Some of his functions have changed in relative importance, scope and scale, under the impact of democracy, new economic and social objectives, and the national plans of development and welfare which seek to give effect to those objectives. The rise of Panchayati Raj institutions, creation of new departments and extension of their hierarchies down to the village level have been other factors affecting the Collector's role and functions.

The Collector today has, broadly speaking, much larger responsibilities in fields of development and welfare, along with the traditional regulatory powers, but with somewhat lower prestige and status. His undisputed, exclusive position as the agent of Government in the District has gradually eroded: he now shares executive authority with other district level officers and Panchayati Raj institutions. He remains, nevertheless, even today the pivot of District Administration, the preserver of law and order and of Government interests generally, and the more or less effective co-ordinator of development programmes. He is the person to whom the Government mostly turns in an emergency of any kind. Indeed in an emergency the Collector still functions as he did a hundred years ago, and often with the vitality and resilience associated with the office in the past. This is a broad picture of the Collector's contemporary role. There are variations as between one State and another, and occasionally even as between Districts in the same State.

The more important current controversies and problems regarding the role of the Collector concern his functions of coordination of development programmes, his relations with Panchayati Raj institutions, effectiveness of his control over the police and district level officers of development departments, the accommodation to be shown to political pressures, viability of a district charge and shortness of

experience and tenure of many of the present incumbents. To illustrate, the transfer of local development functions to Panchayati Raj institutions poses several basic issues: To what extent do the Panchayati Raj institutions, at the present stage of political and educational development of the rural areas, need, if at all, to be guided, regulated or controlled by the Collector? Should the Collector be the chairman of the district-level Panchayati body, or only a member of it without the right to vote, or totally outside it? Which of the alternatives will best promote the growth of Panchayati Raj institutions on healthy lines and harmonious relations between officials and non-officials? How far should the Collector be involved in the development activities of Panchayati Raj bodies and what control should he exercise over their staff? Or, should the development activities of Panchayati Raj institutions be looked after, as in Maharashtra and Gujarat, by a separate officer of Collector's status? If not, what would be the most effective form of affording relief to the Collector from the growing load of development responsibilities? These are some of the major issues which need serious consideration.

The object of bringing out this Special Number of the Journal is to present within a brief compass essential information, observations and experience, and provoke further thinking. The idea of the Special Number first came to our mind at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Institute (held on October 23, 1964) at which the Prime Minister suggested that the District Collector should play a more effective role as the co-ordinator of development programmes and as the forum for consideration and redress of the citizen's grievances. We thought that a study of the kind we have brought out in this Special Number might be of some use in redefining the role and functions of the Collector. With three exceptions, the contributors are persons who have been or are District Collectors, and can thus speak with precise knowledge and from first-hand experience.

What will the Collector be like in the Nineteen Seventies? Will an office which came into being to serve the needs of a centralised foreign rule and was developed in a predominantly rural society and agricultural economy retain its essential characteristics with further progress of urbanisation and industrialisation and growth of democratic institutions down to the village level? Over decades of political, constitutional and social change the Collector's office has certainly shown adaptability and in the opinion of many competent observers, retained its vitality. If the experience of the post-Independence period is any guide, it does not appear that the office will undergo a metamorphosis in the next decade. If the French Prefect, so akin to the

Indian Collector, can remain a useful and vigorous functionary in a highly developed society, there is no good reason why the Collector should become an anachronism or even lose much of his utility as India makes further progress towards modernisation. Some of his traditional functions will certainly change. Revenue collection, which at one time was his primary function, has already become relatively unimportant, making the designation itself a misnomer. His method and style of functioning, which have already changed a great deal, will probably change further. On the other hand, his responsibilities as a reconciler of conflicting economic and other group interests may increase; and he will, it appears, retain his key role as the custodian of law and order and as the principal agent of Government in the District.

October 29, 1965.

*Editor*



## THE EVOLUTION OF THE OFFICE OF COLLECTOR (1770-1947)

*B. B. Misra*

“IN INDIA whoever regulates the assessment of the land, really holds in his hand the mainspring of the country.”<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Munro, a distinguished Madras Civilian, who made this observation on the basis of his own experience as a settlement officer, finally showed the way, and the business of the office of Collector which had under the Cornwallis Code been limited to mere revenue matters, extended to everything affecting the welfare of the people. He became the chief executive officer, the ruler and governor of his district, representing within his jurisdiction the might of Government, and responsible not merely for the collection of revenue, but the interpretation and execution of Government policy as a whole. The object of this article is briefly to narrate the story and to analyse the causes of this change.

### THE MUGHAL HERITAGE

According to the constitution of the Mughal government the collection of revenue was vested in an officer called Amalguzar or Amil. He was the chief revenue officer of a district called Sarkar. In the collection and management of Government revenue his duty was to encourage the rayats to bring waste lands into cultivation and to take all such measures as he deemed necessary for the promotion of agriculture and the protection of peasants either against natural calamities or the oppressive conduct of groups and individuals. In the discharge of his duty the Amalguzar exercised a certain degree of judicial authority in the settlement of disputed claims and actions arising in the course of assessment and, under certain circumstances, performed a limited executive function, especially on the breakdown of law and order. He was, however, neither a judicial officer nor the chief executive officer of the Sarkar. While the civil judicial function of Government in the district vested in the *Qazi* and the *Mir Adl*, its main executive function remained with the Faujdar, a police magistrate, who maintained a contingent of armed force (fauj) and assisted

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<sup>1</sup> *Selections from Revenue Records of the N.-W. Provinces*, Allahabad, 1873, iii, p. 65.

other departments of his district in the execution of their respective duties. The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* says that "in cases of emergency the Nazim (Provincial Governor) or ultimately the Emperor himself sent troops under his general or royal princes who came to the help of the Faujdar on information being sent for the same and law and order maintained."<sup>2</sup> The Faujdar could thus report directly to the Central Government in times of emergency and seek its assistance in the restoration of peace.

This, however, constituted the official organ of district administration under the Mughals. There was in addition a non-official organ consisting either of village communities of joint proprietors, or government "assignees" and zamindars whose local influence had either obscured or altogether obliterated the rights of such communities. During the vigour of the Mughal government both the organs worked together in harmony, the latter being subordinated to the former. Like the Faujdar the Zamindars maintained their own zamindari force which secured the peace of the zamindari areas of the Empire and occasionally helped the Emperor in his wars.<sup>3</sup> The land servants of the ancient militia operating either under a village community or a zamindar constituted an agency of both collection and policing. In the exercise of his faujdari jurisdiction a zamindar, for instance, was "subject to a Faujdar who had the superintendence of a district comprehending many zamindaris and had the thanas or inferior stations under the charge of officers and armed men dependent on him, besides a part of the land servants of each zamindari, the rest being employed to guard the villages and enforce the collections. It was the zamindar's duty to give constant intelligence to the nawab (governor) and to assist the Faujdar in the apprehension of robbers and in executing the measures which were required of him for preserving the peace of the country; but this duty first and immediately belonged to the Faujdar, who was the representative of the nazim, and to him the people looked up for justice and protection against their chiefs."<sup>4</sup>

In the Mughal system of district administration, therefore, the District Revenue Officer did not hold a dominant position. The reason was that the local community or the zamindar who was rooted in it was associated with the discharge of two of the most important

<sup>2</sup> Saiyid Ghulam Hussain Khan, *Seir Mutaqherin* (English Translation), Vol. III, Calcutta, pp. 178-79.

<sup>3</sup> See Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London, 1871, pp. 431-32.

<sup>4</sup> G. W. Forrest, *Selections from the State Papers of the Governor General, Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1910, ii, p. 454.

functions of the state, the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. Together they did most of the collections and in addition kept the peace of the country as a subordinate instrument of the Faujdar who had the superintendence of district administration as a whole without any immediate responsibility for the collections. The whole system was based on custom and consensus, not on any legal definition of rights and obligations. But it worked well so long as the Central Government of the Mughals remained intact.

The political instability which followed the disintegration of the Mughal rule had its first impact on the administration of the districts where the non-official organ, because of its local knowledge and influence, became more powerful and superseded the regular machinery of administration. Even Amils or regular revenue officers of Government whose posts had under the later Mughals become hereditary, followed the examples of zamindars and farmers of revenue. Like them, they stipulated to pay a definite amount to Government and made no scruple to rack-rent the tenants whenever they found that they could not otherwise pay the stipulated sum. Faujdars were likewise invested with revenue function. The collection of revenue had in fact come to be the only concern of Government, and those who engaged to pay the revenues, were left in the exercise of judicial function also, the policing of the rural areas being already in the hands of those who did the collections.

It was in this state that the East India Company obtained in 1765 the diwani (civil administration) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In practice, however, the Company did not take over the whole of civil administration. Its interest was limited to the superintendence of the collections and disposal of the revenue. "We were", wrote Clive, "under the necessity of drawing the earliest advantages from our acquisition of the Duannee. Our army was to be paid, our investment to be made, and the China market to be supplied. To trust these collections, therefore, upon which our credit and security depended, to the management of the Company's servants, totally unacquainted with the business, would have been a dangerous, and at this time would have been termed a criminal, experiment."<sup>5</sup> Clive, therefor, confided in the old officers of the nawab's government and endeavoured to attract them and others to his government "by ties of interest, until experience should render their assistance less necessary".<sup>6</sup>

By far the most serious of the administrative problems which confronted the early English Government, was to reconstitute into sizeable

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<sup>5</sup> Clive to Court, 29 Sept., 1765, I.O. Mss. Eur. E. 12, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

units of administration the districts which had disintegrated into what became known as *chaklas* and *tahsils*, each consisting of a number of the old revenue units of parganas, the size of which was determined by the extent of the influence of the "assignee" who held it. A no less difficult problem was to find able, honest and experienced men of the covenanted service precisely to ascertain the revenue resources of the districts and to superintend their administration in its totality. This was a task which, in spite of competent men being available, could not be accomplished so long as private individuals like zamindars and farmers of revenue as well as public officers continued arrogating to themselves functions which in law did not belong to them. The task was both political and administrative in nature. It involved change in the political constitution of the English Company as well as a re-organization of administration in the districts on a uniform principle. On account of its lead in territorial acquisition Bengal set the norm in the re-organization of the district administration, and the other parts of India adopted it with such modifications as their local conditions required.

#### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

##### *Appointment of Supervisors*

Administratively speaking, the Company's first experiment in Bengal was the appointment of covenanted servants as Supervisors. In 1769-70 they were appointed to the several existing districts of the diwani provinces. In addition to the general history of the landholders and ancient rulers of the district under their charge, they were required under their instrument of instructions to report on "the state, produce and capacity of the lands"; on "the amount of revenues, the cesses, or arbitrary taxes, and of all demands whatsoever which are made on the rayots either by government, zamindars or collectors (amils), with the manner of collecting them, and the gradual rise of every new impost". They were likewise asked to look into the state of justice and to summon Qazis and Brahmans to ascertain whether they possessed any *sanad* from Government authorizing them to administer it. They were also to see that native judges maintained proper registers of cases tried and settled by them. Their instrument of instructions made it clear that within the limits of their charge they were not only to be concerned with the collections, but to have a general knowledge of all that affected the districts.<sup>7</sup> The plan of supervision, however,

<sup>7</sup> See H. Verelst, *View of the Rise, Progress, and Present state of the English Government in Bengal*, London, 1772, appx. pp. 227-39.

failed. The Supervisors were for the most part untrained and inexperienced. And although some of them interposed their authority to ensure justice, their interposition remained ineffective because their powers were limited to reporting and their functions were in the main exploratory. Besides, their appointment excited the suspicion of the zamindars, farmers and native officers of revenue and justice who would not readily lend their co-operation except on their own terms.

### *Creation of the Office of the Collector*

It was in these circumstances that in a letter of August 28, 1771, the Court of Directors expressed its determination to "stand forth as diwan" and to take over through the agency of the Company's covenanted servants the entire executive management of the public revenues. Accordingly, Warren Hastings and his Council at Fort William issued on May 11, 1772, a general proclamation, and three days later nominated the Supervisors as Collectors, vesting them with the executive powers of management and collection of revenue in addition to the previous duties of enquiry and investigation. The office of the Collector of today was thus for the first time created by the Government of Warren Hastings on May 14, 1772.

The functions attached to the office of Collector, however, exceeded those of his Mughal counterpart, the Amalguzar. The jurisdiction of the former extended not only to cases arising from revenue or rent, but also to the title suits which under the Mughal system fell to the competence of separate judicial officers. The European Collector actually presided in each of the Company's civil courts established in the districts reconstituted in 1772. A criminal court was likewise established in every reconstituted district, and although criminal matters still formed no part of the Company's government, the administration of criminal justice became subject to Collector's supervision and control. He was to see that justice was impartially administered according to the evidence examined and the proofs exhibited in the course of trial.

### *Recall of Collectors*

A reaction soon set in against the appointment of Collectors authorized as representatives of Government to make the settlement with any body on such terms as the Government itself dictated. It affected the interest specially of such of the zamindars as were real proprietors; for any rejection of the terms given to them by a Collector resulted in the loss of their zamindari settled with the highest bidder. The zamindars as a class became disaffected. The Court of Directors,

on the other hand, was guided by motives of commercial gains which they found impaired by a sudden increase in civil expenditure without a corresponding increase in the collections.<sup>8</sup> In 1773, it, therefore, ordered the recall of Collectors from the districts,<sup>9</sup> although instead of being removed to Calcutta, they were allowed to remain at the headquarters of six of the divisions into which the districts of the diwani provinces were grouped, with a provincial council established at each of these headquarters. Administrative considerations, however, dictated the expediency of gradually removing one district after another from the control of the provincial councils and placing them under the control of separate Collectors exercising both revenue and judicial powers, especially in the frontier districts. In 1781 the provincial councils themselves were abolished and the collections centralized at Calcutta in a Committee of Revenue which in 1786 was re-organized as the Board of Revenue. The districts had by 1781 thus come to be administered by the Company's Collectors. But the confusion of policy created by their recall in 1773 remained. In March, 1780, Warren Hastings had, in the meantime, drawn a line of distinction between the two types of civil suits arising from two distinct sources of revenue as well as real and personal property, the former being left to Collector while the latter entrusted to separate Civil Judges of the covenanted service. The Faujdars were finally abolished in 1781 and their duties and powers transferred to the covenanted English Magistrates acting primarily as Judges of Civil Courts first established in 1780. But the question as to who should preside over the administration of the districts and what should be his powers remained unsettled.

In his administrative reforms Warren Hastings had ruled out innovations. He believed that the established forms of the diwani provinces were not only best calculated to expedite the despatch of business, but also best adapted to the understandings of the people. His aim was generally to maintain the prevailing and known forms of administration and to deviate from them only where they had been deprived of effectiveness.<sup>10</sup> It was the prevailing forms as well as his desire to impart effectiveness that led him to combine powers in the office of Collector, a principle of district administration which the Bengal Government adopted in 1786-87 after a considerable period of trial and error. An important cause of this deviation from the Mughal constitution was the commercial character of the company with its emphasis on the civil authority being invested with control over the

<sup>8</sup> See 3rd Report from the Committee of Secrecy (1773), Parl. Branch Coll. 7, p. 61; also B. B. Misra, *Central Administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834*, Manchester, 1959, p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> I. O. Home Misc. 351, p. 15 (7 April, 1773).

<sup>10</sup> See 7th Rep. Committee of Secrecy (1773), p. 346a.

military. It also proceeded from the policy of the state increasingly to interpose through its official agency and to reduce the extent of private participation in the collection and management of the public revenues as well in the administration of justice. The encroachment of law upon custom had thus begun and with it the need for centralization.

The person who came out openly in support of combining powers in the office of Collector was John Shore, a hard working, honest and able Bengal civilian who later became the first President of the Board of Revenue and then rose to the position of Governor-General in 1793. In a note of January 13, 1782, Shore recommended that the system of 1772 should be restored and that a Company's covenanted servant should be appointed to each district as Collector exercising both revenue and judicial functions. He was guided in his recommendations by two main considerations, administrative and political. Administratively speaking, Shore had no confidence in the ability and honesty of the indigenous agency through which revenue accounts passed in the several districts. "The simplest matters of fact", he complained "are designedly covered with a veil through which no human understanding can penetrate."<sup>11</sup> Politically, the integration of the Company's territories, especially in the outlying parts of the country, was of paramount importance. "It is the part of a wise government", Shore pointed out, "to provide against all contingencies. We ought not therefore to rely upon the peaceable nature of the natives or on a supposed attachment to us, but establish such a control in all parts of the country that in case of a foreign invasion...or of the inroads of an eastern enemy or in the event of a rebellion in any of our provinces the payment of the revenues may not be suspended, illicit correspondence or dangerous confederacies may be checked and the contagion of rebellion stifled".<sup>12</sup> Shore thus thought in terms of Collector being invested with such duties and powers as were under the Mughals exercised by the Amalguzar, the Faujdar and the officers of justice taken together. He was to be the sole governor of the district, locally responsible for the execution of Government policy in all its details.

The continuance of war with the country powers, the confusion caused by the earlier orders of the Court of Directors, and the uncertainty of Hastings' own tenure of office, however, delayed the whole thing, and Shore's plan remained in a state of proposal until 1786-87 when both the magistracy and the duties of Civil Judge were united in the office of Collector. The Court of Directors now justified this

<sup>11</sup> I. O. Bengal Rev. Cons., 18 May, 1785, p. 400.

<sup>12</sup> I. O. Bengal Rev. Cons., 18 May, 1785, pp. 393-94.

combination of powers on the ground of simplicity, efficiency and speed. Here again the prevailing practice of the provinces supplied the cue, not the original constitution of the Mughal government where, as said before, the interference of law was minimal and the chief executive officer of the district had no revenue or judicial function.

### *Reduction in the Collector's Powers*

The immediate cause which had led Shore to recommend a concentration of powers in the office of Collector was, basically speaking, the unsettled state of land revenue. It was realized that the revenue resources of the districts could not be ascertained except by investing Collector with sufficient powers to carry on investigation even against any combination of zamindars. But the position changed under Cornwallis in 1793, when from political and other motives, he settled the land revenue in perpetuity with them or persons of their description without ascertaining the rights of the several classes engaged in agriculture. The case for a union of functions lost much of its force; for the exigencies of adjusting disputed claims which might otherwise have necessitated such union during the progress of settlement operations, ceased to exist where the entire responsibility of determining rights to property was on the principle of separation of powers entrusted to regular civil courts, Collector being considered directly or indirectly involved as a party representing Government in revenue matters. The reforms of 1793 in fact divested Collector of even that part of the judicial authority which proceeded from his connection with the control and management of the revenue. The determination of both revenue and title suits was transferred to the Civil Judge of the district who was also to act as magistrate. Instead of Collector, the Judge-Magistrate thus became the chief executive officer of the district.

### *Revision of the Cornwallis System*

Though consistent with the strict principles of equity and justice, the system established in 1793 was a failure in practice. The permanent settlement resulted in a considerable increase of litigation; for it necessitated resort to judicial action as the only means to have the respective rights of zamindars and tenants duly ascertained. The transfer of revenue suits to judges added to their burden still more. Then came the difficulties arising from the incompatible union of the magistracy in their own office. "The duties of judge", wrote the Marquis of Hastings, "necessarily confine him to his court house. The duties of a magistrate can perhaps never be so properly executed as while he is engaged in a personal visit to every part of the district. The administration of civil justice requires the patient and cool

deliberation of mature age. The preservation of the peace of a district calls for all the active energy of early youth. A judge should perhaps be abstracted from all private converse with the natives. A magistrate must maintain a most intimate communication with them and carry his researches into the most inmost recesses of their privacy. Justice should be blind, but police requires the eyes of Argus."<sup>13</sup> The combination of these two diverse functions in the same person thus prejudiced the administration of both. It, therefore, necessitated by 1812 the restoration of certain old powers of Collector and the appointment of separate magistrates and joint magistrates, vested with judicial authority to punish crimes within certain limits, a function which did not belong to their Mughal predecessor, the Faujdar.

The urgency of revising Cornwallis' system by uniting the magistracy with the office of Collector and investing the latter with a measure of judicial authority in revenue matters, however, arose in the ceded and conquered districts of the North-Western Provinces, where in the very first decade of their acquisition the lands of a numerous class of joint village proprietors had been alienated by the collusive conduct of revenue farmers and court officials. They did it by illegal manipulations of fictitious balances and public sales to meet fraudulent claims of revenue. All these happened because the Collector had been deprived of his opportunity of mass contact previously maintained through the exercise of judicial authority in the determination of revenue suits. Several of the case of fraudulent transfers and the consequent ruin of a large number of joint proprietors come to light in the course of a local enquiry made by Holt Mackenzie, a leading Bengal Civilian. On the basis of his recommendations the idea of a permanent settlement of the Bengal type was finally rejected and a Special Commission was constituted under Regulation I of 1821, to investigate all cases of abusive alienations as well as to determine suits for the recovery of the lands so alienated during 1801-10. This was an open challenge to the principle on which the Code of 1793 had been founded. The Judges of the Sadar Court naturally opposed the measure, for they took a purely legal view of the whole thing, and the social injustice arising from a large-scale alienation of landed property formed no part of their consideration. The Government, however, enacted the measure in spite of that opposition, and finally decided to form the settlement only for a period, and that too after determining the respective rights of all such classes as engaged in agriculture. Consistently with this change in land policy, the Government passed at the instance of Holt Mackenzie himself a resolution on August 1, 1822. It was designed to enable Collector to conduct his enquiries on the

<sup>13</sup> *Minute of the Marquis of Hastings*, 2 Oct., 1815, para. 96.

spot, "village by village, proceeding upwards from the persons who till the ground to the Government itself, noticing distinctly all the classes who share in the produce or rent of the land, the extent of the interest of each, and the nature of the title by which it is held."<sup>14</sup>

To secure the execution of this policy the Governor-General in Council enacted Regulation VII of 1822 which restored on a wide scale the judicial authority of Collector and other revenue officers to hear and determine suits, claims and actions arising in the course of settlement proceedings.<sup>15</sup> Their decision in such cases was to remain in force so long as it was not proved to be wrong on a regular suit brought to determine the question of title in a civil court. Lord William Bentinck created under Regulation IX of 1833 a cadre of Deputy Collectors to assist the Collector in the execution of this new policy.

As for the magistracy, it remained tagged on to the office of Civil Judge, for the influence of Cornwallis had become so deep-rooted that any radical deviation from the basic principle of his system was more or less regarded as an act of heresy. The person who effectually acted against that tradition was again Holt Mackenzie himself. As a member of the Civil Finance Committee appointed by Lord Bentinck in 1828 to suggest administrative reforms Mackenzie recorded a minute on October 1, 1830, where he asked the Government to provide in the administration of the districts "the completest possible unity of purpose throughout all the departments, and in all their grades", by making the office of Collector "a sufficiently strong connecting link", an object which he wished to accomplish by uniting in that office magisterial, revenue and certain limited judicial functions. "In a word", he said, "to disjoin the several parts of government in a country, which is not self-governed, is like placing the different members of the body in charge of different physicians, severally acting with their respective limbs according to individual theory, without reference to the treatment of other parts, and each holding in his hand the power of destroying life, but helpless to save, from the blunders of his brethren."<sup>16</sup>

Mackenzie thus looked upon district administration as a unified whole and Collector as its chief controller, especially in the unsettled districts where any act of indiscretion on the part of Government servants had the tendency most seriously to affect the interest of society, touching at every point the properties and institutions of the people. What he wanted, therefore, was that responsibility for the administration of the district as a whole must vest with one officer, the Collector

<sup>14</sup> I. O. Bengal Rev. Cons. 1 Aug. 1822, No. 64., para. 20.

<sup>15</sup> See SS. 11-18, Reg. VII, 1822.

<sup>16</sup> Parl. Papers, House of Lords, No. 445 of 1853, p. 136, paras. 6-7.

whose business it should be to ensure "unity of action in the different branches", not the execution of details in any one of them; for, as he clearly pointed out, "real control is not exercised through a busy intermeddling with the details of individual cases, and the efficiency of a ruler is to be measured not by what he does, but by what he causes to be done".<sup>17</sup>

From a close perusal of the whole of his minute it appears that although there were financial reasons also to justify his proposed union of the magistracy with the office of Collector, Mackenzie's main emphasis was to secure by a combination of powers unity of purpose and action which he considered necessary to secure the execution of the State's extended function of defining and recording the rights and obligations of agricultural classes. It is true that his proposed combination of powers was based on the assumption that "all the civil servants of the Company are or will be men of fair capacity and character, fully qualified to discharge, after a sufficient course of service, the duties which attach to the Collectors and Magistrates of districts".<sup>18</sup> But that was altogether a different question. It involved problems of education and training of civil servants for which adequate provision was soon to be made by a Parliamentary Act. His emphasis on increasing the powers of Collector remained; for he clearly pointed out that if a district happened to be too large or populous for the Collector-Magistrate to manage, it was necessary that the district should be divided, not that his functions should be separated. Bentinck's reforms of 1831 proceeded on this principle. The magistracy was united with the office of Collector who once again became the chief administrator of the district.<sup>19</sup>

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The whole trend of administrative reforms in the course of about twenty-five years prior to 1833 was in fact to strengthen the office of Collector on one hand and to provide for the inspection of that office in the exercise of its extended powers on the other. It was precisely for a proper discharge of the latter function of inspection that the Governor-General in Council appointed under Regulation I of 1829 Divisional Commissioners, so that they might watch the conduct of Collectors locally within a limited jurisdiction of four to five districts. In fact, the extension of the Collector's responsibility and the

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137, para. 9.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135, para. 3.

<sup>19</sup> The office of Magistrate was first transferred to Collector in 1823 in three of the frontier districts of Rangpur, Ramgarh and Jangal Mahals (See I.O. Home Misc. 530, pp. 771-4). The arrangement extended to several other districts in 1831 (See Judicial letter from Bengal, 6 Sept., 1831, v, pp. 130-1).

provision for the local inspection of the district offices both proceeded from the increasing activity of the state to secure private property on one hand and to promote the revenue resources of Government on the other.

Madras made no provision for Divisional Commissioners. The Presidency was divided into districts, each under a Collector who was responsible immediately to a Board of Revenue constituted in 1786. As the average size of the districts in Madras was larger than elsewhere, the Collectors there were in 1792 assigned Covenanted Assistants, with fixed territorial jurisdiction being attached to them under the designation of Head Assistant or Sub-Collector. These jurisdictions consisted of taluks, each taluk being under an Indian revenue officer called tahsildar.

The duties, powers and codes of conduct of Collector were laid down by the Madras Regulation I of 1803, modelled more or less on the same lines as the Bengal Regulation II of 1793, divesting the Collector of his judicial powers and uniting the magistracy with the office of Civil Judge. But as the main system of land revenue in Madras was raiyatwari, the Collector there exercised a degree of executive authority and the Board of Revenue a degree of supervision and control which their counterparts in the Lower Provinces of Bengal hardly ever did. Under the influence of Sir Thomas Munro, a great supporter of the raiyatwari system, the Governor-in-Council re-invested village officials with civil criminal jurisdiction and restored to Collectors their magisterial powers and supervision over the police. The separation of the magistracy and police from the office of Civil Judge and their reunion with the office of Collector was by far the most important of the reforms effected in 1816, and although Bengal had under Hastings led the way, it was Munro who first shook the foundation of the Cornwallis system and influenced the course of administrative reforms in the districts of the North Western Provinces.

In Bombay, the British system of district administration was organized on the final defeat of the Marathas in 1818. Under the Marathas a district constituted the charge of an officer called mamlatdar. What the English did in 1818 was to reconstitute the jurisdictions of a number of mamlatdars into what they called a zillah and placed each such zillah under the charge of a European Collector who was to be a covenanted civil servant. This was the arrangement introduced in Bombay by Mountstuart Elphinstone who was the first to form the settlement of the Deccan and Khandesh. By placing a European Collector over a number of mamlatdars Elphinstone preserved, from political motives, the practice of the Maratha government without impairing the authority of the British. The mamlatdar became reduced to the position of a

tahsildar and his jurisdiction to that of a taluk of Madras. The system so introduced in Bombay differed but little from that of Bengal except that the former created no Board of Revenue and that its Collector exercised in the course of his raiyatwari settlement a measure of executive and judicial authority which his counterpart in the Lower Provinces of Bengal never possessed. In 1827, the Bombay Code defined the duties and powers of Collector in respect of assessment and collection; invested him with the powers of magistrate, and in addition authorized him to decide certain civil suits and to try claims of exemption from the payment of land revenue.

By 1833, therefore, the Collector had in most cases become magistrate also. In the exercise of his magisterial and criminal judicial function his determinations were, however, subject to review by the Sessions Court established in 1831-32. Lord Auckland obtained in 1837 the sanction of the Court of Directors gradually to separate the magistracy from the office of Collector, the object being to enable the Collectors in the unsettled districts to concentrate on the completion of the survey and settlement operations. Its result, however, was that on account of a Magistrate's salary being lower than that of a Collector the magistracy fell into the hands of junior civil servants. This affected law and order and impaired the quality of criminal justice. Legislative provisions were made in 1843 for the appointment of uncovenanted Deputy Magistrates. But that did not improve the situation. In the light of the experiences of the Mutiny the offices of Magistrate and Collector were reunited on a general plan throughout the country in 1859. The mass contact acquired by the Collector in the management of revenue and the promotion of agriculture was considered conducive to the maintenance of law and order also. The union of the two offices so effected in Collector has, therefore, remained unchanged ever since. As District Magistrate the Collector was authorized under the Criminal Procedure Code to have control over the District Superintendent of Police. He could administer criminal justice and punish to a maximum limit of two years and a fine amounting to one thousand rupees. He could commit prisoners for trial to the Sessions Court and call for any of the criminal files from the court of another Magistrate. In short, he became the guardian of law and order in the district.

In the non-regulation province like the Punjab, for instance, the position of Collector was even much stronger. Each of its districts was placed under an executive officer called Deputy Commissioner, the counterpart of Collector in the regulation provinces. He combined in his office not only revenue and magisterial functions, but the duties of civil as well as criminal judge also. He exercised these powers

without his action being subject to any appeal to a separate judiciary in the district.

THE COLLECTOR UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN  
(1) Period: 1858-1919

*New Tasks*

The period of fifty years that followed the Indian Mutiny was one of peace, and the problems of Collector arose not from internal disquiet or external invasion, but from the expansion of the State activity, such as municipal and local bodies, roads and railways, commerce and industry, education and statistics, agriculture and co-operation, cadastral surveys and census operations, epidemics and famine reliefs. Of these, the exigencies of recurrent famine specially threw up a serious challenge. It called for a review of the executive administration, more especially of the districts, to see if the office of Collector could deliver the goods without any radical modification of structure and statutory function.

Of the provinces of India, Bengal alone was found wanting in reliable means of contact with the rural population. In between the districts and villages there were in Madras and Bombay smaller units of executive administration called taluks, administered respectively by a tahsildar and mamlatdar. There were corresponding units of revenue jurisdiction called tahsils in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, each placed under a tahsildar who, like his counterpart in Madras and Bombay, had grown within the framework of indigenous institutions, performing revenue, magisterial and police duties and acting as a local executive agency of Collector at the district headquarters. There was no such subordinate revenue jurisdiction in Bengal. There were police darogas created by Cornwallis in 1792 in place of zamindars. But they were mere police officers. They had no revenue duties to perform, nor could they act as Magistrate exercising a certain degree of executive and judicial function. Above all, police darogas were a British creation. They had not grown indigenously.

The Police Committee appointed by the Governor of Bengal, under W.W. Bird, had in its report of 1838, suggested the creation of subordinate magisterial jurisdictions to bring the protective machinery of Government nearer to the people.<sup>20</sup> The proposed sub-divisional magistracies were to be placed under junior covenanted servants as Assistant Magistrates, or under uncovenanted Deputy Magistrates

<sup>20</sup> See, *Report of the Bengal Police Committee*, 18 Aug. 1838 (Legislative Proceedings, 1 July, 1842, No. 5).

specially created for the purpose, or, according to a suggestion of the Finance Committee (1842), under Deputy Collectors vested with magisterial powers. The Government finally decided under Act XV of 1843, to create Deputy Magistrates, and on the receipt of the orders of the Court of Directors in 1844<sup>21</sup> actually sanctioned on an experimental basis the creation of sixteen sub-divisional offices in Bengal, each consisting of four to five thanas.<sup>22</sup> By 1856 the number increased to thirty-three. But as this was still too small a number to secure any effective rural administration, F. J. Halliday, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, proposed to raise that number to a hundred. But his proposal remained shelved for a time; for it was feared that the extension of the sub-divisional system might be a potential danger to the authority of the District Officer—the keynote of the district system. Then came the Police Act of 1861 which actually reduced his authority by constituting the police into a separate department, distinct from the magistracy. The net result was that by 1866, the year of the Orissa famine, the Bengal sub-divisions remained in size twice as big as the tahsils or taluks. And above all, their function was purely magisterial. It did not extend to revenue, the real means of contact with the people.

Another serious drawback in the administration of Bengal was that in spite of the suggestions made by Holt Mackenzie in 1830 the Collector-Magistrate had continued to be immediately responsible for the administration of other departments operating in the district under the control of their departmental chiefs at the provincial headquarters. All these departmental chiefs, such as the Inspectors-General of several departments and the Director of Public Instruction, acted as so many masters of Collector, with the Divisional Commissioner functioning as their local superintending authority. The District Officers were in fact acting as “drudges of so many departments and masters of none”. Even so, they would not like to part with any of these.

Then there used to be frequent transfers arising from the promotion of an executive officer from Collector to Judge, from Judge to Commissioner, and so backwards and forwards between executive and judicial departments, in a way which seriously affected efficiency and rendered long experience in any department almost impossible.<sup>23</sup> *The Bengal Administration Report* (1871-72) thus pointed out that only six Collectors in the whole of the regulation province of Bengal had been in charge of their respective districts for full two years, and two out of these six for four years.

<sup>21</sup> Legislative Letter from the Court of Directors, No. 20, 21 Aug., 1844.

<sup>22</sup> Home (Judicial) Progs. 15 Feb., 1845, Nos. 9-11.

<sup>23</sup> See Home (Pub.) Cons., March 28, 1868, No. 49, p. 87.

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specially created for the purpose, or, according to a suggestion of the Finance Committee (1842), under Deputy Collectors vested with magisterial powers. The Government finally decided under Act XV of 1843, to create Deputy Magistrates, and on the receipt of the orders of the Court of Directors in 1844<sup>21</sup> actually sanctioned on an experimental basis the creation of sixteen sub-divisional offices in Bengal, each consisting of four to five thanas.<sup>22</sup> By 1856 the number increased to thirty-three. But as this was still too small a number to secure any effective rural administration, F. J. Halliday, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, proposed to raise that number to a hundred. But his proposal remained shelved for a time; for it was feared that the extension of the sub-divisional system might be a potential danger to the authority of the District Officer—the keynote of the district system. Then came the Police Act of 1861 which actually reduced his authority by constituting the police into a separate department, distinct from the magistracy. The net result was that by 1866, the year of the Orissa famine, the Bengal sub-divisions remained in size twice as big as the tahsils or taluks. And above all, their function was purely magisterial. It did not extend to revenue, the real means of contact with the people.

Another serious drawback in the administration of Bengal was that in spite of the suggestions made by Holt Mackenzie in 1830 the Collector-Magistrate had continued to be immediately responsible for the administration of other departments operating in the district under the control of their departmental chiefs at the provincial headquarters. All these departmental chiefs, such as the Inspectors-General of several departments and the Director of Public Instruction, acted as so many masters of Collector, with the Divisional Commissioner functioning as their local superintending authority. The District Officers were in fact acting as “drudges of so many departments and masters of none”. Even so, they would not like to part with any of these.

Then there used to be frequent transfers arising from the promotion of an executive officer from Collector to Judge, from Judge to Commissioner, and so backwards and forwards between executive and judicial departments, in a way which seriously affected efficiency and rendered long experience in any department almost impossible.<sup>23</sup> *The Bengal Administration Report* (1871-72) thus pointed out that only six Collectors in the whole of the regulation province of Bengal had been in charge of their respective districts for full two years, and two out of these six for four years.

<sup>21</sup> Legislative Letter from the Court of Directors, No. 20, 21 Aug., 1844.

<sup>22</sup> Home (Judicial) Progs. 15 Feb., 1845, Nos. 9-11.

<sup>23</sup> See Home (Pub.) Cons., March 28, 1868, No. 49, p. 87.

*Campbell's Reforms*

These defects were brought to light by the Orissa Famine Commission (1866-68), with Sir George Campbell, an eminent civil servant, as its Chairman. As the Chairman of the Commission Campbell made a number of recommendations which he himself implemented as the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1872-73. He increased the number of sub-divisions, placed each of them under a covenanted servant or Deputy Magistrate, with extended authority and function, and created a new subordinate cadre of Sub-Deputy Collector who like a tahsildar might be deputed to rural areas for a variety of executive purposes. To enable civil servants to acquire experience of specialized departments, Campbell introduced what he called the system of Parallel Lines of Promotion under which a civil servant instead of being almost of necessity changed from the executive to the judicial line and *vice versa* at every frequently recurring step of promotion was to be invited after some years' service to choose one line or the other, and having once chosen was ordinarily to be kept to that line. This was a principle of administrative organization which applied to the separation of the judicial branch of the civil service; but it was so flexible that its operation might, if necessary, be extended to other branches where with appropriate education and training a civil servant could acquire equal proficiency required in the conduct of his business. So far as Collector's relations with "special departments" were concerned, Campbell made the chiefs of those departments the "agents and inspectors on the part of the Government, bound to aid, counsel and guide local officers, each in his own department, without exercising absolute authority over them, and to criticize, collate and compare local facts for the information and guidance of the Government". The Collector, on the other hand, was to exercise as the head of the district "the general controlling authority over all departments in each district".<sup>24</sup> The object of this arrangement was to free the District Officer from the departmental responsibilities vested now in their separate local officers, and to limit his function to general administration and control over the various departments. Campbell's aim was in fact to separate the technical functions of the Government from the general and yet to vest in the generalist a degree of controlling authority necessary for co-ordination and unity of action. The Collector continued to report on local departments. But his report was to be of a general nature indicating whether or not local departments functioned according to Government policy.

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<sup>24</sup> See Campbell's proposals on administrative reforms, Home (Public) Cons. 28 March, 1868, No. 149.

A question arose whether in view of the urgency of relief operations the magistracy could be divested of its criminal judicial duties. Sir J.F. Stephen, the Law Member of the Government of India, tried to answer the question in a minute he recorded on the administration of justice at the time Sir George Campbell was introducing his reforms to impart speed and efficiency in the execution of the extended and positive functions of the State. Though inclined to consider the expediency of relieving such Magistrates of judicial duties as engaged in relief operations, Stephen, like Campbell, strongly held that so far as the Collector was concerned, he must under all circumstances remain vested with all the powers of Magistrate, for he was for all practical purposes "the Government" within the limits of his charge, and he must continue to be so through the exercise of his criminal jurisdiction, "the most distinctive and most easily and generally recognized mark of sovereign power".<sup>25</sup>

#### *Famine Commission's Views*

The Indian Famine Commission (1880) which looked into the state of rural administration, held a similar view about the office of Collector. It pointed out that a system which was best suited to the requirements of the country in ordinary times might as well "conduce to efficiency in times of distress". What was needed was to supplement it "by such special aid as the temporary urgency of each case may demand", e.g., the extension of the sub-divisional system, tours in rural areas for at least four months a year, and promotion on the basis of pure merit and achievement. But the sub-division of work arising from increase in the load of public business should on no account be allowed to withdraw from Collector that general control which "invests him in the eyes of the people with the position of the local head of the civil government. His time should not be occupied with the details of magisterial, police, revenue, fiscal, or any other business to a degree which will deter him from watching the effect produced on the people by the operations of all the departments of Government. The Collector...should administer details chiefly through his assistants".<sup>26</sup>

Historically, therefore, the Collector, with the exception of certain breaks in the earlier period, did continue to be in the sole executive charge of the district. From the Eighteen Eighties onwards there gradually developed a socio-political force which acted in two main directions, administrative and political, expressing itself in the form of a growing Indian demand for the separation of the executive and

<sup>25</sup> *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, I.O. Records Dept. No. 10001 (89), pp. 29-30.

<sup>26</sup> *See, Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880*, chap. ii, pp. 101-4.

criminal judicial functions on one hand and for the extension of self-governing institutions on the other. This tended to weaken the powers of Collector, or in fact, of the bureaucracy as a whole who believed that while the union of functions was necessary for a society susceptible to sudden violence from caste and religious motivations, the extent of political progress must be in keeping with the degree of educational advancement. Such eminent Home Secretaries as Hewitt, Ibbetson and Risley, who served under Lord Curzon, followed the arguments of Sir James Stephen and rejected after a thorough examination the demand for the separation of executive and judicial functions. The private collections of the Viceroys and the Secretaries of State, on the other hand, contain several letters indicating that although able, honest and hard working, the bureaucracy as a class failed signally to look out of the window and to scan the political weather which changed from time to time according to the emergence of new forces in society. There was in fact imbalance noticeable on both sides. While the bureaucracy emphasized administrative efficiency, the Indian leadership concentrated on political demand. Dyarchy was in these circumstances of mutual suspicion introduced in 1921, with the centre of political gravity being slowly shifted in favour of the latter.

## (2) Period : 1919-47

### *Problems of Democratic Confrontation*

The Collector who came to preside over district administration during the period had new problems to face. With the growth of revolutionary and revivalist nationalism political acts of violence became more and more broad-based, and in spite of the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi to bridge the traditional gap between Hindus and Muhammadans there began in the wake of the khilafat and the non-co-operation movements a period of communal disturbances that broke all previous records. There appeared at the same time a new economic force arising from the growth of industrial workers and landless peasants. It was a secular force, based on the Marxist concept of class war and led in the beginning by the Communists who emerged as a threat to the political authority established by law in the country. Then there was the prospect of a responsible self government in India held out for the first time by the famous policy statement of August 20, 1917, and the subsequent constitutional progress made in keeping with that statement. This acted in two ways. In the first place, it caused awakening among the socially depressed and backward classes, which expressed itself in caste rivalry and occasional caste riots. Secondly, the ruling bureaucracy tended to become racially oriented; for the policy of progressive Indianization of the Civil Service produced a

sense of insecurity among European members who formed a separate Association of their own, and vied with the Association of the Indian members of the superior services. Professionalism was thus being recast into racism. A cumulative effect of all these was to weaken the legal foundations of authority. For the popular forces were emerging as an alternative to British Government and dislocating loyalties without themselves being in law yet recognized as entitled the exercise of sovereign power.

The most serious of the preoccupations of the Collector-Magistrate during this period was the question of law and order. He was naturally armed with new powers either in the form of legislative amendments of the Cr. P. C., or of the Ordinances and the Defence of India Rules.

Preoccupations with the problems of political crimes and communal disturbances operated as a serious check to the progress of the "nation building" departments transferred for the first time to the control of Indian Ministers under the Government of India Act (1919). But there were other factors which explained why the I.C.S. men who had the charge of the districts and were for the most part Europeans in the earlier part of this period, remained by and large indifferent to the administration of such "transferred" subjects as education and agriculture, medical and public health, industry and local self-government. It is not that they were under the Act not responsible for the administration of these departments. They were to look after both the "reserved" and the "transferred" subjects. What happened was that in the administration of the latter, the knowledge of experienced European officers went unutilized. The Reports of the Local Governments on the working of the Reformed Constitution (1924) pointed out that hitherto the motive power which made progress possible came from above, especially from the European officers. But the Reforms Scheme meant definitely that this was to cease and that the impulse to improvement, if it came at all, must come from the educated Indian, particularly his elected representative and the Minister who, however, did not have the knowledge or experience to enable him to use his opportunities to the fullest extent. In view of the constant political agitation on a racial basis the European member of Civil Service lost much of his incentive to constructive effort, more especially when he had no assurance that what he did for the improvement of development departments would not be reversed. Moreover, he had no longer the same powers to carry through improvements. Before any of his schemes could be accepted he was now required to convince different sets of critics in the Legislative Council, guided not by the quality of the schemes submitted for approval, but by considerations of caste

and group interests in the Council. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, for instance, complained that this tendency was specially marked in the Settlement Department, and that so far as the Local Self-Government was concerned, the District Officer was practically excluded after the introduction of the Reforms.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, in making appointments, a popular Ministry was for the most part guided by considerations of caste and individual interest, not of merit and efficiency. This generally led to caste and religious rivalry. While this developed between Bhumihars and Kayasthas in Bihar, it went on between Brahmans and non-Brahmans in Madras and Bombay, and between Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal and the Punjab. The exercise of patronage was naturally vitiated. These factors contributed to corruption, delay and inefficiency in the administration of the self-governing institutions.<sup>28</sup> The Collector could not help it. He remained a passive onlooker.

After the passing of the Government of India Act (1935), the position of Collector perhaps became worse; for the *Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee* (1944-45) said, "the present position is, in our judgement, thoroughly unsatisfactory, both from the point of view of the District Officer himself as well as from the point of view of efficiency of the Government machine and the welfare of the people in the District.... He is expected to see that nothing goes wrong in his District, but he has little power outside the Magistrate and Collector field to see that things go right.... He can cajole and persuade: he cannot compel. He is regarded as responsible for stimulating the activities of the officers of other Departments, but he has no real control over them, and, though they are under an obligation to keep him informed of their activities, the extent to which this obligation is discharged depends in most cases on the personal factor."<sup>29</sup>

There was another handicap, especially in Bengal where for a century and a half there had been no revenue staff providing "representatives of Government right down into the villages with a hierarchy of superior staff through kanungos, naib tahsildars and tahsildars right up to the district headquarters". Circle officers, it is true, were appointed under the recommendations of the Bengal Administrative Committee (1913-1914). But their jurisdiction was large and their number small. The assistance they afforded to Collector remained, therefore,

<sup>27</sup> See, *Reports of Local Government on the Working of the Reformed Constitution*, 1924, I.O. Cmd. 2361 of 1925, p. 187, paras 26-27.

<sup>28</sup> Chief Secretary, Bombay, to Government of India, No. 4206.C, of 19 July, 1927.

See, *Views of Local Governments on the Working of the Reforms* (1927), p. 117. See also Parl. Papers, Cmd. 2361 and 2362 of 1925.

<sup>29</sup> Para. 65. Sir Archibald Rowlands was the Chairman of the Committee.

inadequate. So far as Bihar was concerned, nothing of the kind had been done before 1956 when circle officers were, for the first time, appointed on the basis of a scheme formulated by Shri L. P. Singh, then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar. They united in their office both revenue and development functions.

The weakness of Collector arose yet in another way. After the abolition of most of the All-India Services under the recommendations of the Lee Commission (1924), there rapidly grew a tendency on the part of every department to think in terms of a "Provincialized Service". This tendency bred a spirit of departmental independence prejudicial to the work of co-ordination in the district under a single administrative head. Then, with the advancement of science and technology, there arose a problem of how best to work out mechanisms and techniques of technological and administrative co-ordination. Here too the tendency was to assert an independence arising from the growth of specialization and expertness. The Rowlands Committee examined these problems in some detail and emphasized the need to restore the powers of Collector for the purposes of co-ordination. Some of the departments actually regarded this proposal as "revolutionary". In reply, the Committee quoted Campbell and pointed out that its emphasis on strengthening the hands of Collector was "merely a restoration of the position established by Sir George Campbell in 1872", a position which recognized the Collector as "the real executive chief and administrator...supreme over every one and every thing except the proceedings of the Courts of Justice".<sup>30</sup> The expediency of "restoration" and greater "delegation of authority" to the District Officer in fact arose from a policy of planned development introduced in 1944. The Committee realized that the local status and prestige of the Collector-Magistrate was by far the highest in the eyes of the people and that it was desirable to utilize this position and harness it to the work of development.<sup>31</sup>

According to the proposals of the Rowlands Committee, therefore, the functional plans of a province were to be turned into district plans by the District Officer as the undisputed head of all other Government agencies operating in the district. He was to decide *what* was to be done, *where* it was to be done, and *when* it was to be done. The technical officer, on the other hand, was to suggest *how* a particular project was to be carried out. Here too the District Officer could modify the methods of execution suggested by a technical officer, so that the development of the entire district might proceed as a combined

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 70.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 69.

operation. The technical officer was in fact to be the direct subordinate of the District Officer; but while the former was to correspond direct with the head of his own technical department, the latter was to report to the Chief Secretary on the progress of each part of a plan. Under this arrangement the administration of the beneficent welfare activities of the state was thus to remain united with the coercive functions of a police and a tax gatherer. The Committee realized that it might in future be necessary "to hive off development activities from those of law and order" and "to transfer to the separate Development Officer powers now vested in the District Officer as Magistrate and Collector".<sup>22</sup> But this did by no means signify that the Collector would then cease to be the sole representative of Government in the district.

Though historically consistent, these proposals took little or no account of people's participation in the activities of their own direct interest. The Committee suggested administrative improvements at the provincial and district levels. It dealt with the problems of personnel management, of bribery and corruption, of training and recruitment, of financial control and service conditions. But so far as the problem of securing popular participation in development activities was concerned, the Committee did not go beyond making a few suggestions about the existing municipalities, district and union boards. Of the total number of 140 pages covered by the Report the "Local Self-Governing Bodies", for instance, could claim not more than 2½ pages.

#### CONCLUSION

Democracy and specialization were in fact two of the important factors which in the post-Independence period tended to affect the power and prestige of the District Officer. The disruptive force of specialization has not yet been formally recognized. But the general pattern of reforms that proceeded in the various states, followed, by and large, the principle of the recommendations made by the Rowlands Committee in regard to the office of Collector, and in addition supplied its inadequacy by enacting measures to create the Panchayati Raj institutions as an instrument to secure popular participation in development activities. The object was to provide for political security on one hand and extended field for education and training in democracy on the other. But since a spirit of mutual understanding and psychological re-adjustment is still lacking on the part of both the District Officer and the elected representatives of society, the dichotomy

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 91.

between the two continues. While history favours the former politics lends support to the latter. If democracy is to survive, both must learn to live together in peace and harmony. The elected leaders of the community must show respect for law, while the Collector for the electorate as the ultimate source of sovereign power. If the country is to remain politically integrated, it is the Collector, not the elected head of a representative council, who is to be ultimately responsible for the administration of the district. That is a lesson which we must not omit to learn from history.



"The district officer has many executive duties, of which it is impossible to give a complete list, for they vary from place to place and from season to season"... "And when government has evolved some scheme for benefiting the people, he will be requested first to advise upon it, and in due course, to put it in operation. In times of stress, the burden of his responsibilities becomes well-nigh intolerable."... "Whatever the trouble may be, the district officer must see to it. In the old Roman formula, he must take care that the state suffer no harm. He must prevent the trouble, if he can : if he cannot, then he must alleviate it, or quell it, or pacify it. He may divide the work, but he cannot divide the responsibility. That is his."

SIR EDWARD BLUNT  
(in *The Indian Civil Service*)

## THE COLLECTOR IN THE NINETEEN SIXTIES

*A. L. Fletcher*

THE district being the basic unit of administration in India, the Collector, or Deputy Commissioner as he is better known in some States, occupies a unique position in the country's administration. The historical position of this office, its status and prestige in the eyes of the people, the concentration of powers in it and the recognition of the incumbent of this office as head of the district has enabled, and continues to enable the Government to maintain a proper grip on district administration, secure co-ordination between departments, provide adequate control and safeguards against abuses of authority by local bodies, secure the implementation of development programmes in accordance with its policies and mobilize public opinion and resources in times of need. It is generally recognized that the Collector's position was stronger and better defined in the past. The following offices were then held together :

- (1) *Deputy Commissioner*, representing the Government in the district, head of the district team of officers, exercising considerable statutory powers of supervision and control over various local bodies, subordinate offices, etc.;
- (2) *District Magistrate*, head of the police and magistracy and responsible for law and order in the district;
- (3) *Collector*, head of the district's revenue administration and responsible for the collection of all Government dues; and
- (4) *Chairman/President* of various district organizations, committees and societies connected with the promotion of sports, social welfare and other activities which should really be the concern of non-official bodies and organizations.

Thus, as far as Government was concerned, the Collector was responsible for practically everything that happened or should happen in a district. It was to him the people went in times of distress and with their grievances against all and sundry; it was to him higher authorities and Government referred all complaints and public grievances, and he was expected to deal with calamities and agitations, organize all kinds of relief measures, collect funds, mobilise manpower in war and peace and act, in every respect, as the "eyes and ears" of Government.

In pre-Independence times, when the maintenance of law and order was Government's paramount concern and people were not politically awake, it was possible for the Collector to function efficiently. The situation has altered considerably since the country attained Independence and a democratic government has replaced colonial rule.

Many factors have complicated the Collector's role, added to as well as reduced his responsibilities and, at the same time, rendered him less efficient. The time has, therefore, come for a proper appraisal of these factors and a clear definition of his place in the country's administration. This is particularly important as it is generally recognized that the Collector, burdened with a multiplicity of functions, harassed and weakened by constant interference with his authority and with physical limitations of time and energy, is no longer able to do justice to his office. He is, in many respects, an anachronism while his position is not entirely enviable.

#### THE COLLECTOR'S CONTEMPORARY ROLE

##### *The Impact of Democracy on the Collector's Position*

While the establishment of democratic government has exposed the Collector to interference from higher authorities, particularly at the instance of politicians, and to various embarrassing pressures, it has, in certain respects, strengthened his position. Previously, the Commissioner was his boss and a Collector who did not enjoy the confidence of his Commissioner had little chance of continuing in charge of a district. Today, a clever Collector can afford to ignore his Commissioner, provided he keeps his political bosses pleased. The result is that the standards of district administration have fallen, public complaints have increased, indiscipline has grown and supervision at all levels has deteriorated. Another unfortunate result is that other district officials do not look up to the Collector as they used to and departmental co-ordination is getting increasingly difficult. At the same time, the encouragement given to subordinate officials to take their grievances and requests for transfers or their cancellation direct to Ministers or to the latter through legislators, has seriously undermined the Collector's authority and promoted inefficiency and indiscipline. The Collector, the Commissioner and higher officers are often helpless spectators of this corroding process.

##### *Other Factors Affecting the Collector's Role*

The important factors which have materially affected the Collector's role and which necessitate a re-appraisal of his status and

functions are:

- (1) the separation of the judiciary from the executive;
- (2) the introduction of Panchayati Raj; and
- (3) the growing resentment of technical departments and their officers towards the Collector's dominant position in the district.

The separation of the judiciary from the executive has been effected in most States. Prior to this separation, the Collector, as District Magistrate, was :

- (a) responsible for maintenance of law and order in the district;
- (b) head of the district police;
- (c) in administrative charge of all magistrates in the district;
- (d) a court of criminal appeal; and
- (e) himself a criminal court.

As a result of separation, his responsibilities are generally reduced to those at (a) and (b) only, and he has ceased to have any control over magistrates or to exercise original or appellate powers. His position in respect of law and order has perhaps weakened, particularly in those States, including Punjab, where he is not authorized to write the annual confidential report on the District Superintendent of Police.

The introduction of Panchayati Raj is without doubt the most significant landmark in the field of independent India's administration. The three-tier system, consisting of the Panchayat at village level, Panchayat Samiti at block or taluk level, and the Zilla Parishad at district level, has been followed in all the States where this Raj has been established. The position and authority of the Collector in respect of these institutions varies from State to State as indicated below:

(a) *Power to cancel or suspend Resolutions, etc. passed by Panchayati Raj Bodies*

- (1) *Panchayats* : It vests in the Collector in the States of Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore and Punjab.

Only in Andhra Pradesh does it vest in an officer senior to the Collector, viz., the Commissioner. In all other States, except Uttar Pradesh—where it vests in the Zilla Parishad, the Sub-divisional Officer or some officer junior to the Collector, exercises this power.

- (2) *Panchayat Samitis* : In Assam, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, the power is given to the Collector. In Andhra Pradesh,

Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan (concurrently with the Collector) and West Bengal, it vests in the State Government.

- (3) *Zilla Parishad*: The State Government exercises this power in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and West Bengal; the Commissioner in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh; only in Assam and Maharashtra is the power given to the Collector.

- (b) *Administrative Powers to remove the office-bearers of Panchayati Raj Bodies*

In no State are these powers given to the Collector in respect of office-bearers of Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads. In Mysore, the Collector is competent to remove office-bearers of Panchayats, while in Rajasthan he can remove Panchas.

- (c) *Power to suspend or dissolve Panchayati Raj Bodies*

So far as Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads are concerned, in no State is the Collector competent to suspend or dissolve these bodies. As regards Panchayats, in Orissa alone can the Collector exercise this power.

- (d) *Membership/Chairmanship of Zilla Parishads*

The Collector is a member of the Zilla Parishad in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan, without the right to vote. In Madras and Mysore, he is the Chairman of the District Development Council as the Zilla Parishad is known. In Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal, he is outside the Zilla Parishad. In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the Collector, while not a member, can attend meetings of the Zilla Parishad.

- (e) *Emergency Powers*

In practically every State, Collectors have been invested with powers (i) to suspend resolutions of the Parishad or Samiti if their execution is likely to cause danger to human life, health or safety or is likely to lead to a breach of peace; and (ii) to direct the execution of certain classes of works or resolutions.

- (f) *Powers to inspect and supervise the work of Panchayati Raj Bodies*

Such powers have been given to the Collector in most States.

It is obvious from what has been stated above that notions about the Collector's position in the context of Panchayati Raj vary from State to State, that in certain States, his position has been strengthened while in others there has been some weakening. It is also clear that, in respect of this vital issue, most States are still undecided. The Maharashtra pattern, which is briefly described later, is, perhaps, the answer to this problem.

*The Attitude of Technical Departments Towards  
the Collector's Dominant Position in the District*

Technical officers, particularly of the major departments, are increasingly reluctant to accept the dominant role assigned to the Collector in district administration. This attitude is also reflected at Government level, where the heads of technical departments are increasingly vociferous in their demand that they should be the Secretaries of their departments. The attitude of the district heads of technical departments towards the Collector may also be due to one or more of the following factors:

- (1) the bossy attitude of young and inexperienced administrative officers towards their technical colleagues;
- (2) the reduced prestige of the Collector because of interference with his authority and public belittling of his position by Ministers and politicians;
- (3) the Collectors' own inability to maintain the high standards of conduct, integrity, efficiency, dedication and initiative set by their predecessors;
- (4) direct contacts between district heads and higher authorities, including Ministers; and
- (5) the difference in age and experience between the young Collector and the older and more experienced district heads of technical departments.

A relevant question that has to be considered is whether it is in the best interests of administration and development programmes to continue a system under which an administrative officer at district level is required to co-ordinate and integrate the planning and execution of schemes of various departments, particularly in the context of Panchayati Raj and the growing antipathy of technocrats to it. There are two schools of thought on the subject. One school considers an administrative head of the district essential for integrated planning and execution of schemes for the development of the district, particularly in the sphere of agricultural production, while the other

school holds the view that the necessary co-ordination and integration should be achieved at the State level and in the districts, each departmental head should be considered responsible enough to execute properly and expeditiously the programmes of his department and, should co-ordination with departments be necessary, he should himself seek it by contacting his opposite numbers in these departments. According to the latter class of protagonists, the imposition of an administrative officer over district heads of technical departments—even for the limited purpose of co-ordination, acts as an irritant and unnecessarily generates antagonisms and thereby slows down the tempo of execution.

As Panchayati Raj is an important element in district administration and development, and it has come to stay with every prospect of going from strength to strength, the issue has to be considered in this context.

The system introduced in Maharashtra appears to offer the best solution of the problem. The subject is ably discussed in Chapter 8 of the Report of the Naik Committee on Democratic Decentralization (March 15, 1961).

#### THE MAHARASHTRA MODEL

In this State, the Zilla Parishad is the strongest of the three tiers. It has a non-official Chairman. It is responsible for the entire field of local activities in rural areas and also exercises certain regulatory and administrative powers. The activities of this body encompass practically all the basic needs of the people in rural areas. While the elected body formulates policies and sanctions programmes, their implementation rests with the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad and the team of technical and other officers placed at the disposal of this body. As regards this Chief Executive Officer, the three possible alternatives given below were considered by the Naik Committee before it recommended the last of them:

- (1) The Zilla Parishad may appoint its own Chief Executive Officer by promoting one of its subordinate officers or by direct selection from outside, or it may take suitable officers from Government on deputation.
- (2) The Collector should be the Chief Executive Officer and for his normal work Government should appoint an additional Collector.
- (3) The Chief Executive Officer should be appointed by Government from senior time scale officers of the I.A.S., which means that he would be of the same rank as the Collector.

*The Collector's Position*

In this set-up, the district administration as a whole should gain in efficiency, while the Collector, as head of the Government district machinery, will be able to concentrate attention on all activities in the State sector. Further, the Collector:

- (1) will continue to be responsible for law and order in the district;
- (2) will retain the powers which he exercises in respect of local bodies to meet any emergent situations;
- (3) will continue to be the head of the district's revenue administration;
- (4) as Government's representative at the district level, will function as its "eyes and ears" and should be regarded as such by the people; and
- (5) will be in a position to furnish independent reports on any matter concerning local bodies and will also execute the directions of the Government or Commissioner issued under their controlling powers.

*The Collector and the Chief Executive Officer*

The district heads and subordinate staff of all departments concerned with rural development, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, health, minor irrigation, education, etc., are placed at the disposal of the Zilla Parishad. These heads are under the administrative control of the Chief Executive Officer. The latter is thus in charge of local development under the Zilla Parishad while the Collector is responsible to the Government for bigger State sector schemes besides exercising a large number of regulatory functions on behalf of the Government in all fields of administration. The importance of the Collector's position remains unaltered and, in fact, he is able to function more efficiently and effectively. The demarcation of functions between the two is clear and rational and they should be able to work as partners in the common endeavour towards overall development, as colleagues, under the same Commissioner's supervision. As observed by the Naik Committee, "there is no danger of the district administration becoming diluted, unco-ordinated or diffused" under this system.

## CONCLUSION

- (1) The position of the Collector in most States of the Union is not an enviable one.

(2) The time has come to define clearly his position and functions in the prevailing context of Panchayati Raj, separation of the judiciary from the executive, democratic rule and the attitudes and aspirations of his technical colleagues.

(3) The officers chosen for the office should be properly trained and oriented.

(4) There should be regular inter-change of officers between the Secretariat and the district.

(5) The Maharashtra model of Panchayati Raj and District Administration appears to offer the best solution for the problems assailing the Collector's position in other States.

(6) In the interests of the peoples' welfare and good administration, the necessary reforms should be undertaken as speedily as possible.



## THE COLLECTOR, TODAY AND TOMORROW

P. K. Dave

**E**IGHTEEN years after Independence, the Collector continues to be the principal functionary of the State Government in the district. But having said this, one must accept that for all the traditional trappings of his office, the continuity of his powers under the numerous major and minor statutes and his position in the district protocol, there have been changes of a fundamental nature in the role of the Collector and in the sphere of his power and influence both within the district and on major decisions and policy formulation at the State level. These changes are almost wholly related to two factors. The first is obviously the spread of democracy down from the national Parliament to the district, block and village panchayats with the peoples' representatives at all levels taking a progressively greater share in the making of decisions. And the second is the series of steps flowing from the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution which are "fundamental in the governance of the country".<sup>1</sup>

With the downward spread of democracy and with politicians gaining greater experience and, born out of that experience greater confidence in their capacity to administer the country, the interaction of the politician with the administrative apparatus has steadily gathered momentum. A direct result is the diminution of the authority of the Collector or, to put it differently, erosion of the finality of a Collector's decisions which marked the old concept of this office. This is quite apart from the transfer of certain functions, previously performed by the Collector, to the Panchayati Raj institutions.

The Directive Principles of State Policy have affected the Collector's role in diverse ways. The most important effect flows from the preparation of national plans of development to translate into action the various Directive Principles concerning economic and social progress. With the implementation of those programmes not only has developmental activity grown in volume and pace but it has also resulted in a proliferation of the bureaucracy in all developmental fields with separate hierarchies of their own extending downwards into the districts. The various departmental heads and their regional deputies are more easily and more frequently available for advice, guidance and support to their district officers. These hierarchies naturally wish

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<sup>1</sup> India, *The Constitution of India*, Articles 36-50.

to conduct their programmes according to their own technical requirements and tend to resent any institutional dependence on, and supervision and control of the Collector. The improvement of means of communication and telegraph and telephone facilities have assisted this centrifugal movement. The separation of the judiciary from the executive, which again is one of the Directive Principles, and which has now been implemented in the vast majority of States has also altered quite substantially the role of the Collector, who continues to be in charge of law and order and the head of the police administration but ceases to control the criminal courts.

It may be useful to describe very briefly how, notwithstanding the far-reaching changes in his role, the Collector continues to be accepted, by and large, as the principal representative of the State Government in the district. The regulatory functions of the Collector in the fields of revenue and land records administration, general administration, criminal administration and law and order have remained more or less unaffected. His agencies in the field, which extend down to the village level, give him a position of pre-eminence not only for informing himself and the Government of the happenings in the district, the feelings of people on all matters of importance, their difficulties and their grievances, but also afford to the Government a machinery that can take on, virtually at a moment's notice, any added responsibility of a widespread nature. He also commands all the basic administrative intelligence in population statistics, land records, agricultural statistics, political trends, the law and order situation and so on; he is, therefore, the one authority towards whom every other agency can turn for guidance and assistance in its own programme. The public image of the Collector as the representative of Government also continues unchanged and difficulties and grievances are freely brought to him in his daily correspondence or when he is on tour. There is still confidence in the public mind that the Collector can be depended upon for an objective appraisal of a grievance and non-partisan executive action.

## II

The Balwantrai Mehta Study Team on Community Development and National Extension Service, which in fact gave shape to the concept of Panchayati Raj envisaged the following role for the Collector:

“At the district level, the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner should be the captain of the team of officers of all development departments and should be made fully responsible for securing the necessary co-ordination and co-operation in the preparation and execution of the district plans for community development. Where he is not already empowered to make the annual

assessment of the work of the departmental officers in regard to their cooperation with other departments, their speed in work, their dealings with the people and their reputation for integrity, he should be invested with such powers."<sup>2</sup>

This theme has prevailed over the last few years and has also found expression in various forms in the State legislations for the establishment of Panchayati Raj institutions in most States. In Madras, Mysore and Himachal Pradesh, the Collector is the Chairman of the District Development Council/Zilla Parishad, and in Andhra Pradesh he is a member of the Zilla Parishad and Chairman of its Standing Committees; in Assam, the Deputy Commissioner is a member of the Mahakuma Parishad; in Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan, the Collector is a member of the Zilla Parishad with no right to vote; in Gujarat, he is an associate member, and in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, he may attend meetings of the Parishad—in all these three cases, without the right to vote; in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal, the Collector is outside the Zilla Parishad. In practically all the States, the Collector has certain emergency powers to suspend or prohibit any resolution of the Zilla Parishad and in certain States also to direct the execution of any work falling within the sphere of the Parishad which, in his opinion, is necessary for the implementation of development plans for the safety of the public, etc.<sup>3</sup>

It has to be admitted, however, that the implementation of Panchayati Raj in the various States has introduced the germ of diversity in district administration in contrast to the basic continuity and uniformity which has existed over almost a century. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, for example, apart from the emergency power to suspend the execution of any order or resolution of a Zilla Parishad, the Collector is not at all in the picture in regard to developmental administration. In Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal again, where the Zilla Parishads have not yet been established, he is likely to be outside the Parishad's activities. Planning at the national level over the first three Five Year Plans has more or less established what may be called centralized control in determining developmental policies and their execution through State Governments and the agencies subordinate to the State Government. Nation-wide activities like the Community Development programme afford an example. This necessarily implies a certain uniformity of institutions and procedures which the trend for diversity in the Panchayati Raj organization is quite likely to disturb.

<sup>2</sup> India, *Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, Vol. 1—Committee on Plan Projects, New Delhi, November, 1957 pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> India, *Panchayati Raj at a Glance* (as on 31st March 1964), Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, New Delhi, Statement 9, pp. 92-93.

## III

In recent years, there has been increasing emphasis on the role of the Collector in co-ordinating programmes of development within the district in general and the programmes for agricultural production in particular. The Working Group on Inter-Departmental and Institutional Co-ordination for Agricultural Production (Chairman—*Shri Ram Subhag Singh*, Union Minister for Agriculture)<sup>4</sup> recommended, in 1963, that the Collector should be the Chairman of the Agricultural Production Committee of the Zilla Parishad which should be responsible for co-ordination of the activities of all Departments concerned with agricultural production. The Working Group further stated that while "State heads of Departments will continue to deal directly with their district officers as at present, but in matters relating to the working of Agricultural Production Committee, they should communicate through the District Collector". The Collector, it was also proposed, should record an annual assessment of the work of District Officers of the department concerned with agricultural production.

Addressing the tenth annual meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration on October 23, 1964, the Prime Minister, *Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri*, referred to the failure of co-ordination at the district level in the following words:

"In regard to developmental activities, the difficulty at the present moment is that there is no proper co-ordination. Formerly the District Collector used to be the co-ordinating authority. He was in overall charge of every activity in the district.

"The District Collector is there, but there are also, at the district level, officers of different departments, like P.W.D., agriculture, co-operation, education, etc. There is also someone in charge of the community development work. These different units function in a district, but they are not under the direct control or supervision of the District Collector. They have their direct connections with the respective Heads of Departments sitting in the State Secretariat, or in some cases with the departmental officers at the divisional level. The result is that there is no proper coordination."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> India, *Report of the Working Group on Inter-Departmental and Institutional Co-ordination for Agricultural Production*, Ministry of Food & Agriculture, New Delhi, pp. 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> Indian Journal of Public Administration, New Delhi, Vol. X., No. 4, October-December 1964, pp. 595-596.

Addressing the National Development Council on 27th October, 1964, the Prime Minister spoke on the same subject as follows:

"All too often we think of these things at the national level and the State level, while there is neglect and even confusion at the village level. The farmer has now to deal separately with representatives of different Government agencies, each owing allegiance to a Department or Ministry at the headquarters of the State or Central Government. The co-ordinating role which the District Officer used to play in the past has been lost. I would suggest to all the Chief Ministers present here today that they should restore to the District Officer, whether he is known as the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner, the status of a co-ordinator of all governmental activities in the district and confer upon him the responsibility for guiding all the efforts undertaken on behalf of Government, Central or State. This may well mean splitting up the larger districts into more compact administrative units. This task should be faced as one of urgency. I would like to emphasise this point. Some of the districts, for instance, in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal are very large indeed. It would be advisable for better administration to break up these districts even if it means more expenditure which will be well worthwhile."

Again, in a broadcast to the Nation on October 10, 1965, the Prime Minister, emphasizing the Collector's role in the drive to attain self-sufficiency in food production, said:

"The entire team in a district has to work with a sense of dedication in the same manner as a soldier on the battle front. The District Officer should regard himself in all humility as a commander who has to organise this drive and achieve the target which must be clearly laid down. He should delegate all his routine work to some other senior officer of the district administration, reserving his own attention and energies almost exclusively for work connected with agricultural production."<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to note that whenever the country, a particular region or a district faces an emergency of any kind—war, tension caused by the belligerence of a foreign power, food scarcity, epidemics, floods and so on, the Collector immediately comes into his own and becomes the chief agency for tackling the multifarious problems that arise and is unhesitatingly give full powers of co-ordination extending to the requisitioning of all the governmental resources in the district. The Chinese attack on India in 1962, and recently, the hostilities started by

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<sup>6</sup> The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, October 11, 1965.

Pakistan have demonstrated in ample measure that the one single agency available in the field for co-ordination of governmental action on a large scale is still to be found in the Collector. The implementation of all emergency measures is invariably entrusted to the Collector and his authority to co-ordinate is not disputed.

#### IV

It would be useful to consider certain specific aspects, such as, the size of Collector's charges, workload, and the proportion of officers of the Indian Administrative Service employed as Collectors, their age, seniorities and length of service to appreciate properly the implications of the changes that have occurred so far.

The average size of a district varies from 1,454 square miles in Kerala to 6,951 square miles in Rajasthan and the average population from about 5,17,000 in Assam to over 2.5 million for the districts of Kerala. Excluding Jammu & Kashmir and the Union Territories, the size frequency of 303 districts based on the 1961 Census was as follows<sup>7</sup>:

Area below 4,000 sq. miles and population below one million.	73
Area above 4,000 sq. miles and population below one million.	28
Area below 4,000 sq. miles and population above one million.	118
Area above 4,000 sq. miles and population above one million.	84

The States which have districts of an average size of over 4500 square miles are Rajasthan, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh; and the States with districts of an average population of over 1.5 million are Kerala (2.55 m.), Bihar (2.50 m.), West Bengal (2.41 m.), Madras (2.24 m.), Andhra Pradesh (1.81 m.), and Maharashtra (1.52 m.).

The optimum size of a district charge has been a matter of considerable speculation but no fixed formula for the ideal size of a district or for the population that should be covered by it has emerged so far—it also does not seem possible to lay down a dependable norm based on these criteria. The Bengal Administrative Enquiry Committee 1944-45, made the following observation:

“104. There is clearly a limit, although there is no clear limit, to the size of a District.

<sup>7</sup> Based on a Study made in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, by Shri V. S. Bawa, I.A.S. on the “Size of Districts in Relation to Plan Implementation at the District Level” (unpublished).

“Several witnesses tendered evidence to the effect that most of the Districts in Bengal were too big for effective administration. Some of them thought a population of about a million represented as much as a District Officer could handle, others, that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million was about right. Apart from the fact that it is impracticable to redraw the boundaries of all the Districts in the Province, it is not possible to find a formula which enables one to fix with precision the ideal size of a district. So much depends on the density of the population, the topography of the area and the nature and state of its communications. If, for example, the network of roads in the Province is, as we expect, greatly extended and improved in the post-war period, Districts which are now difficult to administer satisfactorily will become perfectly manageable.”

V. L. S. Prakasa Rao and S. L. Bhatt in their study on “Planning Regions in Mysore State—The Need for Readjustment of District Boundaries” suggested that a district with an area of more than 4,000 square miles and a population of 1 million and a taluka with more than 750 square miles and a population of 150 thousand are unfavourable for efficient administration and implementation of development programmes. However, any such empirical standards are neither likely to be acceptable nor quite rational and as Prakasa Rao and Bhatt themselves admit, “the character of regional factors should be also studied before delimiting regions for planning”. As the Bengal Administrative Enquiry Committee Report has stated in the citation above, much depends on the density of the population, the topography of the area and the nature and state of its communications.

While this is so, it is apparent that the number of excessively heavy district charges has been growing as the Five Year Plans have grown in size and intensity, and State Governments have found it necessary to appoint Additional Collectors and other assistants to reduce the burden of routine administration, revenue case work, etc. on the Collectors. In fact, successive Five Year Plans have commented upon the need for strengthening the hands of the District Officer, and giving him adequate assistance to deal satisfactorily with the work of planning and development. It does not appear, however, that the mere addition of assistants would solve the problem and sooner rather than later the State Governments will have to take a comprehensive look at the manageability of each district charge.

It is difficult to make an assessment of the workload of a Collector, for much depends on the size of the charge, the intensity of administration, the level of advancement attained by the local population and indeed the character of the people—litigious, assertive, caste-ridden,

fractious and so on. In an analysis of the work of Collectors in the former Bombay State, the breakdown of a Collector's workload was shown as follows<sup>8</sup>:

	<i>Per cent of his time</i>
Correspondence .. .. .	54
Case hearings .. .. .	2
Official and other meetings .. .. .	7
Very important persons .. .. .	6
Daily visitors .. .. .	5
Touring .. .. .	26
	<hr/>
	100
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In an All India Survey of Collectors conducted by Gillespie<sup>9</sup> under the aegis of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, the all-India average of hours spent "on the job" by collectors in connection with their duties, including social activities directly connected with their official position was found to be 70 hours. The break-up of this time was as follows:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Paper work (including studying documents and reading material) .. .. .	36
Touring and Inspecting .. .. .	18
Attending public functions .. .. .	4
Attending meetings .. .. .	7
Giving and receiving instructions and information orally .. .. .	6
Receiving visitors in office hours .. .. .	11
Presiding formally at courts .. .. .	6
Time for thought and reflection .. .. .	4
Receiving dignitaries and providing red carpet treatment .. .. .	4
Job connected social activities .. .. .	3
Other .. .. .	1
	<hr/>
	100
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<sup>8</sup> Maharashtra, Report of the Reorganisation of District Revenue Offices, Government of Bombay, 1959, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> The author is grateful to the Indian Institute of Public Administration for allowing him access to some of the material of the Survey conducted by Mr. Jack Gillespie. The results of the Survey have not yet been published.

In Gillespie's survey, it was found that 20 per cent of the Collectors thought that their paper work was "excessive and burdensome" and 49 per cent thought that it was "excessive but not burdensome". Only 20 per cent thought the paper work "not excessive and not burdensome".

Even assuming that the figures of the time spent on paper work yielded by Gillespie's survey of 36 per cent are nearer the average, than the 54 per cent of the Bombay Report given earlier, it does appear that for a functionary who must make himself freely accessible to the people including the politicians of the district, who should find time to acquaint himself with developmental programmes of a large number of departments throughout the district, and spend a fair amount of time touring the villages where the bulk of the people he serves live, the time spent on paper work is excessive. It is also unlikely that an average workload of 70 hours per week, even if the figure is somewhat exaggerated, can leave the Collector time for keeping abreast of developments in the field of administration, for reflection and deep thinking on the problems of the district and for planning improvements in the district machinery. It is not strange, therefore, that Gillespie's survey indicated a large percentage of "job dissatisfaction". Thirty-four per cent of the Collectors felt that they had inadequate opportunities to advise Government on the making of major decisions which affect the district, 53 per cent characterised the opportunities to influence the sanctioning of funds for both capital and recurring expenses as "not very adequate" and "not adequate at all", and 30 per cent that opportunities to exercise control over what was happening in all the activities of Government in the district as "not very adequate" and "not adequate at all". Thirty-six per cent felt that in relation to their responsibilities the powers given to them by Government were "not very adequate" or "not adequate at all", and 44 per cent thought that the existing procedures of co-ordination among the various departments and agencies of Government were "not very adequate" or "not adequate at all".

Traditionally, the Indian Civil Service and after Independence, the Indian Administrative Service have both been considered as primarily meant for field administration and, therefore, it is somewhat loosely but frequently stated that the "career grade" of the Service is that of Collector. However, developments since Independence have been such as to change the very character of the "highest" Service in the country. As the following table will show, the proportion of senior posts which can be utilized for the posting of I.A.S. officers as Collectors has steadily fallen from 33.7 per cent in 1930, to 19 per cent in 1965. This is mainly because of the increase in the utilization of officers of the Service in

the Secretariats at the Centre and in the States from 21·9 per cent in 1930, to 54·7 per cent in 1965.

	1930*	1942@	1950	1960	1965
Number of Senior Duty Posts	764	722£	626	1297	1689
Number of Districts	257 (33·7%)	215 (29·8%)	293 (46·7%)	320 (27·4%)	321 (19·0%)
Number of officers holding posts in State Secretariats	97 (12·7%)	180 (24·9%)	145 (23·2%)	409 (31·5%)	489 (28·9%)
Number of officers holding posts in the Central Secretariat	70 (9·2%)	163 (22·6%)	103 (16·4%)	208 (16·3%)	436 (25·8%)

NOTE: Figures within brackets indicate the percentage to the total number of senior duty posts.

\* Includes Burma.

@ Undivided India.

£ This is the figure for 1940 but up to 1942 there does not appear to have been any change.

The effect of the changes noticed in the table above has been very far-reaching. Till recently, it has generally been believed that a direct recruit to the Indian Administrative Service becomes ripe for holding a district charge in the sixth year of his service. This position was reviewed in the "Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administration" by V. T. Krishnamachari<sup>10</sup> and the following pattern was recommended:

Practical training .. ..	18 months
Charge of a sub-division .. ..	18-24 months
Under Secretary to the State Government and deputy to a head of department ..	18-24 months

<sup>10</sup> Planning Commission, *Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administration*, New Delhi, August 1962, p. 18.

Charge of a district.. .. Towards the end of the sixth or in the seventh year of service.

With cadre strengths increasing to meet the growing demands for non-district requirements, there has been an increasing intake of direct recruits to the Indian Administrative Service, and one of the results has naturally been the quick turnover in the posts of Collectors—not only are officers with a certain minimum experience required for postings in the Secretariats and in various Departments, but district postings have also to be found for the newly recruited officers who complete their field training and become ripe for them. In Gillespie's survey referred to above, the frequency of transfer of Collectors was found to be alarming, the all-India average length of posting in a district charge being 1 year and 8 months. This is a feature which cannot but detract from the adequacy of the Collector's performance and may indeed require re-thinking of the structure and management of the Indian Administrative Service.

Another aspect, which has a bearing on the performance of Collectors particularly in the changed circumstances of the Nineteen Sixties, is the age and experience of officers holding district charges. It will be seen from the table below that as against an average age of 47 years and 1 month and average length of service of 17 years and 3 months for direct recruits working as Collectors before the Second World War in 1939, the comparable figures in 1960 were 38 years and 9 months and 6 years and 11 months respectively; by 1965, the average age had fallen still further to 36 years and 5 months but the length of service had increased slightly to 8 years and 4 months.

			Age		Length of Service	
As on 1st February of			Direct Recruits		Direct Recruits	
			Years	Month(s)	Years	Month (s)
1939@	..	..	47	1	17	3
1960*	..	..	38	9	6	11
1961*	..	..	38	7	6	11
1962*	..	..	39	1	6	6
1963*	..	..	37	11	7	8
1964*	..	..	37	4	8	1
1965*	..	..	36	5	8	4

@Source: The India Office and Burma Office List 1940.

\*Source: The Civil List of Indian Administrative Service, published by Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

These developments in the cadre structure and utilization of the Indian Administrative Service, which is meant to provide the vast majority of Collectors, appear to be of great significance. The Collector today has far more to do than ever before and what is more important, a great deal is expected of him by the Government and the people. His responsibilities call for the ability to persuade, influence, convince and encourage not only his colleagues in the district but also the members of the Zilla Parishad, the Block Samiti and the Village Panchayat. Short postings, lack of adequate background experience and the resultant immaturity are likely to detract from the Collector's utility.

## V

In the middle of Nineteen Sixties, therefore, the position reached is that despite democratization of the administration and the transformation of his authoritarian image, the role of the Collector remains crucial to the governance of the country. There are obvious difficulties in ensuring that this crucial role is satisfactorily fulfilled: the departmentalization of development and other activities at the district, regional and State levels without at the same time adequate institutional arrangements for the performance of the role of co-ordinator by the Collector; the unwieldy nature of many district charges; the pressure of paper work; the changing character of officer utilization in the Indian Administrative Service and what is perhaps more important, the younger age groups and shorter experience which are both the result of this changing character. The office of Collector has survived all these pressures. There is no doubt whatever that the pressures will continue in the years to come; but the need for a co-ordinator at the district level will not disappear. The following two suggestions of Paul H. Appleby seem to give the right guide-lines for the future.

"First, and simplest, I am suggesting that in efforts to use local energies and capacities there should be care to maintain clear capacities for control at more broadly responsible levels of government, so that the communities will be firmly required to make the contributions they are said to be making, and so that what is done makes sense in terms of what is being done elsewhere whenever that matters. Secondly, I am suggesting that what is done in the communities be not unduly exaggerated, be not misunderstood as constituting some transcendent kind of democratic achievement. In the long run, as India succeeds, the nature of an advancing, complicating civilisation will

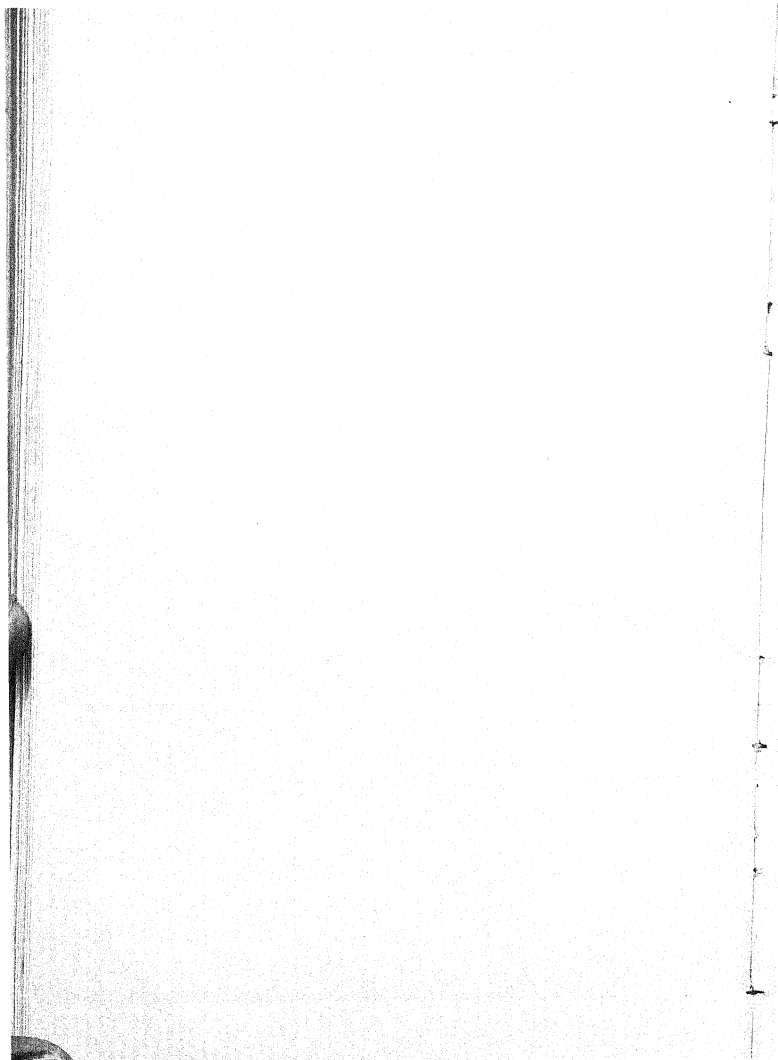
require the transfer of a large part of this community activity into governmental bureaucracies with technical competence in knowledge and technical materials which will produce enormously more per man-hour."<sup>11</sup>



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<sup>11</sup> Paul H. Appleby, "Some Thoughts on Decentralised Democracy", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 449.

**THE COLLECTOR IN THE NINETEEN SIXTIES**  
**IN**  
**DIFFERENT STATES**



## ANDHRA PRADESH

THE State of Andhra Pradesh consists of twenty districts, divided into two distinct parts: eleven districts which were a part of the Madras Presidency till 1953, and the remaining nine districts (popularly known as Telengana) belonging to the erstwhile Hyderabad State, which was split up in 1956. Even amongst the 11 Andhra districts, there is some variation between the Coastal tract and the four "Ceded" districts (known as Rayalaseema) which were "Ceded" by the Nizam of Hyderabad. In a sense, therefore, the Rayalaseema districts are somewhat intermediate in their economic and administrative character between the fertile coastal belt and the more arid regions of Telengana. The latter, however, possess rich mineral wealth and hence form a valuable complement to the agrarian economy of the rest of the State.

From the administrative point of view, the Coastal districts represent the earliest Civil administration of the British in India even before power was transferred from the Company to the Crown directly. At that time, the administration was sought to be run through local intermediaries known as "Zamindars". The bulk of land revenue was collected from them, and they, in turn, made the collections from the agriculturists who were leased the land on long or short term leases. In the Rayalaseema area, however, the "ryotwari" system was adopted, thanks to the sagacity and foresight of a brilliant administrator, Sir Thomas Munro. It was due to his efforts that the previously established power of the "Poligars" was broken and direct relations were established between the Government and the cultivators. In Telengana, however, the system of Jagirdars continued till recently when the abolition of all intermediaries was implemented as a State policy. Thus in the three areas of the State, although a uniform land tenure system prevails today, it is yet to become homogenous and the feudal tradition continues to prevail in most areas of Telengana and some parts of the coastal belts. The legislation imposing a ceiling on the extent of holdings and the general pressure of social awakening and economic events has, however, helped to ease these traditions and it is expected that in a comparatively short time, the pattern in the entire State would be uniform.

In this study, however, our attention is solely confined to the role of the District Collector, the function he performs today and the manner

in which that role has altered in the last six decades. It is not necessary for the purpose to go into the historical perspective in which the Collector was first merely what his name signified—a Collector of revenue for the Company—later a magistrate as Civil administration had to be handled, and again reverted to his former revenue role with the District Judge acting as the magistrate. It may be said that the role of the Collector by the turn of the Century had been established not merely as being responsible for the collection of revenues, but also, as the magistrate responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and generally as the Agent of the Government at the district level. He was indeed, as is often graphically put, the “eyes and ears” of the Government in the districts and his views were accorded great weight in the formulation of policies at the Presidency levels. The fact that all the policy-makers right up to the Governor (and sometimes including the Governor himself, though in the case of the three Presidencies of Bombay, Bengal and Madras it was the normal practice to appoint public men or professionals from England as Governors) helped to build up the spirit of comradeship between the member of Viceroy's Executive Council and a District Officer in a remote district in a far corner of India. It may be said that the role of the Collector in Telengana was a pale image of the British Indian counterpart, though intermixed with the feudal aristocracy that ruled the Nizam's dominions. The fact, however, that most of the top civil servants in the State were drawn from the top families helped to prevent any friction arising between the civil service and the aristocracy because even the former was largely controlled by the latter. Subsequent to the merger of the area in the State of Andhra Pradesh, a common pattern in the role of the Collector has been emerging which approximates to that of the Collector in the rest of the State and the country.

#### TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS

The traditional functions of the District Collector may be broadly listed as follows:

- (i) Head of the Revenue Administration
- (ii) Head of the Police
- (iii) Head of the District Administration
- (iv) Agent of the Government and Special responsibilities

The exact distribution of the time of a Collector between these functions varied from district to district and with the individual and the specific needs of the time. Thus in periods of intense nationalist activity, such as happened at the close of the second and third decades of the century, the maintenance of law and order became a prime

responsibility to which all else was subordinate. Even at that time, not all the areas were equally affected: in the Coastal districts for instance, political activity was more pronounced and hence the Collector had to be vigilant about maintenance of law and order. In Rayalaseema, however, the threat to peace was not political but more elemental; the black cotton soil of the area seemed to generate blood feuds, which would often result in rioting and gruesome factious murder. Collection of Government revenue again was an important task in all the districts but particularly so in the fertile Godavari and Krishna deltas where land revenue was considerable and represented an important fraction of the total revenues of the State. The Collector has also to spend his time in adjudicating revenue matters and tenancy appeals from the subordinate revenue courts in the district. As the head of the district administration, the Collector had an overall responsibility towards other departments although this did not extend to the purely technical aspects of their working. As the Agent of the Government at the district level, the Collector was concerned with the overall administration of the district and had special responsibility for what are known as the "agency areas" in the districts of Srikakulam, East Godavari, West Godavari and Visakhapatnam which are inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes. In succeeding paragraphs, the role of the Collector in respect of these traditional functions will be discussed in greater detail.

### *Revenue Administration*

The District Collector continues to be the head of the revenue administration in the district and although it no longer claims the major share of his attention, it still remains his "home ground", so as to speak, for which he, and he alone, is responsible to the Government through the Board of Revenue. In this task, he is aided by Revenue Divisional Officers, often 3 (or 4) in number who function at their respective sub-divisional headquarters. Each sub-division in turn, consists of 3 to 4 Taluks (or independent sub-taluks) which are managed by an officer known as Tahsildar. Each Taluk again is sub-divided into about 6 Firkas which are under the charge of a Revenue Inspector and each Firka has about 15 to 20 villages where the Village Munsiff (or Headman) collects the money due to Government and the Village Karnam maintains the accounts. Besides land revenue, these persons also collect all types of dues which are owed to Government such as Taccavi loans, Income-tax dues, and dues belonging to other departments which are deemed as land revenue. At one time both the Munsiff and the Karnam were important persons in the village hierarchy and hence there was little

need to take recourse to the cumbersome procedure laid down in the Revenue Recovery Act. But with the creation of additional centres of authority, there has been a decline in the prestige and influence of the "Village Officers" (as the Munsiff and Karnam are called) and it has become, therefore, increasingly difficult to make collections of revenue. There has also been a further complication that the hereditary nature of these officers has been found to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and the meagre salaries attached to these offices do not attract persons of any ability to these posts. There is the added difficulty that Government dues are often to be paid by well-to-do persons from whom forcible collections are not always easy, particularly if they have influence with the political machinery. All this has meant an additional strain on the Collector and a sizeable amount is usually left uncollected by the end of the Fasli (end of June) which has to be done by special drives in which even the Collector has to take an active part, though the principal work is done by the Revenue Divisional Officers and the Tahsildars. The traditional pride of village officers to show a nil balance at the "Jamabandi"—the annual settlement of accounts—has become somewhat rare and there have been proposals to re-organize the revenue collecting machinery by replacing the village officers by fully-paid Government officials, which would, however, involve considerably larger expenditure.

Collection of revenues is not the only aspect of revenue administration, although it is certainly the most tangible. The maintenance of land records and the collection of statistics at the village level (on which the entire national data ultimately depend) are other important functions which are to be supervised by the hierarchy of revenue functionaries. Since title to the land is a treasured privilege of the cultivator, it is important that all changes in ownership are faithfully recorded in the basic account maintained by the Karnam. He also keeps plans of each of the Survey Nos. in the village which constitute a basic document of ownership, valid in Courts of Law. Besides this "Settlement" operations are conducted wherever the revenue system is changed from Zamindari to Ryotwari which involves painstaking classification of land determination of its ownership and the rent to be paid. Even after Settlement has been done once, it has to be periodically revised once in thirty years to take into account the variation in yields, their value and the increasing cost of cultivation. Although the Settlement operations are done by a separate staff, it is the District Collector that is responsible for the maintenance and correction of records once the operations are over.

In order to relieve the Collector of the bulk of the routine revenue work such as collection of land revenue, Village Officers' appeals, land

acquisition, etc., Joint Collectors (also of the IAS Cadre but somewhat junior to the Collectors) were appointed in 1960 in a few districts where work was considered heavy. The experiment has not altogether been a success: it introduced a new level of authority in revenue administration which cut across the traditional chain of command. Although the Joint Collector was supposed to primarily deal with revenue matters, the Collector was still made responsible for them—a position which was palatable neither to the Joint Collector who thought he was not being trusted adequately nor to the Collector who felt burdened with a work which was not strictly with him. The fact that the Collector had to write the annual confidential reports of Joint Collector, further complicated the situation and the relationships between the two functionaries were far from cordial—in one district, they were hardly on speaking terms—which had adverse effects on the morale of the entire revenue administration. The experiment has since been virtually discarded and the entire responsibility for revenue administration has devolved once again on the Collector. In addition to these duties, the Collector continues to be responsible for the welfare of the agriculturists who form the bulk of the rural population. It is he that must settle their disputes, and ensure adequate water for their fields and judicious distribution of fertilizers. It is also his job to see that necessary credit facilities are extended to the cultivator in time and that he gets fair price for his yield. This is a general responsibility which the Collector must discharge and in fact, it is the keenness with which he does it that his own *bona fides* are established amongst the rural population. It is also the job of the Collector to hear appeals against the decision of subordinate revenue officers in a variety of matters such as appointment of village officers, tenancy petitions or summary collection procedures.

### *Law and Order*

The District Collector also functions as the District Magistrate responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the district. Whereas before the separation of the judiciary from the executive (which was initiated in 1951) the District Magistrate was also empowered to try cases under the Indian Penal Code, that power has since been transferred to a Judicial Officer, designated as the Additional District Judge, who heads a line of executive magistrates. The District Magistrate and his subordinate revenue officers are still concerned with the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, such as Sections 107, 133, 144, 145, etc. Due to the general condition of peace and tranquility the problem of law and order has ceased to be as important as it used to be at one time, though during election period or in specific isolated cases it still

remains an important duty of the District Magistrate. In one district, for instance, in 1964, rivalries within a political party led to widespread arson and fire which became serious due to the absence of the District Magistrate who could have controlled the situation quickly. The concept of the magistrate as a link between the police and the people is peculiarly British and symbolizes the supremacy of the civil authority over those who wield the instruments of power. It is somewhat regrettable that in a shortsighted endeavour to increase the authority of the police, attempts are often made to vest the police itself with magisterial powers.

The District Magistrate continues to be the head of the police administration in the district although the Superintendent of Police is the immediate controlling authority over the police force. In all important matters affecting control of crime and threat to public peace, the Superintendent of Police is expected to take orders from the District Magistrate who has the prime responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. The Superintendent of Police also forwards fortnightly crime reports to the District Magistrate, who, in turn, sends them to the Inspector-General of Police with his remarks. The Annual Report on Police Administration is also forwarded by Superintendent of Police to the District Magistrate who reviews it and sends to the Inspector-General of Police. The District Magistrate writes the annual confidential reports on the Superintendent of Police and his immediate subordinate officers. Although there are specific instructions which regulate the relationship of the Superintendent of Police with the District Magistrate, there has unfortunately been an increasing tendency in recent years on the part of the police officers, particularly the Superintendent of Police, to regard themselves as virtually independent of the magistracy. A reason for this is the lack of clear cut directives on the subordinate role of the Superintendent of Police in the matter of law and order; another is that in cases of disagreement between these two officials, it is generally complained that the authority of the District Magistrate has not been adequately supported at the highest levels. The concept of magistracy is a salutary one: that the one who has the instrument of power should not be the one to decide when to wield it. It is feared that this subtle distinction is not often realized or appreciated by the political parties who are at times prone to take the help of the police in local matters affecting their interests. Instead of the close and friendly relations that should normally exist between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, there is developing a coolness, and even lack of understanding between these two which is likely to affect the morale of the entire district administration. The only solution for the problem seems to be an unambiguous and

unqualified support of Government to the primacy of the role of the District Magistrate as head of the police administration in the district; otherwise, it is feared that the prestige and influence of the District Magistrate is likely to be eroded giving rise to a situation where the authority for maintenance of law and order will be left uncertain and weak.

### *Head of the District Administration*

The District Collector is still recognized as the head of the district administration. With the police, as has been seen earlier, the Collector as District Magistrate has special links for maintenance of law and order. In respect of the other departments, the Collector's role is purely advisory except in the case of the District Treasury where he is the double lock officer and conducts annual verification of the money in the treasury. At one time the treasury was directly under the control of the Collector but in recent years, it has been separated and Collector has now only an overall responsibility. There are development departments such as Education, Industries, Agriculture, Public Health, Medicine, Co-operation, etc., with which the District Collector is closely connected by virtue of his involvement with Panchayati Raj. In respect of Panchayats, the District Collector has been made directly responsible since 1962 with the District Panchayat Officer functioning as the Personal Assistant to the Collector. Of these departments, we shall speak at greater length in relation to development administration. There are other departments with which the District Collector has been closely concerned, e.g., the Public Works Department. As the Chairman of the Irrigation Development Committee, the District Collector keeps a close watch on the progress of the Irrigation Schemes and has a special responsibility to ensure their satisfactory working in regard to water supply to agriculturists. In respect of all other departments, it is the District Collector who is the co-ordinating link and the common denominator that ensures that the spirit of Government policies are being followed in actual implementation.

Since the District Collector is normally drawn from an all-India service and is generally of a higher calibre, there is a natural deference of other district officials towards him. His influence is further strengthened by the fact that a part of the confidential reports of almost all District Officers is written by him and considerable weight is accorded to the opinions expressed by him. In the ultimate analysis, however, it is the personal prestige which the Collector carries as an individual that gives him the leadership of the district administration. In recent years, there has been a tendency to post officers without adequate

experience to the districts as Collector and this has created situations awkward both for the Government and the Collector himself. The district officials are reluctant to accept the leadership of some one much younger to them, and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj institutions require careful handling by a mature person. The young Collector thus finds his authority as head of the district administration being constantly called into question unless he exercises it judiciously and with great care. The creation of Regional Officers in almost all technical departments has further aggravated the problem since the district officials tend to look to these regional departmental officers for guidance in matters where formerly they would have sought the advice of the Collector. In the ultimate analysis, establishing of cordial and friendly relation with Heads of Departments and the treatment of other district officials as colleagues than subordinates makes it possible for the Collector to exercise his role with effectiveness and distinction. It is a matter of great satisfaction that there has been an increasing trend to post senior officers to the districts, who bring greater maturity and experience to bear upon an admittedly difficult job.

It is interesting in this connection to say a word about the relationship of the Collector with the District Judge who is the head of the judicial administration in the district. The District Judge has been placed on an equal footing with the Collector and it has been specifically prescribed that whoever comes to the district later should call on the other, while in all other cases (including the Superintendent of Police) it is the district official who first calls on the Collector. The occasions for any friction between the Collector and the District Judge are comparatively few and it has been made clear that as agent of Government, the Collector, however, takes the first place in the district. There are very few committees where the Judge and the Collector are both members, one of them being the Central Jail Advisory Board to review cases of premature release of prisoners and the Collector is the Chairman of the Board. In the case of appointment of Government Pleader, Pleaders doing Government work and Public Prosecutors, the District Judge makes proposals and sends them to the District Collector for his decision (in case of Pleaders doing Government work) or recommendation to Government. In any case, the maintenance of cordial relation with the District Judge is a useful asset to the Collector in the discharge of his official duties.

#### *Other Duties*

There are many other functions the Collector is to perform as head of the district administration. He is the supervising authority over the Municipalities and can suspend resolutions which, in his opinion, cons-

titute a threat to public peace. He also comments upon the state of the municipal administration in his annual review to Government which is widely publicized. The Collector is also the Chairman of the Road Transport Authority, which regulates the issue of licenses to bus routes and permits to public carriers. This is a statutory function the Collector discharges under the Motor Vehicles Act. Quite naturally, the decisions of the Authority are not always relished by the many unsuccessful applicants of Bus routes and the Collector is often exposed to malicious criticism on this score. The District Collector is the Chairman of a number of official committees such as the Soldiers' Sailors' Welfare Fund, District Employment Committee, Staff Welfare Committees, etc. Cumulatively, they tend to take quite a bit of his time, although each by itself may not do so.

There are other Committees and social organizations for which the Collector becomes the President or Chairman automatically. These include the District Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance, the District SPCA, the T.B. Association, the Hind Kusht Niwaran Sangh, the Family Planning Committee, the District Scouts, the District Welfare Organization, Indian Council of Child Welfare, Indian Conference of Social Work, etc. The District Collector has little choice in such matters and the amount of time he devotes to such organizations depends largely on his personal interest, in one or the other of them. He is also made the President of the local Club and his wife occupies a similar position in the local ladies club. These social duties are almost quasi-official and help build up the social popularity of the Collector and his wife. This is, however, a matter to be considered carefully. By his very office, the Collector finds it difficult to move too closely on social terms with a large number of people. In view of the wide publicity that is given to all his movements in the district, the Collector has to be somewhat wary about the persons with whom he is friendly in more than a casual manner. If he meets many people, he is mistaken as being a social extrovert; if he does not, he is regarded as a snob and one has therefore to walk on a razor's edge in such matters.

#### AS AGENT TO GOVERNMENT

Since the attainment of Independence there are at the district level, in addition to the Collector, other representatives of the State authority such as the Member of the Legislature or a Minister drawn from the district. These, being closer to political executive carry considerable weight but the Collector continues to enjoy the status of being the official representative of the Government in the district. Thus on national festivals like the Republic Day and Independence Day, it is he who hoists the national flag and takes the salute of the Police force on behalf of

the Government. At important ceremonial occasions the Collector also functions as the State representative, except at the State Capital. This invests the officer with a great deal of prestige and influence in the eyes of the public. There is also considerable protocol work that devolves on the Collector as a consequence; the visits of VIP's—both national and foreign dignitaries—take a great deal of his time in places like Vishakhapatnam, Vijayawada or Tirupati, which are frequently visited. There are the frequent visits of Ministers which the Collector has to attend to, so frequent and numerous have these visits become in recent years, that it has become virtually impossible for the Collector to attend on every Minister who visits the district. It has, therefore, been prescribed that except during a first visit of the Minister (or after the Collector has taken charge) it is not always necessary for the Collector to accompany the Minister but that he should do so, whenever required. There is, however, need to reduce considerably the protocol work of the District Collector so as to leave him free for more important duties.

Besides the protocol work mentioned above, the District Collector has to discharge special functions in relation to linguistic or communal minorities. He has to ensure that no discrimination is being exercised against such minorities and that their rights are adequately protected. The Collector is also the "Agent" to the Governor in respect of agency areas in some of the districts where the Scheduled Tribes live. In view of their extreme backwardness, it is considered necessary to take special measures to protect their interests and ensure their orderly developments. The separation of the judiciary and the executive does not operate in the agency areas where the Collector or the "Agent" as he is called has wide judicial powers, in addition to the executive powers. Although the development work of the agency areas has been integrated with the programmes executed through the Panchayati Raj institutions, the District Collector continues to exercise special responsibility towards the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. As regards the Scheduled Castes, the Collector was still recently the authority to provide special amenities and facilities but this work has since been handed over to the Zilla Parishad.

The Collector has a special role in an emergency. In fact, nothing underlines his importance in the district as a flood or fire or famine. In the case of floods, it is his job to take adequate advance precaution for evacuation of flood affected areas and to provide the necessary relief, to the victims. In case both of flood and fire, the Collector has wide discretionary powers to afford relief and often he can go beyond them, wherever he considers necessary. In the case of famine, the Collector is the authority under the Famine Code to keep a vigilant

watch to spot the signs of developing famine, keep the Government fully informed of such a situation and take whatever steps are considered necessary to give relief. In such matters, it is the initiative, zeal and vigilance of the Collector that makes all the difference between speedy relief and tardy help. Being the man on the spot, his reports carry considerable weight and it is the stature to which the Collector can rise in such situations that determines, in the public eye, the success or failure of his term of office. In times of local or national emergency such as strikes by Power or transport personnel in which case it is the Collector who has to take all steps in consultation with the concerned authorities to ensure that essential services are kept going. In the event of grave crises, such as the one the country faces today, the Collector is responsible for the formulation and implementation of Civil Defence plans. In time of food shortages, Civil Supplies and rationing becomes the prime responsibility of the Collector. Thus the role of the Collector in an emergency is to deal with whatever is most important and to bring to the situation all the authority of the State Government and the prestige of his post.

Besides such emergencies, there are other duties which naturally devolve on the Collector and for which he is made responsible. Thus the General Elections (of which three have been held since Independence) are conducted mainly under the supervision of the Collectors and the smoothness with which they have been conducted is a tribute to the devotion shown by the entire staff to this work under his leadership. It has meant, however, long and hard work for the Collector besides his day-to-day duties and few who have gone through that experience will forget it easily. Then again the decennial census held once in ten years—is another task which the Collector has to undertake involving a great deal of preparation and close supervision over all items of work. These are merely two instances of national tasks in which the Collector plays a vital role at the district level, and in which his entire prestige and authority is hrought to play in performing them.

The District Collector is also responsible for such work as the National Small Savings or the State Loans floated every year. It is his task to see that the necessary enthusiasm is roused amongst the public for such matters and to ensure that public response is satisfactory. There are also special occasions like the National Defence Fund or the Nehru Memorial Fund in which the District Collector is expected to take interest both as the chief official of the district as well as the first citizen. All these functions cumulatively endow his post with great importance and also a tremendous opportunity for public service, in a real and true sense.

## THE NEW ROLE

Nowhere perhaps has the role of the District Collector been so radically altered than in the field of development administration; while formerly development work, even if done, was regarded as an individual "hobby" which did no harm, today, it forms half the workload of a District Collector and is considered the more important part of it. With the massive Five Year Plans and the implementation of development programmes, there has arisen a need for co-ordination at all levels and particularly at the field level and the immediate supervisory levels. It is this recognition that had led to the concept of Community Development Blocks as have unit of all planning work. It is at the block level that all the sectoral plans lead to a common focus for the advancement of the rural population. The Community Development Block has, therefore, come to occupy the pride of place in the administration and for development purposes, atleast, has come to stay as the most important level of operation. Similarly, there is need for supervision and co-ordination at the district level since all the plans take the district as the major unit. It is at the district level that one gets the feeling of synthesis for the last time, after which the plans become departmentalized. The need for co-ordination at the district level is, therefore, paramount to ensure that the various departments do not work at cross purposes. The person to do this job is quite obviously the District Collector who as the chief official of the district had the necessary prestige and influence to effect this co-ordination. Further, as head of Revenue administration, he was in close and constant touch with the needs of the rural population and can, therefore, better appreciate whether the plans were helping them or not. As a generalist administrator belonging to no department, he can be expected to bring to the job of co-ordination a sense of impartiality and objectivity which would be readily accepted. It was, therefore, logical to choose for the most important job of coordinating the district development plans, the person who had always held a special place both in the eyes of Government and in public esteem.

*The Impact of Panchayati Raj*

In Andhra Pradesh, the various development programmes are, since 1959, being implemented through the Panchayati Raj system which has now found wide acceptance almost all over the country. Broadly, the system consists of three tiers of institutions: the Panchayat at the village level, the Panchayat Samiti at the block level and the Zilla Parishad at the district level. There is one Zilla Parishad and about 15 to 25 Panchayat Samitis in each district. Each Panchayat Samiti has

about 50-60 Panchayats, though there are some which have a larger number. The Panchayat is the primary unit of the Panchayati Raj set-up; the members of the Panchayat are directly elected and in turn elect a President known as the Sarpanch. The Sarpanchas of all the Panchayats in a Samiti together with a few co-opted members to represent women and Scheduled Castes form the Samiti and elect a President. All the Presidents of the Samitis, the members of the Legislature and Parliament and a few co-opted members and the District Collector form the Zilla Parishad which has a non-official head as the Chairman. Both the Zilla Parishad and the Panchayat Samiti operate in practice through Standing Committees on various subjects such as Planning, Agriculture, Industries, Social Welfare, Finance, etc. At the Samiti level, it is the President who presides over the meetings of the Standing Committees while at the Zilla Parishad level, the District Collector is the Chairman of all the Standing Committees—which gives him a powerful position to influence the decisions of the Zilla Parishad. At all levels, the executive authority for implementation is vested in officials deputed from Government departments.

The Panchayat, as has been said earlier, forms the primary unit of Panchayati Raj. The administration of Panchayats was till recently being looked after by a Department of Local Administration which was responsible for both Panchayats and Municipalities. Three years ago, the Panchayat administration was placed directly under the District Collector and the District Panchayat Officer has been made the Personal Assistant to the Collector. Similarly at the sub-divisional level, the Divisional Panchayat Officer assists the Revenue Divisional Officer in supervising Panchayats. This has indeed been a salutary reform. It has provided the Panchayats a direct access to the head of the district and the help he can render to them. By involving the District Collector directly in the administration of the Panchayats, it has given the latter a new prestige and a new sense of direction and purpose. Under the Gram Panchayat Act recently enacted, the District Collector has been delegated wide powers of supervision and control over the Panchayats. He has the power to cancel resolutions of Panchayats if these constitute a threat to law and order, or go beyond their powers, the power to direct Panchayats to execute any work, and more important, the power to dissolve and supersede a Panchayat. Apart from such punitive powers, the Collector is the final authority on a number of matters relating to Panchayats and hence his advice is greatly respected by them. Although he himself does not inspect the Panchayat directly, he checks during his visits to the village the manner in which its Panchayat is performing its duties. The close first hand knowledge of the Panchayats which the Collector gets now has become invaluable

to understand the cross currents of opinion at the village level; where formerly only the village officers of the Revenue administration were his contacts at the village level, he has now a third—the Sarpanch and since in most cases, the Sarpanch and the village officers do not feel too cordial towards each other, it is a somewhat critical and independent assessment of the problems of the village that the Collector can now make. There have been some suggestions to merge the system of village officers with that of the Panchayat. It has been proposed that the collection of revenue can be entrusted to the Panchayat which would make the post of Village Munsiff redundant. The Karnam can be made the Secretary-cum-Accountant of the Panchayat. While the proposal is logical, it is felt that the Panchayats have yet to prove their worth before the collection of revenue can be entrusted to them.

At the block level, the District Collector is even more actively involved in the working of a Panchayat Samiti. The Collector (or the Revenue Divisional Officer) is required to make a formal annual inspection of the Samiti based on an elaborate questionnaire which deals with all aspects of the Samitis working. About one third of the Samitis are properly inspected by the Collector while for the rest, he forwards the inspection notes of the Revenue Divisional Officers with his comments. He also makes quarterly assessments of the work of each Panchayat Samiti on the basis of which the Samiti is given a rating by the Government. He is also the Chairman of the Committee to adjudge the "Best Samiti" and the "Best Panchayat" in the district for a State level competition. Apart from these formal involvements, the District Collector keeps a close touch with the work of the Samiti by frequent tours and inspections. It is usually the practice for some Collectors to make such "guidance" inspections of each Samiti atleast once a quarter during which half the day would be spent in the field visiting villages and works while the rest would be devoted to reviewing the progress and problems of the Samiti. Such inspections have been found extremely useful in keeping in close touch with the work of the Samiti and the general needs of the area. To the Samiti, it provides a valuable opportunity to discuss their specific problems, particularly because some of the important District Officers also accompany the Collector during the tour. The development of cordial and even friendly relations with the Presidents of Samitis has been of great help to the Collector in keeping his finger on the pulse of public opinion and in times of emergency, this factor has been of great assistance in rendering help to the public. For their part, the Collector is the sole official link between the Samiti and Government (particularly because by a recent amendment members of legislature have been excluded from

heading the Panchayat Samiti or Zilla Parishad) and naturally, the Panchayat Samitis look to the Collector to plead their case with Government.

At the Zilla Parishad level, the Collector's involvement is even more direct since he is the Chairman of all the Standing Committees dealing with various aspects of its working. The non-official Chairman presides over the meetings of the Zilla Parishad but it is the Collector who presides over the smaller Standing Committees where executive decisions are taken. Although, the Collector can be overruled by a majority of the members of the Committees, this is never done in view of the great prestige which the Collector traditionally enjoys by reason of the totality of his powers and as Agent of the Government at the district level. He has further the advantage of being completely objective and non-partisan, being mostly a stranger to the district and perhaps even to the State. Since the original jurisdiction of the Zilla Parishad is limited to a few subjects such as Secondary Education, the bulk of its work lies in distributing the grants made by Government to each of the Panchayat Samitis and in exercising general supervision over the developmental programme in the district. The presence of the District Collector helps remove any feeling that allocations are made on the basis of group favouritism. It also facilitates close supervision over the implementation of developmental plans. It is the Zilla Parishad which approves the annual targets and the budget of Samiti. The immense value that accrues to the Panchayati Raj by the active involvement of the District Collector has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Chairmen of the Zilla Parishads. Though suggestion has at times been made to take the Collector out of Panchayati Raj, the State Government has felt that it would be unwise to do so for sometime atleast. The present arrangements which are unique to the Panchayati Raj system adopted in Andhra Pradesh, neatly balance the power and prestige between the District Collector and Chairman of Zilla Parishad and has since been recommended for wider adoption by the Ministry of Community Development.

The influence of the Collector on Panchayati Raj institutions is exercised through the officials that are the chief executives officers of these bodies, who are for a large part deputed from Government departments directly under his control. The Panchayat Executive Officer is a member of the Panchayat department while at the Samiti level, the Block Development Officer heads the team of officials to implement the development programme. Nearly half the Block Development Officers are drawn from the Revenue department and hence look to the Collector for guidance. Even in case of the rest since the Collector writes the Confidential reports of these officials and since his assessments

carry considerable weight with Government, the Block Development Officer tends to depend upon the Collector for instruction and guidance. Further, where the District Collector takes considerable interest in the work of the Panchayat Samiti, the Block Development Officer also feels heartened to do his best and is careful not to allow regulations made by the Government to be violated with impunity. The Collector has been empowered to suspend resolutions of the Panchayat Samitis which are considered a threat to law and order and make a report to Government who have the authority to cancel them. Such occasions are, however, rare and it should not ordinarily be necessary for the Collector to take such an extreme step since it is unlikely that the Samiti would pass such an objectionable resolution. In case of the Zilla Parishad, the Chief Executive Officer is the Secretary who belongs to the State Civil Service and is normally drawn from the Revenue Department. In view of the long experience possessed by the officer, he tends to take a balanced view and seeks the advice of the Collector in all important matters. Another important official of the Zilla Parishad is the Executive Engineer drawn from the Public Works Department who is responsible for the Works Programme both at the Zilla Parishad level as well as in the blocks. Two other officials of some importance are the District Social Welfare Officer (of the rank of Tahsildar from the Revenue Department) and the Deputy Secretary dealing with Education (of the rank of a District Educational Officer). Ultimately the influence the Collector wields over these officials depends on the interest he takes in their work and the close knowledge he has of their problems.

#### *Relations with District Level Officers and Elected Representatives*

With regard to District Level Officers dealing with development subjects, the Collector maintains a close relationship and provides the co-ordinating link in the entire programme. Through bi-monthly Co-ordination meeting the Collector keeps a close watch on the work of the officers in the Samitis and solves any problems faced by them. It is to the Collector that the Panchayati Raj institution naturally turn to ensure that the District Level Officer takes a keen interest in the development work going on through those bodies. Happily the position has changed considerably for the better since 1959 when Panchayati Raj was first introduced in the State. At that time most district officials tended to regard the work in the Blocks and at the Zilla Parishad level as not quite their work and made a subtle distinction between the "departmental" work and "developmental" work. Most District Level Officers have now realized that there is really no distinction between the two and

that the success of their work lies largely in the efforts made in the Panchayati Raj institutions in their respective sectors. For the welcome change in their attitude, the Collectors are largely responsible because of their own involvement in the development process and the enthusiasm they brought to it. On their part, the district officials in such subjects as Education, Agriculture, Industries, Public Health, Medicine, Co-operation, Panchayat, etc., look to the Collector for assistance and protection against unjustified or partisan criticism against them in the meetings of the Standing Committees of the Zilla Parishad—which is not unlikely considering the exaggerated sense of importance some of the elected representatives assume in these bodies. There have been suggestions made that as in the case of Maharashtra, the district officials dealing with development subjects should be placed directly under the Zilla Parishad. Apart from the fact that the Chief Executive Officer in such a case should be an officer of the rank of Collector, it is doubtful whether such a move has any specific advantage in itself. The fact that these officials have to attend the meetings of the Zilla Parishad (and its Standing Committees) and are answerable to it, provides an adequate guarantee that the authority of that body is accepted by these officials. Except in rare instances, there has been no occasion for any Zilla Parishad to feel unhappy at the attitude of district officials towards them.

The introduction of Panchayati Raj system has made some difference in the relationship of the Collector to the elected representatives of the people. Where formerly he used to deal with a few members of the Legislature who would occasionally meet him, he now deals with a variety of elected non-officials from a member of the Gram Panchayat to the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad. The experience has been mutually beneficial: more non-officials come into closer contact with the Collector and are able to appreciate his viewpoint. He is no longer a remote, aloof, cold symbol of authority; but someone like them, and with the same ideals and aspirations, as perhaps the best of the non-officials. The Presidents of the Panchayat Samitis and the Chairman of Zilla Parishad particularly come in close contact with Collector and in many cases friendly relations have developed between the two. This is particularly so in case of Chairman of the Zilla Parishad and the mutual feelings of regard, and even affection, developed between them and their Collector testifies to the fact that the old distinctions between officials and non-officials are really out-dated and have given place to a more logical and natural relationship between the two. There is no doubt, however, that to a certain extent the Chairman of Zilla Parishad has shared the limelight in which the Collector used to bask in lonely splendour. But taken in the right spirit it leaves the Collector to attend to more important and urgent functions leaving the purely

ceremonial ones such as opening school buildings and laying foundation stones to the Chairman of Zilla Parishad—though he cannot perhaps completely escape them. The Collector still remains the first citizen of the district by virtue of his many duties and responsibilities and it has been found that, he is always accorded the respect due to his office. But where formerly there was a shade of fear tinged with that respect, now it is tinged with affection—which is all to the good and perhaps right in the democratic pattern in which the Collector now operates.

It is often asked whether the new emphasis on development programme and the implementation through a Panchayati Raj system has had any significant impact on the role of the Collector. Undoubtedly it has led and the impact has been largely beneficial. The most obvious difference is in the time allotted to development under normal circumstances; it is not exaggeration to say that whereas such work did not form more than 10 per cent of a Collector's time, today it occupies certainly 50 per cent of his time, the rest being divided between Revenue (30 per cent), Magisterial (10 per cent) and Protocol (10 per cent) duties. But perhaps there is a deeper reward in the sense of exhilaration that development work brings of participating in the great adventure, as the late Prime Minister Nehru used to say, of building a nation. In a sense, it brings the Collector closer to the people and identifies him as the agent of a Welfare State whose prime objective is to remove poverty and raise the standard of living of the people. The Panchayati Raj institutions through which the development programmes are being implemented have also helped to broaden the role of the Collector by providing a machinery at all levels through which the needs of the people can be ascertained and met as far as possible. They can also be used to get across the ideas and policies of the Government and their assistance is invaluable in times of emergency or when important events such as Elections or Census are to be conducted. To regard them as restricting the area of operation of the Collector is to miss their true significance; on the other hand, the Collector has through them access to a larger volume of opinion whom he can mould and influence given the zeal, enthusiasm and goodwill. The latter qualities are necessary to be a success as Collector today, as they were even in the "good" old times; but perhaps even more necessary for establishing a genuine rapport with the public.

### *The Emerging Image*

How does the average citizen view the Collector is another question that occurs to one's mind as one thinks of the altered role of the Collector

in the post-Plan period. Curiously enough, in spite of the democratic institutions and the Panchayati Raj system, it is to the Collector that the common man turns for relief and help in times of need and distress. There are some who are becoming increasingly aware of the help a member of legislature or Parliament can render in presenting their case at the State Capital or at Delhi; but to the poor, unsophisticated man, it is the Collector who still represents the authority of Government. This image is further enhanced by the close identification of the Collector with the development programmes. To the rural folk, he has always symbolized benevolent authority and it is, therefore, his help that is sought by them. Ease of access to such people is hence a fundamental pre-requisite for any Collector to discharge his duties satisfactorily. Whenever he is at headquarters the Collector invariably attends office and listens to petitions and requests; he may not always be able to help but a kind word and a little sympathy go a long way in making petitioners happy. It is also necessary to answer petitions received by post and indicate the specific action being taken on them; it must be confessed that this is not always done and a great deal of improvement remains to be effected in the relationship of the Collector with the public. Sometimes one is helpless, as in the case of telegrams and telephone calls I received once in a district in respect of a marriage being performed in a village. There was an insistent plea that I intercede since the bride was being forced into it—but on enquiries I learnt that it was not so although there was a faint whisper of a rural romance with a village school master and whether the bride was really reluctant to marry one could say.

An important medium of projecting the image of the Collector on the district is the Press and the public functions he is invited to participate. Although Collectors are empowered to brief the Press on matters of factual interest, in practice, the Press reports are always embellished leading to questions being asked whether a particular statement has been made. On the other hand, to decline to meet the Press or give them information make one liable to be misrepresented so that one has to walk on a razor's edge in dealing with the Fourth Estate. As regards the public functions, the Collector has to be judicious in choosing those which are likely to be useful in obtaining the co-operation of the public. Organizations like the Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs or Chambers of Commerce are influential in shaping public opinion in urban areas and are, therefore, welcome from the viewpoint of building a favourable image in the public mind. College and School associations are other occasions where the Collector can express himself freely to the youth and explain to them the policies and plans of the Government. Further, close acquaintance with student bodies helps the Collector in

dealing with student disturbances should they arise and help to establish a familiar link between him and an important vocal section of the community. It is necessary for the Collector, however, to keep a vigilant watch that he is not pressured into accepting all types of functions which only help to make him commonplace. On the other hand, he should not miss any opportunity which brings him into contact with influential bodies of public opinion whose help would be invaluable to him in his official duties.

The relations between the Collector at the district level and his official colleagues and superiors at the State level is a matter of some interest. Since Andhra Pradesh has no Divisional Commissioners, but a Board of Revenue operating on a functional basis, the Collector is directly responsible to the Government except on matters relating to the subjects handled by the Board of which the most important are Revenue and Irrigation, insofar as the Collector is concerned. On all other matters, the Collector has direct access to the Government which enables his views to reach decision-making levels quickly and without any intermediate levels. This is further re-inforced by the numerous visits of Ministers to the district which provides a useful opportunity to the Collector to explain the problems of the district to the top political executive personality. Although a Conference of Collectors is held annually, it is too crowded to permit of a detailed discussion of the individual problems of the district, and hence ministerial visits are useful to the Collector in getting across his viewpoint. Members of the Board of Revenue inspect the Collector's office once a year and there are occasional, though not frequent, visits by them during the year. Hence the Collector in Andhra Pradesh is very much on his own initiative and good sense in dealing with problems that arise from time to time. This freedom from constant supervision helps him to operate in a framework in which the success or failure is his own responsibility. He has however to make a full report to Government as soon as possible of the action he has taken so that information may be provided to the legislature and the public. The Heads of Departments frequently tour the districts and although Government had repeatedly issued instructions that they should meet the Collector and discuss problems of mutual interest, this is not always done. In fact there would seem to be some inhibition on the part of Heads of Departments (particularly where they are not drawn from the top civil service) to deal with Collectors freely and take advantage of their help in furthering the progress of the development programmes in their specific fields. This is indeed a pity since a great deal can be achieved by genuine co-operation between the Collector who is the man on the spot and the heads of technical departments.

*Viability of Collector's Charge*

The viability of Collector's charge is another matter worthy of attention. In Andhra Pradesh there are wide variations both in area and population of the districts and the workload in the districts. In area, the districts range from Hyderabad (2990 sq. miles) and West Godavari (3010 sq. miles) to Nellore (7960 sq. miles) and Kurnool (9200 sq. miles). On the other hand, West Godavari is a predominantly delta area with a high density of population (17 lakhs for the district), where the Package Programme for increased agricultural production is under execution which throws heavy additional responsibility on the Collector, Hyderabad being a State metropolis has problem of its own particularly in Civil Supplies and in receiving VIP's. In population, Guntur with 26 lakhs and East Godavari with 24 lakhs are at one end while Medak with only 10 lakhs is one of the smaller districts. In some districts, such as Kurnool, law and order poses an important problem while Vishakhapatnam with a major harbour and a growing industrial complex provides problems of labour unrest. It is, therefore, difficult to say what the optimum size of a district should be; and although suggestions are frequently made to reduce the size of a district, it is doubtful whether there will be any major change except in one or two cases. Apart from historical reasons, there is a balance of political forces in each district which have acquired a dynamic stability which would not be normally upset. From the administrative point of view, the inevitable increase of overheads when districts become more in number is unwelcome to the State Government, particularly in view of the meagre resources for the non-Plan schemes. While it is true that the workload of a Collector has increased in recent years and there is need for more detailed supervision and frequent inspections, it is not certain whether this can be achieved by considerable reduction in the size of a district which has grown through the last two centuries to its present dimension. The relief to the Collector may have to be given in another manner, *i.e.*, relieving him of unnecessary responsibilities and leaving him free to attend to more important work. As already discussed earlier, the experiment of having a Joint Collector has not been a resounding success and has in fact been virtually dropped. There is need for a clear cut definition of the respective roles of the Collector and any assistance that is provided to him.


In this connection, it is well to emphasize one point which is apt to be overlooked. The strength of the Collector in the olden days, as it is now, lies in the totality of his functions—not in any one of them but taken all together. The Collector brings to a common focus at district all departmental operations and provides district administration

a unity of purpose and perspective, which it does not have at higher levels. This unity of district administration is an important asset that must be preserved at all costs and the Collector must remain the one individual to symbolize and enforce that unity. It is in this regard that the Maharashtra experiment of having a Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad of equal rank to the Collector to supervise the developmental programme must be considered as retrograde. It blurs the focus of the district administration and makes it bi-polar. It leaves the Collector without his normal and adequate role of co-ordinating the work of development departments and leaves him a mere revenue and magisterial functionary; it is doubtful whether even these functions can be discharged properly without the close contact Collector acquires through his role in development work. On the other hand, the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad may not command adequate allegiance of the District Officer to be able to supervise effectively; and inevitably there will arise friction between the Collector and the Chief Executive Officer particularly if the former is expected to report to the Government on the Zilla Parishad. If there is one lesson, two centuries of district administration has taught, it is that there can only be *one* authority at the district level and not two; and although the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad now shares the limelight being a non-official, his sphere of operation does not overlap that of the Collector who, in Andhra Pradesh atleast, still remains the first public servant of the district.

#### CONCLUSION

What of the future? Would Lord Wavell's prophecy that the British rule would be remembered not by this institution or that but by the model of a District Officer which it had provided remain true: or would the office be swept away as being too authoritarian and out of tune with the democratic pattern of society being evolved. It seemed soon after Independence that this might happen but Sardar Patel took a wise and courageous stand in retaining the framework of a non-partisan civil service. Then again when Panchayat Raj was established, there have been suggestions, some veiled and some not so veiled, that the Collector had outlived his usefulness and that the Chairman of Zilla Parishad could well take over his functions. This, in the conditions prevailing at the time, would have been unfortunate; and it is, therefore, gratifying that Prime Minister Shastri had been repeatedly emphasizing the importance of the co-ordinating role of District Officer. At a meeting of the National Development Council last year, he had suggested explicitly to the Chief Ministers that "they should restore to the District Officer whether known as Collector or Deputy Commissioner, the status of a co-ordinator of all Government activities in

the district and confer on him the responsibility for guiding all the efforts undertaken on behalf of Government—Central and State”. In fact, this would seem to be the role which the Collector would increasingly be called upon to adopt and it does not seem likely that in the near future at least, the importance of the role will diminish to any degree. In fact, with the rising tempo of development plans it is a role whose importance will increase progressively. The attitudes of the Collector will undoubtedly change; no longer can it be authoritarian as it was perhaps five decades back, nor can it be merely benevolent. “Where he used to serve by ruling, he must now learn to rule by serving.” In the years to come the District Collector will have to set an example of industry, integrity and enthusiasm to all officials and demonstrate that he is truly the first public servant in the district; that is perhaps his richest reward and greatest glory.



## ASSAM

THE State of Assam is divided into eleven districts and these may be classified into two categories—plains districts and hills districts. There are four hills districts and the administration therein is different from that in the plains districts and, therefore, the role of the Collector in the hills districts and plains districts will be examined here separately.

It is common knowledge that for more than a century of colonial rule, the District Officer was regarded as the kingpin of the district administration. He has been described as the eyes and ears of the Government and for most people in the district he was Government itself. Primarily responsible for law and order and collection of revenues, he also exercised numerous residuary and regulatory functions which invested his office with prestige. He was not answerable to the people but to the alien Government. Above all, he was a member of the superior civil service—the steel frame—and recognized as the head of the district. Even after Independence the Collector remains the first official in the district though it is a moot point whether much of the glamour attached to the post has dimmed.

As in any other part of the country, the Collector in Assam was primarily responsible for the maintenance of law and order and he was also head of the police and magistracy. He alone could have been the best judge whether a situation was developing towards a possible riot because of his close contact with the people and their leaders.

This primary responsibility of the Collector continues but so far as his magisterial functions are concerned, these have mostly been taken away and we have now an independent magistracy directly under the control of the High Court. Out of the seven plains districts, the separation scheme has so far been extended to four districts and it is proposed to extend it to the remaining plains districts also. The Scheme has been designed within the framework of the Code of Criminal Procedure without resorting to the lengthy process of amending various Acts or to a special legislation. Allocation of powers between the judicial and the executive magistrates is based on the principle that matters which are purely judicial in nature will be strictly within the purview of judicial magistrates, while matters which are purely administrative or executive in character would be dealt with by the executive magistrates. The Collector, therefore, continues to exercise

policing functions namely, dealing with unlawful assemblies. Whereas in the past law and order was maintained at any cost, it has now to be done with the use of minimum force, taking the public into confidence. But the Collector no longer inspects the police stations, though he is still head of the police in law.

Previously the Collector was mainly concerned with collection of land revenue which constituted the main bulk of State revenues. In fact, his designation is derived from this function. After Independence many new sources of taxation have been discovered and the role of land revenue as a proportion of the total revenues of the State has significantly declined. But the Collector is entrusted with the task of collecting arrears of various taxes and for this he continues to be vested with coercive powers of attachment of movable and immovable properties of a citizen. In other words, he plays the role of a co-ordinating agent in realizing arrears of various taxes within his district on behalf of different taxing agencies. He is the Chief Bakijai Officer.

## II

Prior to Independence the role of the Collector in the development sphere varied from person to person, but after it and in pursuance of the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in the Constitution, the role of the Collector in this sphere has undergone a complete change. Planning in a democratic society, directed towards establishing a Welfare State, necessitates co-operation of the people from the lowest level if plans are to succeed. The Collector is no longer a master giving orders but his new role is to enlist co-operation of and encourage people to actively participate in the great march forward and to see that various organizations at and below the district level function efficiently, depending on the powers given by Government.

This shift in the emphasis in the work of the Collector has unfortunately resulted in the neglect of land records and other connected matters. This is now being remedied because without proper land records and without security of tenure, it is futile to undertake measures to increase agricultural production. Proper records of rights in land also help in prevention of disputes and breach of peace. It is also to be noted that important revenue work now is different from that in the past. Emphasis is not on settlement of land, detection of concealed cultivation, assessment of land revenue etc. but on removal of encroachments, acquisition of land, land reforms etc. This was bound to be so in a developing free society. Assam has now officers designated Principal Revenue Assistants specializing in land revenue matters, to assist the Collectors. In those districts, where the workload is heavy Additional Deputy Commissioners have also been posted.

With the inauguration of the planning era in the State, a number of new departments sprung up and these have also established their branches in the districts. The co-ordination at the district level was done till recently through the Development Committee. All the district heads of different departments were members thereof and they met once a month. It was in this Committee that difficulties experienced by various officers were discussed and steps taken to remove them. The Collector who was the Chairman gave the lead and also gave his support wherever necessary. Wherever this leadership was not effective, the implementation of development schemes proceeded haltingly. At lower levels, it was the Block Development Officer who co-ordinated under the guidance of the Collector.

Besides the Development Committee, there are now numerous other committees over which the Collector has to preside. The Supply Advisory Committee looks after distribution of controlled commodities; the Land Settlement Advisory Committee advises the Collector in settlement of land in a planned manner; the Relief Committee advises him about proper distribution of flood relief; the Forecast Committee helps him in preparing the crop forecast; the District Jail Visiting Committee advises him on the improvement in jail management and so on. These take a good deal of his time. But the very nature of these matters in a democratic society necessitates constant contact with the people as well as their co-operation and there is none in the present set-up but the Collector who can guide the deliberations of these Committees. Even though the Collector till recently did not write character rolls of several district heads but his very position continued to enable him to exercise influence over them as well as to put any one of them on the right path.

### III

With the introduction of the Panchayati Raj institutions, there has been a further shift in the role of the Collector in the development sphere. A three-tier system of Panchayati Raj, has been set up under the Assam Panchayat Act, the Mahkuma Parishad at the Sub-divisional level, the Anchalik Panchayat at the Block level and the Gaon Panchayat at the Gaon level. The Mahkuma Parishad has practically no executive functions and acts as a friend, philosopher and guide of the other two institutions which are both policy and decision making bodies. So far as the latter, *i.e.*, Anchalik and Gaon Panchayats are concerned, the Collector was not brought into the picture, as that might have crippled the growth of the people's organization. Even about the association of the Collector at the level of Mahkuma Parishad, there was some controversy whether he should be brought in as President or

merely as a member. It was thought that if he was made President, then this might be interpreted as showing lack of confidence in the ability of the peoples' representatives. At the same time, if he was brought as a member this may adversely reflect on the position of the Collector. Ultimately it was decided to keep him completely out of the Parishad. The result was that he was out of all the three bodies but remained only as an agent of the Government to suspend the operation of any resolution which is not in public interests and to take over in case of the supersession. A tenuous link was, however, maintained through the Development Officer, a Government official, who acted as Secretary of the Mahkuma Parishad.

The role of the Collector vis-a-vis Mahkuma Parishad was recently reviewed by the Study Team on the Panchayati Raj and it was felt that non-association of the Collector with the Mahkuma Parishad was largely responsible for lack of co-ordination at district level. The Development Committee could not be very effective when the local heads of departments could study and discuss development schemes in the Mahkuma Parishad, over the heads of the Collector. This Study Team therefore thought that for effective co-ordination of the development programmes, the Collector should be made the President of the Mahkuma Parishad. After careful consideration of the entire matter, it was, however, decided that he should be actively associated with the Mahkuma Parishad by making him Chairman of its statutory Standing Committees on planning and administration and agricultural production. The Development Committees were to be dissolved. The Collector will also now record his remarks on the work of all District Officers of Development Departments. It is too early to assess the working of the new arrangements.

#### IV

As regards the hills districts prior to 1950, the Deputy Commissioner wielded considerable influence in the affairs of his area. With the application of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to the Hills Districts, District Councils were set up therein. These Councils have responsibility of administration within their respective areas on various subjects such as land, forest, property, marriage, social customs, etc. They have been given power to make laws on these subjects and in addition, they have also power and authority to establish, construct or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, roads and waterways. They have also their own Judicial Officers for administering the tribal laws. The Deputy Commissioner, however, continues to be responsible for law and order and he is also

the District and Sessions Judge. Till recently, there was no Superintendent of Police but now some hills districts have one.

As in the plains districts, the decision to plan for the welfare of the people resulted in establishment of district offices of various development departments. Unlike the plains districts, the Deputy Commissioner here exercises greater control over them and the single line administration, where everything is referred to the Deputy Commissioner, continues.

The system of revenue collection in the hills districts in bygone days was very simple. The people were poor and they were required to pay only a nominal revenue on the basis of their dwellings. The lands were held in common and there were no records of rights. Land disputes if not resolved by the local leaders and Chiefs, were left to be decided by the Deputy Commissioner. The things have now changed and these functions are exercised by the District Council.

Most of the development works are taken up through the District Councils and there are no panchayats here as in plains districts. There is a Block Development Committee for each block. At the district level, there is a Development Board consisting of officials and non-officials including the representatives of the District Councils and with the Deputy Commissioner as its Chairman. Certain checks are exercised by him on the utilization of funds by the District Councils. He has, however, no authority of inspection over them.

By and large the administration in the hills districts has been simple and uncomplicated because of the very character of the people living therein and of the economy. All the District Officers work in close collaboration with the Deputy Commissioner. Recently the Government of India has appointed a Commission to consider a detailed scheme for the re-organization of the administrative set-up in these districts. It is possible that the recommendations of this Commission may alter the present set-up.

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In the plains districts, the Deputy Commissioners correspond directly with the Government in many matters and vice versa.

In the hills districts, the correspondence is normally routed through the Hills Commissioner. In matters of land revenue administration, however, they are expected to correspond through the Divisional Commissioner. With the setting up of the Board of Revenue, all appeals against the decision of the Collector now lie to the Board instead of to the Commissioner. Generally speaking, the two Commissioners confine themselves to the inspection of the

districts and sub-divisional offices and act as philosopher, friend and guide to the District Officers.

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
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With rapid development in various parts of the State, it has been felt that some of the districts are too large for effective administration. As a step towards decentralization and ensuring better services to the people, some administrative units have been formed with a view ultimately to upgrading them into full-fledged sub-divisions. It is possible that some districts may also have to be bifurcated but this will only be considered after the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Committee are known.

## V

There is nothing sacred about any particular arrangement of organization in the administration or management of public affairs. The present form of district administration has, in essence, stood the test of time, and is working satisfactorily. It seems that as a viable organization, it will continue to work. In this set-up, the central pivotal point is the Collector. This has been so for many decades and it is so today. Whereas in the past, his role was largely negative, it is now positive; whereas in the past he did so-called solid, tangible work, it is now richer in content, more meaningful though perhaps less tangible. The signs on the roads to progress are clear; the framework both legal and social, within which he is to discharge his functions are laid down. It is quite possible that the emphasis on some parts of his functions may vary from time to time. Just because the Collector has become humane, his office has not lost prestige or glamour. Those who think so, are perhaps still traditional in outlook. It is still the most challenging job going around in the world. In the foreseeable future also the Collector is likely to play the central role but more like that of a Chief Engineer or General Manager in a huge industrial complex.



## BIHAR

SEVERAL diverse forces that have tended to change the functioning of the District Officer in recent years. On the one hand the increasing area of State activity coupled with the growing inroads in the lives of private citizens has increased the powers and functions of District Officers. On the other hand, the diffusion of political power through democratic decentralization and the increasing local consciousness of the public in general have added to his accountability for his actions at the district level itself. The result is the simultaneous concentration of responsibility and the dilution of independent decision making. It will be the burden of this article to establish the extent to which these forces have affected the functioning of District Officers.

Throughout the British period, the District Officer in India was considered the pivot of the administrative structure. The so called steel-frame came to be known as such, mainly because of his image. At his level policy ended and action began. His position during the British days was summarized by the Simon Commission in these words:

"It is difficult to convey to an English reader how great is the prestige of the Collector of a District among the inhabitants whom he serves. To most of them, as we have said, he is the embodiment of Government. The authority which he derives from his statutory powers is augmented by the constant exercise of advice and direction in matters where he is expected to lead. He wields large powers of patronage; he is responsible for making a vast number of minor appointments, for instance of village headmen and accountants, of revenue officials and office clerks. His recommendations for honorary magistracies and nominated membership of all local self-governing bodies are ordinarily accepted. He can grant seats at ceremonial functions such as 'durbars', and the coveted Indian titles and honours, and other rewards, are usually conferred at his suggestion...the District Officer must remain a very important person, the embodiment of effective authority, and the resource to whom the countryside turns in time of difficulty of crisis. The respect in which he is held, and the influence which

he wields, reflect the preference for personal and visible authority which will endure though that authority is the spokesman and instrument of responsible government. In no future that we can foresee, will the post of the District Officer cease to be one which calls for those qualities of integrity and decision, which so many of the best kind of public servants have exhibited in the service of India."

#### THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The District Officer functioned as an instrument of the British Imperial Policy, and the efficiency, devotion and a broad sense of justice which pervaded his administration won admiration for the institution, even from those who were struggling for the independence of the country and were pitted against the policy being executed by him. The period left a legacy for the institution, which made possible its adoption in the new set-up, because of its manifest utility, but not without some qualms of conscience on the part of a few who smelt in him a danger to the evolution of healthy democratic institutions in the country. The first few years after Independence represented an uneasy sort of compromise. The name of the service from which the District Officers were recruited was changed to the Indian Administrative Service to mark the change expected in some attitudes, which had struck as objectionable, in the Indian Civil Service. The Indian Civil Service in the imagination of the popular leadership, which fought for the independence of the country was neither "Indian" nor "Civil" nor "Service". The new service was expected to combine the virtues of the Indian Civil Service and the ideal of a new civil servant embodying the democratic aspirations of the country incorporated in the Constitution. The new service was expected to work out a new approach to the multifarious problems, which escalated rapidly in the context of the new social and economic objectives, to be realized through democratic planning. A fundamental decision about the Government's policy on district administration of the future was embodied in the First Five Year Plan. The Plan emphasized:

- "(a) The Collector to be again the principal head of the district and the sole representative of government.
- (b) The District to continue as a unit of administration.
- (c) Regional Commissioners to supervise and co-ordinate the work of Collectors.
- (d) Social service bodies to be associated with officials in normal administration.
- (e) Village panchayats to come to their own."

The new set of District Officers had the glamour of the I.C.S. to look back and the new ideals of the country to look forward. They had to work under superior officers of the Indian Civil Service who were generally nostalgic about the good old days. The accounts and anecdotes about deeds of the giants who occupied the stage as District Officers tended to inculcate an ideal in the minds of the new entrants in service, which was of men supremely confident about themselves and the world, imbued with a strong sense of justice and possessed of ability to get their decisions carried out. There was a certain amount of pride too—especially in States where Congress Ministries had come to power in 1937—about the manner in which some had stood up against the ministers. There was also a feeling of guilt in the minds of senior civil servants in their relations with the ministers inasmuch as the former had stood aloof when the country was struggling for independence, which made for a certain keenness to accept every thing that came from the leaders who were now heading Government at the Centre and in the States. This attitude in a way explains the anxiety of the Fifties to come up to the expectation of the new leadership of the country, even in cultural and social matters. It had its effect on the district administration where obedience to the new political leadership replaced the earlier defiance and a certain amount of impatience was evident in case of those who tried to do their duty as they understood it. The destruction of the image of impartiality and independence at the district level brought new dangers to the democratic functioning of the Government, because of which the trend in Sixties has been again towards a workable balance.

#### THE COLLECTOR AS CUSTODIAN OF LAW AND ORDER

All these trends and the experience of the last eighteen years have gone into the making of the District Officer in the Nineteen Sixties. It was thought in the Fifties that the law and order functions of the District Officer should be considered secondary in importance to his development and other functions. The events in the past few years, however, seem to have reversed the trend again in favour of law and order duties. The major changes in the law and order administration which have come about are the separation of the judiciary from the executive, and provision of a separate cadre of staff with legal qualifications for prosecution of cases instituted by the police. The Sub-divisional Officer in Bihar has control over police cases up to the stage of submission of charge-sheet after which the cases are transferred to Judicial or Munsiff Magistrates. The cadre for Revenue Officers, Block Development Officers and magistrates is common. The ministerial assistant's cadre at the district level is also common. The period for

which an officer or an assistant have to do magisterial work has become very short for most of them. This has brought down the quality of justice administered as also the efficiency and effectiveness of the normal administration of law and order. The powers which the laws provide are not exercised effectively and when the cumulative neglect results in some sort of explosion or when the situation in respect of any particular subject becomes abnormal, more drastic laws have to go on the statute book every time. The Criminal Procedure Code was amended in 1955 in the hope that it would result in speedier disposal of cases. The position, however, seems to have changed very little. This is perhaps due to the failure at the level of police combined with lack of effectiveness of magistrates. It always takes time to introduce a new system in administration. The changes in the Criminal Procedure Code would have in any case taken time to get established into a new system but it seems that no effort has been made to implement the spirit of 1955 amendments. It has to be accepted, however, that the police are grossly under-staffed and the staff available is not of such quality as could be relied upon to adopt themselves to any new system. The radical changes sought to be made to cut down various stages between the institution and disposal of a case required special staff at all levels to enforce those changes. It was, however, left to the existing machinery to implement the new changes, with the result, that, the new provisions incorporated in the Criminal Procedure Code have mostly remained redundant.

The breakdown of law and order is one situation which brings the district administration into the spot-light. The fact that the administration, by and large, had been able to come up to the expectation, has produced an impression that there was nothing wrong with it, and, it is true also that, with the will and concentration shown during emergencies, one has to accept that the administration could face any challenge. The things which often get over-looked are, the causes behind such breakdowns, and the fact, that, the single-mindedness shown during an emergency was not forthcoming normally.

The use of force during law and order breakdowns has been a subject of controversy. There is an abhorrence, quite natural in a democracy, against the use of force in civil disturbances, particularly the resort to firing by the police or the army. The officers dealing with such situations are to exercise utmost patience in face of grave provocations and they are to order the use of force only when there is serious danger to life and property. The decision as to when the danger becomes serious is of the man on the spot and the fear of subsequent enquiries generally makes him hesitant in ordering the use of force even when the situation is well past that stage. The Government of

Bihar has, of late, decided upon a firm line in this regard and all officers have been assured of full protection by the Government in case of any *bona fide* use of force and the Government has been issuing clear and firm orders to the District Officers as to what had to be done to meet different situations.

There is, no doubt that if proper preventive measures are taken at the proper time, most of the ugly situations could be avoided. As the proverb is that there can be no rain without cloud, there could be no breakdown in law and order without some negligence by some one. Preventive arrests, general alert by the police, bans on meetings and processions and use of minimum and effective force at the initial stage, adopted properly, could save a lot of future troubles. I found that in all law and order situations there was an intuitive sense of justice according to which the public would judge the action of the administration. An intelligent officer can not remain unaware of the sentiments prevailing. The action of the authorities has to be such as will have the tacit approval from this *zeitgeist* or the spirit of the community, which may not be the same as public opinion as voiced by local persons who claim to be leaders of the public. This was the most encouraging feature about the public reaction which was noticed in a number of law and order situations.

It is possible to grasp this *zeitgeist* only if the District Officer has kept his communication channels free with leaders of all sections and political groups in his area. The expansion of activities of the Government at the district level enables the District Officer to come in contact with all such persons in the district, provided he remains on the look out for the same. It helps immensely if those on the opposition, or those who feel that they have been deprived of some importance, receive a little more courtesy. Courtesy does not cost anything but it secures for the administration a ready goodwill from all sections. Those who are politically powerful, in any case, are bound to receive due courtesy everywhere.

#### COLLECTION OF REVENUE

The Collector started primarily as a Revenue Officer and he continues to be the principal Revenue Officer and head of the revenue administration. To help him in this function, the Collector has an additional Collector who may be a junior Indian Administrative Service officer in the senior scale or a senior officer of the State Civil Service. The revenue administration is still the only administration which is most important for the cultivators who form the bulk of the rural population in Bihar. The Zamindari having been abolished, the

Collector has now no intermediaries dealing with the tenants. There has been a sharp decline in the importance of the ex-landlords in rural areas. The Collector very rarely now meets these ex-Zamindars but a number of them have emerged as leader in the new Panchayati Raj institutions whom the Collector does meet more often.

The revenue collection in Bihar has been entrusted to Gram Panchayats and they have progressively improved in their performance. The maintenance of land records, collection of revenue and collection of agricultural statistics are now the main functions of the revenue administration. The revenue administration previously was the only administration which reached up to the village level and, therefore, all miscellaneous functions also got entrusted to it but now that the Community Development and Gram Panchayat organizations have also come in the picture, the revenue administration is left to do purely revenue work.

The Collector no longer exercises control over details in revenue administration. The routine revenue administration is left to the Additional Collector. The Collector, however, continues to remain responsible for the revenue work. His interest in revenue matters to a large extent determines the effectiveness of the Additional Collector. The other revenues which are directly his responsibility are excise and levies on mines and minerals. There are special officers for each of them who work directly under the Collector. The revenue at the State level, however, which now contributes the maximum sum to the State exchequer, is from commercial taxes and the machinery for its collection is not subordinate to the Collector.

The Collector exercises appellate jurisdiction in revenue cases and also under the Public Demands Recovery Act. The recovery of arrears of land revenue in respect of all departments and also under the Income Tax Recovery Act is the responsibility of the Collector. The indiscriminate filing of cases by many revenue-earning departments creates a heavy load of work and this delays recovery of arrears considerably. It is often suggested that the recovery of arrears be also made the responsibility of the departments concerned, as it is said, that, it will be possible to pay more attention to specific cases. Such solution may be helpful in industrial or urban areas but, by and large, it will not succeed in rural areas. The one trend which has been obvious after the Independence has been a progressive decline in the prestige and awe of the government functionaries at the lower levels. The appearance of a peon with a warrant of attachment no longer terrifies the villagers and more often he draws a blank. The agencies for realization of dues can be effective only when the people find that the matter is receiving single-minded attention from all levels up to the

District Officer. There is more and more inclination to accept only regulatory authority in the countryside which is of Collector who is also the head of the police administration in the district.

The new measures in land reforms are also being implemented through Collectors. The power of the erstwhile Zamindars has been considerably broken. The measures intended to provide land for the poor and the landless, however, have not made satisfactory progress. Very few of the land holders have actually surrendered their lands and most of them were able to retain their lands through one stratagem or the other; and even in the case of unsettled government lands, the lands which were of good quality have generally gone to the land-owning classes who are generally the dominant rural classes too.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENTS

The Community Development Programme and the Five Year Plans have conferred a new role on the Collector. The Collector, whose duties had so far been regulatory in character, was asked to take upon himself the functions of promoter and co-ordinator of all development activities. It was emphasized that there should be a different approach for the new role in which he had to co-ordinate the activities of various departments and obtain co-operation from the people rather than obedience. The Collector had mostly to shed the attitude of issuing directions in this function and apply the techniques of persuasion and extension. The Collector was provided with a District Development Officer who could be a junior officer in the senior scale of the Indian Administrative Service or an officer in the rank of an Additional District Magistrate in the State service. The Government of Bihar gave powers to the Collector to record the confidential character rolls of District Development Officers, technical or otherwise, and a far-reaching decision to this effect, was taken in a Government Resolution in 1956 which is reproduced at the end of this article. The Collector was also made *ex-officio* Chairman of all Block Development Committees in the district and it was expected that atleast one meeting in a quarter would be attended by him. There were two Committees which functioned at the district level of which the Collector was the president. The District Development Committee consisted of all District Technical Heads, Members of Parliament, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council from the district, and some other representatives nominated by the Government. The District Co-ordination Committee had all the district technical heads along with all Block Development Officers as its members. The District Officer was also expected to inspect the work of each Block Development

Officer and the District Officer was to receive comprehensive monthly and quarterly reports about the progress in work from the blocks. The Block Development Officers were to be guided by different district or sub-divisional technical heads whose functions were to be co-ordinated by the Collector. The organizational set-up, if properly worked, would have been quite effective. The programme, however, got bogged in some initial difficulties. The quick expansion of various departments brought very junior officers as district heads, with very little experience of extension work and control over the staff. Many of the departments did not delegate powers to their District Officers which were necessary, if responsibility had to be discharged by them. The forum of committees at the district level did not make it possible for the Collector to go into the details of work of each department and general reviews were hardly helpful. The country came to realize in the Sixties that the development programmes were not making expected headway. Two remedies have been proposed to rectify the defects in execution.

The Village Level Workers have now been asked to do only the work relating to agriculture, and secondly, the Block Development Officer is being placed squarely under the Pramukh who is elected by Gram Panchayat under what has come to be known as "Panchayati Raj". A new intensive agricultural development programme called the "package programme" has been launched in selected districts, which have been considered most promising for a quick increase in production. The new programme is based on the presumption that the concept of a multipurpose development agency at the village level did not produce the results and a specialized agency has now to be tried. The hierarchy in the "package programme" is generally departmental except that the Collector is in overall charge at the district level.

The Collector occupies a very important position so far as co-ordination between different development departments is concerned. It has been found to be more practical and expeditious to straighten inter-departmental matters at the district than at the State level. The Collector being the officer, who directly comes in contact with the most representative cross-section of the people, is also in a position to keep in touch with the reactions of the public to various programmes of the Government and, whenever necessary, can suggest suitable modifications. It was possible to modify programmes to suit local conditions in anticipation of approval of the Government in many cases.

How important can be the Collector's role in development programmes can be illustrated from the progress in Co-operatives in one

of the districts. The co-operative movement in Bihar was rather weak and because of heavy overdues co-operative societies had become moribund. The Co-operative Department made a special request to District Officers to help them in the realization of overdues, etc. I was posted in a district where the co-operative movement was about the weakest. I arranged so that atleast for three months all officers at the block and sub-divisional level made a concerted effort to realize overdues, to enrol new members, and to advance loans to the cultivators. The results were startling. The realization jumped from 45 to 95 per cent in one year. The co-operative credit went up from about rupees three lakhs to about rupees twenty lakhs in two years and coverage in membership increased to about 75 per cent of the population from a mere 25 per cent. The staff of the Co-operative Department and Co-operative Bank mainly did all the work as in the past. The only difference was that the drive was organized under the supervision of the District Officer and they had his backing.

The real trouble was that previously some of the worst defaulters, who were otherwise influential, were able to defy the staff of the Co-operative Department. In one case when a little more serious effort was made, the defaulters threatened to assault the staff who had gone to realize the dues, and they had to return humiliated. Their complaint to the police received some routine attention and no one ventured to go again for realization of such dues. But this time an exemplary action was taken against a few persons in the district who were known to be really bad defaulters, and after that, every one paid the dues without much trouble. The procedure for granting fresh loans was simplified and it was assured that all societies which made timely repayment would get timely credit from the bank. I found similar evidence of improvement in other sectors which received the attention of the Collector. The routine work of the Collector, in the case cited above, prevented the Collector from attending to many problems, which though important, did not come under his direct responsibility. The Collector, to be effective, needs to be relieved from some of the routine work directly under him. The Panchayati Raj scheme has to some extent taken away some pressure from him.

### *Regulation and Control of Local Bodies*

Elected bodies for Local Self-Government, institutions, like Municipal Committees and District Boards, have been in existence for long. Before the Independence, a Collector had the power to make inspection of these institutions and all requests for assistance, grants, etc. from these institutions were routed through the Collector. The Collector

had also the power to stay the execution of any resolution passed by such elected bodies if the resolution in his opinion was likely to injure the interests of the community or any particular section of it. The Collector could also recommend to the Government to suspend or cancel any resolution passed by these civic bodies. A few seats on these elected bodies were filled by nomination on the recommendation made by the Collector, which was generally accepted. The Collector could also recommend to the Government to supersede the municipal bodies for their mal-functioning. These powers of the Collector are still intact but the Collector is no longer certain that his recommendation will be accepted by the Government in all cases. The Collector with his multifarious responsibilities cannot afford to make too many recommendations to the Government which are not accepted by the Government. Non-officials who are adversely affected by the recommendation of the Collector generally come to know of the views of the Collector, and it becomes very demoralizing for the Collector to function among persons who have shown to him that they were in their position in their own right and the pleasure or displeasure of the Collector did not make any difference.

It must, however, be said that in course of time, a Collector may build up an image of his being impartial and generally right on most issues, so that his recommendations carry more weight with the Government than the "Pairvies" from local leadership. Such cases can, however, be few. The Collectors have, therefore, generally abandoned taking serious interest in the affairs of these institutions. It is rather rare these days to see a Collector inspecting the office of a municipality. The Government in Bihar is proposing to appoint Executive Officers in Municipal Boards. I think within the powers delegated to such Executive Officers, the Collector's effectiveness will come to prevail again in civic bodies in case the Collector is allowed the same control over them as in the case of officers of other departments in the district.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

A number of Advisory Committees, statutory or otherwise, have been constituted at the district level to secure non-official participation in the functioning of administration at the level of the Collector. Some of these committees are like the District Anti-corruption Committee in which the Collector, all M.L.A.s, M.L.C.s, and representatives of important social service organizations are members. They discuss about enquiries in specific cases of complaints of corruption received through the members and also the ways and means to check corruption in various branches of administration. The District Development

Committee reviews the district plans and the progress of various programmes. The District Price Advisory Committee considers the trends in prices. The District Relief Advisory Committee discusses the measures taken to relieve distress due to floods or draughts. The District Irrigation Committee approves the irrigation schemes for the district. The District Harijan Advisory Committee reviews the progress of schemes for the uplift of the Harijans, and the District Stipend Committee sanctions stipends to the students of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes.

There are also various *ad hoc* Committees for specific purposes. The Collector is the Chairman of all committees at the district level. The non-officials and officials on these committees have now learnt to work in close co-operation with one another. The hostile confrontation between officials and non-officials on these committees, much in evidence in the Fifties, has now almost vanished. I saw, when I first joined service, that Collectors more often treated these committees as debating societies where the members were to be exhausted by ceaseless talking and no points were allowed to be scored against the administration. I found, in my experience, that these committees were very useful and were of great help in knowing the impact made by various administrative measures on the people. I always took my objective as the Collector and the objective of other members in such committees, to be identical, *i.e.*, to implement various programmes effectively in a manner which brought willing co-operation and goodwill from the people. I found that even the veteran stalwarts of opposition parties who were known for their unrelenting criticism of the government readily gave their co-operation. I still treasure the letter of appreciation which was written to me by a prominent opposition M.L.A. on the eve of my transfer from one district. He made it known to me that I was perhaps the only official to whom he had given any such appreciation. I also found that one had to be quite alert to control the drift of discussions which at times tend to become personal and bitter. An appropriate humorous remark here and there helped to make the atmosphere relaxed in meetings. I have had no hesitation in accepting the fact, whenever any defects in the administration were pointed out by any person, I was always prepared to frankly discuss with him the remedial measures needed to be taken. Too often, the member himself agreed, that for various reasons the defects could not be removed, but, whenever anything could be done, I ensured that it would be effectively done. It is also with a sense of pleasure that I state the fact that during more than five years of my district experience, I did not allow a single subordinate officer to come to any harm because of any non-official pressure or vendetta. I did

not hesitate to pull up my officers when they were on the wrong and normally I acted before any serious tension among non-officials and officials could develop. A personal enquiry, followed by face to face discussion invariably toned down the feelings howsoever bitter.

A mention may also be made of a new experiment which is being tried in Bihar at the instance of the present Chief Minister. The Chief Minister found that too much time of the legislature was taken by minor questions of local importance, the answering of which involved considerable expenditure and worry to the Government. He constituted a committee at the district level with Collector as its Chairman in which all Members of Parliament, Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils were represented. They were to ask questions in the form of Assembly questions which were to be answered formally by the Collector but all departments were to be represented in the committee so that the members could ask supplementaries also. The meeting of the committee is generally presided by the Chief Minister himself or by some other minister. The members have found this forum of meeting very useful and are more satisfied sitting face to face with officers who usually drafted replied for their questions in the legislature. The members had a feeling that in the case of questions raised in the legislature that officers did not place all their cards on the table and took advantage of technicalities and wording of questions to avoid embarrassing facts being brought to light. This feeling is naturally absent when the local officer was present before the members and the forum also ensured that no member asked questions merely for harassing some officers. This forum has worked very well but, constitutionally speaking, it is perhaps not correct that officials should be made directly answerable before Members of the State Legislature. There is no legal *locus-standi* for the committee and as such it is a pragmatic forum, the advantage of which cannot be denied.

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The new Panchayati Raj set-up which has been introduced in some districts of Bihar has been functioning for about one year now. The Collector is not a member of the Zilla Parishad and his powers and duties with regard to Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads are about the same as he enjoyed in the case of other local bodies. Democratic decentralization has made the officials a little more responsive to the needs and feelings of the representatives of the people. The development programmes which have come under Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis are no longer the direct responsibility of the Collector, and as such his direct interest in these programmes has naturally decreased. This, in a way, has been good, as it has enabled the

initiative to pass to the District Development Officer who is the secretary of the Zilla Parishad and who otherwise remained too much overshadowed by the presence of the Collector. The Collector, however, being responsible for the overall development has got to take interest in important programmes which need special attention. The control over the Block Development Officer and his supervisory staff had been a bit lax even otherwise. This was one of the main weaknesses of the Community Development programme. The Community Development Organization was a new institution and naturally it would have taken time for effectiveness of control to emerge at various levels. The art of exercising administrative control is a difficult one and even all public servants are not able to develop that ability. The non-officials will take a still longer time, if at all they do so, to acquire mastery over the staff. The compromise which has emerged, is generally the compromise of mutual benefit in which the staff carry out the wishes of the Pramukh and the Pramukhs ignore their lapses otherwise. The Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads are necessary to introduce an element of responsiveness in the multifarious activities of administration which have expanded manifold and which impinge on the lives of common people in the villages as never before. It cannot be expected that with all this expansion, the administration can be carried in the old style through bureaucratic delegations alone. It is, however, to be expected that the new democratic institutions can at best provide a framework administration at the lower levels but the initiative and drive needed to push through various programmes vital for the country cannot come from these institutions. These institutions cannot become dynamic because dynamic programmes tend to become unpopular in the beginning. It is essential that vital programmes which demand efficiency and speed should have independent machinery which should have arrangement for co-ordination at various levels with democratic institutions. When new programmes get reduced into an organized pattern, running on their own momentum, they could be transferred to the elected bodies. This concept has almost been accepted in the case of "Package Programme" and it needs to be adopted in the case of other new and essential programmes. It is really not possible for non-official elected bodies at this stage of their development to initiate the evolution of any new administrative structure; but any administrative structure after it gets started will function better under democratic control because its answerability to the people increases.

#### THE COLLECTOR AS A LEADER

The Collector has generally been accepted as a representative of the government at the district level. His recommendations in all matters

carry weight. The people and officials at the district level always look to him for leadership, and broadly speaking, he is very much accepted as a leader in preference to the political or other leaders in the district. The Collector is expected to know the people of his area very intimately. The old Collectors claimed to know their people in a special way and all other persons who claimed to represent the local people were looked with suspicion. The democratic decentralization and the functioning of the democratic system during the past 18 years in the country may not have resulted in an implicit trust in all local leaders but their position as the new links between the Government and the people has come to stay, which perhaps is for the good. The earlier hostility has been replaced by an acceptance of facts of local nature from the leaders of the locality.

The standard of touring prescribed for the Collector now needs revision in the light of the changed circumstances. The standard was prescribed on the presumption that the Collector should on his own know intimately about the people of his district by intensive touring. It is not possible to do that intensive touring now because the more important matters at the district level and in the State Secretariat will not allow the Collector to disappear for a long period in the interior. It is also not necessary for the Collector to have that much direct intimacy with the people when the latter are represented through a number of elected bodies. The elected representatives cannot, however, be taken on their face value and for that purpose the Collector must have some local knowledge so as to assess the actual worth of local leaders in dealing with problems of administration in his district. The elected representatives are not always the true representatives of the people. Many persons who enjoy respect in the society do not want to face the rough and tumble of an election fight but they are quite effective in the community otherwise. I generally had a rough and ready method of testing the worth of the local leaders. By drawing out as many people as possible for various programmes of community benefit, I could always pick up persons, on the basis of their performances, who could render effective service to the community.

The expansion of Government activities has conferred on the Collector a vast amount of statutory powers under various acts and regulations. The Collector is more or less free in the exercise of these vast statutory powers except that Government instructions may dictate a less or more emphasis on certain measures. The Collector's powers are also limited by the rise of consciousness among the people in the country side. It is no longer possible to ignore the sentiments of the people in execution of statutory powers even. The sphere of statutory

controls has expanded at the cost of the earlier discretionary or anticipatory powers. The Collector even now can to an extent anticipate Government's orders or the approval of the Government to the exercise of discretion by him in public interest. At an hour of necessity, such anticipatory action is appreciated but orders of the Government cannot now be anticipated in the normal course. Nor can he be sure that his action, though in public interest but not dictated by necessity, will be endorsed by the Government. Further, the expansion in work and the very nature of work are perhaps the reasons for a progressive decline in the extent of governmental control over the Collectors. The Government tries less and less to fetter the discretion of the Collector by issuing executive instructions where the responsibility for decision has to rest with the Collector. The respect for the man on the spot has generally come back and a disappointment is evident wherever the man on the spot fails to come up to the expectation. The Commissioner by virtue of his experience provides the guide-lines of action for the Collectors. His position is such that Collector can rush to him for guidance in any situation, which is more in the nature of mature advice from an elder brother than a direction from above. The difference is of great importance and the necessity for such advice is genuine. The Commissioner as an institution is necessary for overseeing generally the work of the collectors. The indirect influence of Commissioners on the tone of administration in districts is far-reaching and any one who has had a close look on the district administration in Bihar will vouchsafe for it. The emphasis in order of priorities followed by the Commissioner permeates down to the lowest level in administration and many programmes of Government achieved a great success in the field because of a particular commissioner in a particular division.

Anonymity is one of the ideals prescribed for a civil servant in a democratic government. This ideal, however, does not fit in with the role of the Collector. The Collector cannot remain anonymous and the very nature of his duties is such that his effectiveness will depend on the extent to which he is known in the community at large. The strict civil service approach in which Collectors try to function in an ivory tower, does not succeed. The Collector has to walk almost on a razor's edge to discharge his responsibility as a civil servant under the Constitution. He is to remain impartial but he is to serve under a government headed by a political party. Any effort to merely please the leader of the political party in power would make the Collector merely an instrument to be used for political exigencies, and the institution would lose all respect in the community. The impartial exercise of duties, on the other hand, may annoy the politicians in power. It is,

therefore, essential for the Collector to know the various interests operating in the district and to be always alert so that he does not barter away his independence for the sake of pleasing the masters.

A Collector has to have an acute sense of justice, so that he is able to stand up if at any time political exigencies dictate a line of action which is not just. During my experience as a Deputy Commissioner, I have found that there was a growing awareness among politicians that a civil servant has to be just. I have generally found it possible to convince them on this score whenever any administrative action did not suit the exigencies of their political strategy. I had to run into difficulties in the beginning when in one issue the administration at certain lower levels and at levels higher than mine was inclined to approve an unjust action for the sake of pleasing those in power. I took a deliberate stand which resulted in some trouble for me, but I did not have to regret it, because what I stood for was fully vindicated by subsequent events. I had, however, committed one mistake at that time—of not having any line of communication open with the persons involved. I made one very heartening discovery that the ministers never suggested that I should knowingly involve myself in any course which my conscience did not permit, if the issue was so placed before them. I found a groundless fear in the minds of many civil servants for not calling a spade a spade in issues which they imagined to be of vital importance to the political party in power.

One has to be sympathetic enough to understand the political aspirations of the party in power, to remain in power, which after all, in a democracy is a normal goal of any political party. The party in power will always have an edge over the opponents by virtue of their being in power but that never means that it expects the Collector to be a party to any injustice to others. The ruling party at best, I found, expected in return, if the Collector stood up for justice and impartiality, that it did not suffer because of some of their irresponsible opponents taking advantage of administrative incompetence in law and order and other matters. A Collector who is efficient and alert in his duties can afford to be strict and impartial. The failure of the administration at lower levels to deal with the breaches of law, in many cases, is responsible for the tendency in the ruling party to lean on Government servants for support. Much of the so-called political interference will vanish if the Collector could ensure fair play among all groups in his district. The fair play in many ways is tilted in favour of the ruling party because its leaders often have the advantage of forming the Government and they can distribute favours, which their opponents cannot. This, I think, has to be accepted in a democracy but it will undermine the democratic structure of the country if the ruling

party were to embark on a policy of "scorched earth" in regard to the constituencies of the opposition members. As a Collector, I always tried to ensure that, whatever discretion was vested in me, I exercised it with an absolute sense of justice, in a way that the legitimate interests of any group were not overlooked. And I had no hesitation in making amends if per chance any such interest got overlooked at any time.

The role of the Collector is very vital for the healthy evolution of democratic society in our country. It is the faith in impartiality and justice in the system which will keep the fabric of our society intact and which will prevent any group from becoming desparate. India has had the unique experience of having been ruled by one political party ever since Independence and the survival of democracy to a great extent is due to the restraint in the exercise of power shown by the ruling party, by and large, coupled with a reasonable degree of impartiality and justice displayed in their administration by the Collectors in India. It is still by and large the Collector's administration with which the vast majority of our people are vitally concerned.

## APPENDIX 'A'

LETTER NO. 1/CI—102/55A (PART)—6828, DATED PATNA, THE 1ST SEPTEMBER 1955, FROM M. S. RAO, ESQ., I.C.S., CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR, APPOINTMENT DEPARTMENT, TO ALL DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT/THE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER/ALL DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONERS/ALL HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS/ALL DISTRICT OFFICERS (INCLUDING THE ADDITIONAL DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, DHANBAD).

SUBJECT:—*Re-definition of the duties and functions of District Officers*

I am directed to say that with the increasing expansion of the activities of Government in all spheres, and particularly of development and welfare activities, it has become necessary to redefine the duties and responsibilities of the District Officer. By virtue of his influence as Magistrate and Collector the District Officer is best equipped to enlist the active support of the people in the successful implementation of any major programme of development, such as those under the Five Year Plans; and he can effectively co-ordinate the development and welfare activities of different departments, Government have, therefore, decided that all development and welfare duties should be squarely entrusted to the District Officer, and that his responsibilities in this regard should be clearly defined.

2. The District Officer's control over development and welfare activities in the district will generally conform to the pattern of District Magistrate's control over the police. The organizational and professional control of the police, up to the district level, is exercised by the Superintendent of Police, and above the district level, by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, and then the Inspector-General of Police. But, subject to certain restrictions, the general functional control over the Superintendent of Police is that of the District Magistrate and in the exercise of this control, the District Magistrate is guided by the Divisional Commissioner and by Government and not by the Police hierarchy. Similarly, while the organizational, and professional or technical control over Development Officers of district rank will be that of the departmental superiors, the functional control in non-technical matters will be exercised, within certain limits, by the District Officer. The District Officer will not be burdened with routine matters, establishment duties and technical matters of which he might have little knowledge. He will only be responsible for ensuring:

- (a) that the development and welfare schemes are such as would meet the needs of the people;
- (b) that the time-tables for various schemes are adhered to, and targets reached in time;
- (c) that there is no corruption;
- (d) that there is proper co-ordination, and difficulties in the execution of schemes are removed; and
- (e) that wherever necessary, people's co-operation is secured.

3. The District Heads of all Development and Welfare Departments should remain in close touch with the District Officer, and seek his guidance

and assistance; and on his part the District Officer should take keen interest in their work and help them in every way. The District Officers' guidance should, however, be confined to the administrative field; and in technical matters the views of the technical officers should prevail, and supervision must come from their own technical superiors. All Heads of Departments should play an active role in establishing successfully these arrangements, and in inculcating in their subordinates the right attitude towards the District Officer. The anxiety for safeguarding departmental rights, privileges, or prestige should give place to anxiety for furthering the objects of Government as a whole and for speedy progress of work, seeking from and offering to officers of other departments, all the co-operation needed for fulfilling the object.

4. The extent of the District Officer's control over the Development Officers is defined in the succeeding paragraphs. In these paragraphs the term "Development Officer" means an officer of district rank, serving in a district under the control of Government in any of the following departments, and having to deal with development and welfare schemes in the district:

- (a) Development, (b) Education, (c) Electricity, (d) Gram Panchayat, (e) Health, (f) Irrigation, (g) Local Self-Government, (h) Public Health Engineering, (i) Public Works, (j) Welfare, (k) Revenue.

5. The District Officer will have the following powers of administrative and disciplinary control over the Development Officers:

- (i) A Development Officer, while sending his tour programme for approval to the Head of Department or Divisional Officer as the case may be for approval, will forward a copy so to reach the District Officer at least 10 days in advance. The District Officer will be competent to suggest changes in the tour programme, or to instruct the Development Officer to perform a particular tour for a particular purpose. Such instructions as the District Officer may issue, regarding changes in the tour programme of the Development Officer, shall be incorporated in the tour programme and reported by him to the Head of Department or Divisional Officer concerned. If a Development Officer has to proceed on tour at short notice in connection with urgent work, he will report his intention to the District Officer. The District Officer, for reasons to be recorded by him, may require the Development Officer to remain at headquarters.
- (ii) A Development Officer's application for casual leave will be forwarded through the District Officer to the authority competent to grant such leave; and the District Officer's concurrence would be necessary before the leave is granted. After such leave is granted, the Development Officer will have to obtain the permission of the District Officer before leaving the district.  
A Development Officer's application for regular leave will be forwarded through the District Officer, who will record his views for the information of the authority competent to sanction the leave.
- (iii) The District Officer may move a Head of Department for the transfer of an officer of that department working in the district, either


within the district or outside. If the Head of Department concerned does not wish to accept the recommendation of the District Officer, he will state his reasons, and obtain orders of Government. The District Officer will also have the power to require a Development Officer to transfer within the district, a subordinate officer, who can be transferred by the Development Officer. But before the issue of such an instruction the District Officer will consult the Development Officer.

- (iv) The District Officer will have the power to call for periodical progress reports from the Development Officers in his district, to make observations on them, and to issue such instructions as he may consider necessary. He will, however, confine his observations to administrative matters, and will send copies of his instructions to the Divisional Officer or Head of Department concerned. If the Divisional Officer or Head of Department, as the case may be, has anything to say in regard to the instructions, he will write to the District Officer, and thereafter the matter should be settled by mutual consultation, or if necessary, referred to Government for orders.
- (v) The District Officer will be competent to call for a report in the nature of an explanation, from a Development Officer in respect of any administrative matter; but if he wishes any further action to be taken he will report the matter to the Head of Department concerned.
- (vi) The District Officer will write annual confidential reports on the work and conduct of Development Officers in his district and forward the reports to the Heads of Departments concerned.
- (vii) Copies of all correspondence between the Heads of Departments and their subordinate officers, except those which deal with purely technical or unimportant matters, will be sent to the District Officer. Similarly the District Officer will send to the Heads of Departments concerned copies of all the important instructions issued by him to the Development Officers in the district.

6. Where the jurisdiction of a Development Officer of district rank extends over more than one district, the District Officer of all the districts covered by the jurisdiction of the Development Officer will exercise the powers mentioned in sub-paragraphs (iii), (iv) (v) and (vi) of paragraph 5. The other powers will be exercised with the following modifications:

- (i) A Development Officer of district rank whose jurisdiction extends over more than one district will send copies of tour programmes to all the District Officers in his jurisdiction and also to the Commissioner of the Division. If a particular District Officer desires any change in the tour programme of the Development Officer, he will move the Commissioner of the Division, who will issue necessary directions and also inform the Head or Department of Divisional Officer concerned.
- (ii) Casual leave will be granted to the Development Officer subject to the concurrence of the Divisional Commissioner. Applications for regular leave will be forwarded through the Divisional Commissioner.

7. The District Officer is already responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue. Now that all development and welfare duties are also being squarely entrusted to the District Officer, it is necessary to ensure that the burden does not become too heavy for one man to carry. Government are taking steps to relieve the District Officer of part of his burden by divesting him of his responsibilities in the matter of administration of criminal justice. This has already been brought about in six districts, where the judicial and executive functions have been separated. This separation will soon be introduced in the remaining districts also. The question of reducing the size of some of the existing districts, and increasing their number is also under the consideration of Government. There is an Additional Collector posted in every district to assist the District Officer. Government are examining the question of clearly defining the duties of the Additional Collector, so that he may be fully utilized for relieving the burden of the District Officer. Orders on all these points will be issued separately in due course.



## GUJARAT

LEST the role of the Collector in the Gujarat State be viewed against a static background, it is necessary, as a backdrop, to recapitulate the process by which a variety of territories came to be fused into the present State of Gujarat. Actually, if one throws back one's mind to the conditions prevailing immediately after Independence, the task of forming the Gujarat State with the territories now included in it and with a uniform system of administration and laws would appear to have been beset with innumerable difficulties. There were at that time some 222 States in Kathiawar with different laws, customs and administrative systems representing feudalism at varying stages of development. There was the Kutch State, which though very large in size, had remained cut off from the rest of India in more than the geographical sense. In the British Indian portion of Gujarat, the five districts of what was then known as Ahmedabad Division, were interlaced with some 148 States and Jagirs varying in importance from Baroda State to numerous semi-independent petty States comprising a few villages each under the jurisdiction of the Western India States Agency. The integration of Baroda State with its widely dispersed territories, and with a system of administration different from and in many respects in advance of the system in the British areas, appeared to have presented difficulties no less real than the "merger" of many of the smaller backward States. The deceptive ease with which the Gujarat State was ultimately formed with a unified system of laws and administration, was mainly due to the fact that the formation of the Gujarat State was, by conscious or unconscious design, the culmination of a three-stage process. The first stage was the "merger" of the Baroda State in Western India States Agency with the State of Bombay and the integration of the Kathiawar States into newly formed State of Saurashtra. The second stage resulted in the re-organization of the Bombay State in 1956 which brought about the "integration" of Saurashtra and Kutch States in the Bombay State. Only in the third and final stage did the bifurcation of the Bombay State take place, leading to the formation of Gujarat and Maharashtra States.

The background is important to remember, as contrary to popular belief the ex-British areas constitute only a fraction of the present State of Gujarat, and the institution of Collector is comparatively new to

major parts of the State. This will be highlighted by the fact that the population of the British areas which are now part of the Gujarat in 1941 was only 4,092,715 as against a total population of 1,37,01,551 for the whole area now constituting Gujarat State. The coming together of areas so administratively heterogeneous naturally led to a certain amount of cross fertilization of ideas. There were also considerable variations in the evolution of administration, from area to area which had their own impact on the role of the Collector. For instance, land reforms were more or less completely implemented in the districts of the Saurashtra State when it became part of the larger bilingual State of Bombay in 1956. The Kutch State on the eve of "merger" with Bombay in 1956, even after a period of 8 years of tutelage under the Centre, did not have much of a system of revenue administration. Districts like Sabarkantha and Banaskantha which were formed as a result of the merger of a number of petty States presented special problems in revenue administration at the lower levels.

Despite the variations referred to above, however, it will not be incorrect to say that the general pattern of administration developed along lines prevailing in the ex-Bombay State. It could also be said that the changes which took place in the district administration in general and the role of the Collector in particular, were evolutionary in character and the system as developed had marked similarities to the systems of administration prevailing in other Ryotvari areas of the country.

#### THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF THE COLLECTOR AFTER INDEPENDENCE

In the earlier period, as in the other parts of the country, the functions of the Collector could be broadly classified as revenue, magisterial and executive.

On the revenue side, the Collector was responsible for all matters arising out of the collection of land revenue and administration of land, including functions relating to record of rights and other land revenue records, Annawari, Jamabandi, Consolidation of Holdings, Land Acquisition, grant of land, implementation of Tenancy Legislation and appointment of Revenue Patels. He was also responsible for the collection of excise, stamp and other duties and all dues whether of the State Government or the Central Government, which were required to be collected as "arrears of land revenue". A responsibility linked with his revenue functions was the Collector's position vis-a-vis the District Treasury.

On the magisterial side, the Collector in his capacity as District

Magistrate was in overall charge of law and order administration. He initiated the confidential report of the District Superintendent of Police and added his remarks on the confidential reports of other senior police officers in the district. In his capacity as District Magistrate and through his subordinate executive magistrates, he dealt with enactments such as the Preventive Detention Act, the provisions relating to externments under the District Police Act and the preventive sections under the Criminal Procedure Code. He was responsible for the appointment and removal of Police Patels. He also exercised responsibility in connection with the grant, suspension or cancellation of arms licences, hotel licences, licences for explosives and petroleum. As District Magistrate he further exercised functions with regard to foreigners, jails, and anti-corruption work in the district.

On the executive side, the Collector had a host of functions to perform; indeed the functions were so numerous that there was hardly any activity in the district with which he was not concerned. One of the important executive functions performed by the Collector which deserves a separate mention was the work in connection with the development activities in the district. He was directly responsible for certain programmes such as Community Development, National Extension Service, Tribal Blocks, Local Development Works and Rural Manpower Works. In addition he played an important role in the formulation and execution of Plan Schemes. As the chief co-ordinating agency in the district, he was expected to bring about speed in their execution by periodically reviewing their progress and assist in removal of obstacles. On the non-development side of his executive functions, the Collector was required to deal with emergencies such as floods, famines, fires, etc. He was entrusted with important responsibilities in connection with elections, census, administration of electricity and entertainment duties, administration of municipalities and small savings. Further, he had specific responsibilities under numerous Acts such as Pension Act, Treasury Trove Act, Bombay Irrigation Act, Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, Mamlatdar's Court Act, Co-operative Societies Act, Lunacy Act, Bombay Town Planning Act, Dangerous Drugs Act, Bombay Local Fund Audit Act, Indian Forest Act, Bombay Weights and Measures Act, Bombay Live Stock Improvement Act, etc.

In addition to his formal duties, the Collector had many other functions to perform and varied activities to look after. On the "protocol" side, he looked after the arrangements of visits by V.I.Ps. to his district. He was associated with the celebrations of numerous "Days", "Weeks" and "Fortnights". He was in eyes of most of inhabitants of districts "the Government". He was, therefore, "looked upon to provide

ready justice by passing the law on the subject, to intercede between other departments and the citizenry, to preside at ceremonies and to keep a watchful eye to ensure that even those who are not his subordinates keep to their places". The unenviable task of the Collector has been summed up in the following words of the Bengal Administrative Enquiry Committee Report:

"The lot of the District Officer, like that of the comic opera policeman, is not a happy one. He is expected to see that nothing goes wrong in his district but he has little power outside the Magistrate and Collector field to see that things go right. He is supposed... 'to compose differences between other officers' but he has no power to impose his will upon the recalcitrant. He can cajole and persuade; he cannot compel... We have been forcibly struck with the general attitude on the part of the departments to 'hoe their own row'."

#### SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE ROLE OF THE COLLECTOR IN THE EARLIER PERIOD

The above account of the earlier period will reveal a strong strand of similarity in the Collector's role in Gujarat with that prevailing elsewhere.

It may not be irrelevant at this stage to briefly examine some of those aspects of the Collector's functions in the earlier period which may not have been universal in other parts of the country. It may be recalled that the Bombay State had brought about separation between the executive and judicial functions under the Bombay Separation of Judiciary and Executive Functions Act, 1951 which was enforced with effect from 1st July, 1953. The Act created two classes of magistrates, judicial and executive. The category of judicial magistrate which included presidency magistrates, magistrates of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd class and special judicial magistrates were placed under the District and Sessions Judge. The executive magistrates which included the Sub-divisional Magistrates, Taluka Magistrates, magistrates specially empowered by the State and special executive magistrates were made subordinate to the District Magistrate. As a result of the separation, the Collector retained only a tenuous connection with the administration of justice in the district. In case this should be interpreted as a step leading to reduction of prestige of the Collector and thereby his effectiveness, it is necessary to point out that public opinion in the British Districts of Bombay State had attained political consciousness at a comparatively early date and, therefore, authority by itself was never a sufficiently effective instrument of administration in the

State. As against his reduced role on the magisterial side, the Collector was expected to play a far more vital role in "co-ordinating" the activities of various departments in his district. He presided over the monthly co-ordination meeting of all the District Heads of different departments. His confidential remarks on the District Heads were called for and incorporated in their character rolls by the Heads of Departments. The Collector was also entrusted with inspections of offices of other District Heads in his district from the organization and methods point of view.

Another important aspect worth mentioning is that the post-Independence period in the Bombay State saw the rise of a number of important non-official bodies in the district with which the Collector was associated. There were, for instance, the District Local Boards, statutorily constituted and duly elected on adult franchise, which were entrusted with a number of functions relating to public works in the rural areas such as maintenance of roads, running of hospitals and veterinary dispensaries. There were the District School Boards also statutorily constituted with responsibilities relating to primary education in the non-urban areas of the district. There were the District Village Panchayat Mandals which were charged with certain advisory functions in connection with the working of the village panchayats. In addition to the three statutory bodies mentioned above, there was the important though an advisory body known as the District Development Board which was expected to advise and help in relation to Plan and development work. It is necessary to mention the existence of these bodies to emphasise that the Collector in the post-Independence era in the Bombay State had been trained to work in co-operation with non-official agencies.

#### THE COLLECTOR'S ROLE IN THE NINETEEN SIXTIES

Despite some of the aspects which have been highlighted above, it is unnecessary to repeat that the role of the Collector in Gujarat was strong in resemblance to his role elsewhere in the country. With the advent of the Sixties, however, more fundamental changes began to appear in the Collector's role. New luminaries of equal brilliance appeared on the administrative horizon. The Collector was required to shed some of his old functions and to assume new responsibilities. We shall now address ourselves to the examination of these:

#### *Collector and the Panchayati Raj*

The most fundamental change in the role of the Collector during the Sixties came about as a result of the introduction of the Panchayati

Raj in Gujarat State with effect from April, 1963. Since, with the possible exception of perhaps the Maharashtra State, the degree of the change is unequalled in the country, it is necessary to elaborate some of the special features of the Panchayati Raj in the Gujarat State. In view of the role which had been so effectively played by various statutory and advisory bodies in different fields at the district level, the Democratic Decentralization Committee appointed by the Government of Gujarat felt that "it would be a retrograde step to abolish them and to create in their place only an advisory body of the type of the District Development Board only for supervision and co-ordination at the district level". Therefore, unlike the type of a district institution with purely supervisory and co-ordinating powers as envisaged by the Balwantrai Mehta Committee, it was considered necessary to establish a strong popular body at the district level to which could be entrusted the duties, responsibilities and resources of all the then existing bodies at district level and to further entrust such a body with other administrative responsibilities as would be possible at that level. The Committee referred to above also recommended that "in the rural areas the administration of land revenue is a visible symbol of the State authority. It should be considered but proper after the establishment of the popular institutions all possible functions relating to land revenue should be entrusted to such institutions".

As a result of the various recommendations made by the Democratic Decentralization Committee, the District-Panchayats which came into being were not only entrusted with the functions which were being performed by the erstwhile non-official bodies at the district level and functions relating to planning and programmes of community development and local development works, but were also given a fairly large number of departmental schemes for execution on an agency basis and a number of functions which were being performed by the Revenue Department. Some of the important functions of the Revenue Department transferred to the Panchayati Raj institutions included the collection of land revenue and certain other dues, giving of non-agricultural permissions, removal of encroachments, execution of boundary marks programmes and the maintenance of a number of important revenue forms at the village level and taluka level. In respect of the municipal areas, however, the Collector continued to discharge responsibilities under the Land Revenue Code and Rules. The Collector and Prant Officers were entrusted with the work of Jamabandi on the ground that the State in transferring the work of collection of land revenue to Panchayats could not abdicate its own responsibility in seeing that demand was properly raised and receipts correctly accounted for. Supervisory staff at certain other levels such as Circle Inspectors, Prant Officers had also

to be shared between the District Panchayats and the Revenue Department and, consequently, necessitating territorial changes in various charges of the Revenue Department and giving rise to certain problems in supervision.

Though the Collector was made an associate member of the District Panchayat and had a number of functions to perform with regard to elections of Village Panchayat giving of sanctions to leases, sales and transfer of properties vesting in the Gram/Nagar Panchayats, he was not very deeply involved in the District Panchayat as was done in many other States.

In view of the transfer of revenue functions to the Panchayats, it was also considered necessary to amalgamate the cadres of Talatis (known as Patwaris in some other States) and Mantris (Village Panchayat Secretaries) and to place the new functionaries under the administrative control of the Panchayati Raj institutions. It is also necessary to mention that the Chief Executive Officers of the District Panchayats, known as District Development Officers, were officers of the same status as the Collector and in many a district, the District Development Officer was senior in service to the Collector of the district, even though from the point of view of "protocol" and as a representative of the State the Collector continued to retain a higher position. With the transfer of many departmental schemes, a fairly large number of district level functionaries were also transferred to District Panchayats, such as District Agriculture Officer, District Health Officer, District Registrar of Co-operative Societies and Executive Engineer, P.W.D., in respect of works transferred to Panchayats. In the light of the facts mentioned above, there were many far reaching changes in the role of the Collector. In the first place, the Collector was no longer responsible for a major part of development activities in the district. These now became the direct responsibility of the District Panchayats. Secondly, the Collector was no longer required to review in detail the progress of implementation of all plan schemes in the district. He was mainly concerned with the State schemes only, though he did get a copy of the quarterly review done by the District Panchayats in respect of schemes transferred to them and communicated his remarks to the State Government. Thirdly, with the transfer of many of the departmental heads of the district to the Panchayats, many of the problems of "external" co-ordination in respect of Panchayat activities became problems of "internal" co-ordination and, therefore, to this extent, the Collector was required to play a less active "co-ordination" role. On behalf of the District Panchayat, only the District Development Officer attended the monthly co-ordination meeting, though he could bring such officers to the meeting as he considered necessary. Fourthly,

the Collector was relieved of a number of responsibilities relating to land revenue administration and had no direct control over revenue staff at the village level.

### *Land Reforms and the Role of the Collector*

The Bombay State was one of the earliest States to recognize the importance of land reforms in creating incentives for increasing agricultural production. In order to create security of tenure for the tenants, it enacted a protective measure, viz., the Bombay Tenancy Act as early as 1939. This Act was applied from 1941 as an experimental measure to the districts of Surat, Thana, West Khandesh and Dharwar and to all the areas which were formerly called partially excluded areas, and was subsequently extended to the whole State in 1946. In 1948, the Government enacted a new legislation, viz., the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948 which repealed the old Act but retained its useful provisions. This was amended in 1957 with a view to enabling occupancy rights to be conferred upon the tillers of the land. The Bombay Government and its successor, the Government of Gujarat, also enacted as many as thirty legislative measures to abolish various out-moded tenures. These tenure abolition laws affected land extending to 123.56 lakh acres and resulted in the lands being regranted to 6.53 lakh persons who were actually cultivating the land. It is also necessary to mention that the Saurashtra Land Reforms Act, 1951, affecting 51,628 intermediaries and 36.9 lakh acres of land, had already been implemented prior to the re-organization of States in 1956.

There is no doubt that the Collectors were required to do a great deal of work in connection with land reforms in the earlier period. Even so, it will not be incorrect to state that in many districts, land reforms imposed even a greater burden on the Collectors during the Nineteen Sixties. The reasons are not far to seek. This is partially due to the fact that a number of legislations were enacted only in the Sixties. The main reason, however, is the fact that due to various reasons it was not possible to implement a number of legislations in the earlier period. Thus a legislation like the Bombay Talukdari Tenancy Abolition Act was tied up in courts, and the Kutch Inam Abolition Act, 1958 could not be effectively implemented due to non-co-operation by the inamdars. The implementation of the earlier legislation conferring occupancy rights on the tillers of lands was particularly a stupendous administrative task and took place mainly in the Sixties. The magnitude of the work involved can be judged from the fact that the task entailed the conferring of occupancy rights on 10.85 lakh tenants, after quasi-judicial enquiries in which the purchase price to be paid by the tenants was also required to be fixed. To attend to these enquiries,

as many as 138 full-time officers of Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars grade were working at one time. The work in connection with calculation of instalments of purchase price, recovery of purchase price and maintenance of proper accounts was by itself considerable. The Collector's role was not only confined to organizing and supervising of the work, but also to hearing of appeals and attending to a large number of miscellaneous petitions complaining of corruption and other irregularities.

### *The Collector and Civil Supplies*

Of the many difficult tasks which the Collectors were required to attend to in the Sixties, perhaps, the most difficult one related to the work of Civil Supplies. Even normally, the process of economic development with its resultant increases in money incomes and diversion of real resources to long-term growth inducing investments, is bound to cause some stresses and strains on the economy. In the case of a heavily deficit State like the Gujarat State, which barely produces 60 to 65 per cent of its requirements of foodgrains, the problem was further aggravated by the coming into effect of "Zones" restricting movement of foodgrains. The Collectors, therefore, had to carry a very heavy administrative burden in regard to the Civil Supplies work in many respects even more difficult than the task faced by the Collectors in the period immediately after the war where there was procurement and full-fledged rationing. In the absence of adequate supplies, the situation required day-to-day attention as also a great deal of initiative and ingenuity. The difficulty was not confined to foodgrains alone. The situation of sugar, which first became acute in 1959-60, continued to remain far from satisfactory during the Sixties. The Collectors were also required to regulate supplies of other articles such as gur, groundnut oil, kerosene, etc. The extent of the work involved can be adjudged from the fact that during the period the Collectors were required to administer 26 regulations relating to various Sections of Acts. The demands made by the Civil Supplies work, on administration can form a subject of useful study. Since the scarcity of essential supplies is likely to remain with us for a long time to come, it also requires to be considered whether greater attention does not require to be paid to this aspect of an I.A.S. Officer's training.

### *Abolition of the Posts of Divisional Commissioners*

The posts of Commissioners which were in existence since 1830 were first abolished in 1950, but revived in 1958 under the Bombay

Commissioners of Divisions Act. These posts were again abolished in the Gujarat State with effect from May 15, 1964. The Commissioners were charged with the administration of land and land revenue matters with appellate and revisional powers under the Bombay Land Revenue Code, management of revenue establishment in their divisions and general supervision and control over other departments, e.g., Forests, Police and Irrigation. They were responsible for all development work in their divisions and were invested with powers of supervision and control over local bodies such as Municipalities, District Local Boards and Village Panchayats. With the comparatively small size of the State and good communications, more and more people were inclined to approach Government directly and there grew a feeling that far greater despatch of work could be achieved without these posts. Consequent upon the abolition of these posts, the Government created three functional posts of the same level, viz., Development Commissioner, to look after the development functions of the Commissioners, the Revenue Inspection Commissioner, to perform inspection and co-ordination functions of the Commissioners and the Special Secretary, Revenue Department, to discharge the appellate functions of the Commissioners. Reserving to itself certain powers of the Commissioners, Government at the same time, delegated a number of powers to the Collectors. The powers delegated to the Collectors included certain powers relating to land revenue and miscellaneous powers, such as creating temporary posts in Class III and Class IV cadres for a period of one month, involving expenditure not more than Rs. 1,000. The question of a further delegation of powers to the Collectors is under examination and should such a delegation be found feasible, it will certainly help in the speedy disposal of revenue work.

### *The Collectors and the Emergency*

Though earlier period in the Forties, during on the main function of the Collectors was to take measures calculated to help defence efforts, there had been a long lull of activity of this type before the situation arising out of the Chinese aggression in 1962. It is true that to some extent even before this period, the Collectors discharged functions of preparing Civil Defence plans for the main towns in their districts and generally helped in other items of work relating to defence efforts such as recruitment. However, after 1962, the question of defence effort assumed far greater urgency and the Collectors were consequently required to devote considerable time to the work relating to organization of the Village Volunteer Force, formulation of Civil Defence measures, recruitment rallies and other activities, which were calculated to help defence efforts.

*The Collector and the Treasury Functions*

In order to facilitate more specialized attention to be paid to accurate accounting, Government in 1960 entrusted the administration of the Treasuries to the control of the Directorate of Accounts and Treasuries. With effect from March, 1962, the Government brought into effect the separation of establishment of sub-treasuries from the District Land Revenue establishment and placed the Treasury personnel under the same administrative authority as was in control of the Treasuries. As a result of this separation, Collectors and other revenue officers under them ceased to exercise and discharge powers and functions relating to the staff of the sub-treasuries, except such as were at that time exercised and discharged by them as heads of the local administration under various treasury and accounts rules and orders and other standing orders issued by the Government from time to time. These included verification of cash balances, stamps and opium, investigation of irregularities and defalcations, and carrying out of periodical inspections of Treasuries and sub-treasuries in accordance with the Bombay Treasury Rules. Taking an overall view, the administrative responsibilities of the Collectors in relation to the Treasury work were reduced. From the administrative point of view, however, the new arrangement caused some difficulties to the Collectors in so far as the Treasury Aval Karkun in the talukas who used to supervise a number of important compilations in the taluka offices was no longer available to the Mamlatdars for such supervisory duties.

## CONCLUSIONS


It has not been possible in a brief account like this to enumerate all the changes which have taken place in the role of the Collectors in the Gujarat State during Nineteen Sixties. Even so it is hoped that some of the more significant trends in relation to the role of the Collectors have been enumerated. It is now proposed to draw upon this account to present briefly a few conclusions.

There is no doubt that the changes which have taken place in Gujarat during the Sixties have left the Collector with a diminished stature. The expectation that the Collector will get substantial relief in his work as a result of these changes has, atleast in the short run, not been fulfilled. And to the extent that the supervisory revenue personnel has had to be shared and the agency at the village level is no longer amenable to the direct control of the Collector and his subordinates, the task of the Collector in effectively discharging the functions remaining with him has become somewhat more difficult.

In regard to the reduction of the Collector's work, it is of course true that the limited experience obtained so far is no sure guide for the future. The lack of significant reduction in Collector's work is partly attributable to the increase of Civil Supply work and to some extent to the fact that the exact division of work between the Collectors and the District Panchayats has not become quite familiar to the people, thereby often resulting in applications being made to the wrong agency. As the land reforms work is completed, and the present administrative arrangements get settled down and become better known to the people, there is no doubt that the work of the Collector will show a definite reduction.

From the point of view of development, the scheme of democratic decentralization stands on its own merits. From the point of view of its effect on the Collector's functions also it might be argued that the scheme represents a logical and inevitable step in the evolution of district administration. The fact that the Collector's charge was becoming increasingly unmanageable is borne out by the resort to expedients such as the creation of Joint Collector's posts in the Madras State and the posts of Additional Collectors in the Bombay State and the various suggestions made from time to time to meet the situation, such as the one to have the post of a "Development Collector". Further, in development matters, situated as he was between pressures from below resulting from the revolution of rising expectations of the people, and the regulatory pressures from above on account of limitation of resources, the Collector was finding his role more and more difficult. The scheme of the democratic decentralization by providing relief to the Collector, and at the same time making the people's representatives aware of the need for greater mobilization of resources and providing them with suitable institutional framework for such mobilization, is therefore a step in the right direction.

This is not to say that there are no unresolved problems. Indeed, more than ever there is need for defining the long-term role of the Collector in administration and of ensuring his effectiveness by providing him with adequate and sufficiently responsible instruments of administration. Unless this is done, an element of doubt and uncertainty will persist in district administration, which would not be conducive to better efficiency, but on the other hand, may at times give rise to unseemly rivalries. It is in this perspective, that studies on the role of the Collector like the one being undertaken by the Ministry of Home Affairs are most opportune and welcome.



## JAMMU & KASHMIR

THE State of Jammu & Kashmir up to 1951 was divided into two Provinces: (1) Jammu, and (2) Kashmir. Each Province was under the charge of a Governor. The Governor exercised the powers of a District Magistrate and of a Collector for the whole Province. His functions were not defined beyond what were contained in the Criminal Procedure Code and the Land Revenue Act. But by tradition and usage, the Governor had stepped into position of the head of a Mughal Subah. He represented the Government at the provincial level and exercised powers of general superintendence and control over all wings of public administration, though this was not specifically prescribed in any statute or order. The Province was divided into districts. Each district was in the charge of a *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, having the powers of Sub-divisional Magistrate and an Assistant Collector of first class. In his jurisdiction the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* also exercised general superintendence and watched that the interests of the Government were not jeopardized. The functions of the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* were also not defined in any executive order or statute.

### TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS

#### *The Deputy Commissioner as the District Magistrate*

In 1951, under Government Order No. 515-C, dated April 24, 1951, the Government sanctioned the re-organization of the district administration in the State. Each district was placed under a Deputy Commissioner who was both the Collector and the District Magistrate. However, in the absence of any other instructions or orders, the Collector exercised only such powers as were vested in them under the Criminal Procedure Code or the Land Revenue Act. His relations with other departments, and particularly with the police, were not defined and as a result his powers of superintendence and control over other wings of administration in the district were largely uncertain and vague. In the ultimate analysis it was the personality of the individual Collector which determined his powers and his capacity to deliver the goods. A bold and competent Collector sometimes acquitted himself well as the head of the district, but in most cases the Collector reconciled himself to the fact of resistance by police or any other department in regard to his supervision or guidance. At times when law and order

was threatened, a weak Collector became ineffective and it fell to the police to deal with the situation. In the absence of any definite laws giving statutory powers to the Deputy Commissioner in his capacity as the District Magistrate and defining his relations and control over the police, his effectiveness in the sphere of law and order is compromised. The Superintendents of Police generally show a tendency of functioning independently even in matters of policy. There is a very strong case for giving effective and real powers to the District Magistrate under statute for maintenance of law and order.

There exists already a separation of the judiciary and the executive in the sense that Judicial Magistrates are subordinate to the High Court and in normal conditions are not controlled by the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate can, however, call upon the Judicial Magistrates in an emergency to function as magistrates in different areas. However, being generally not under the administrative control of the District Magistrate, the Judicial Magistrates function somewhat in an indifferent way in an emergency. It would be more feasible if a number of magistrates become available to the District Magistrate in a crisis who will carry out his policy and are subject to his control.

### *Collection of Revenue*

As Collector, the Deputy Commissioner is responsible primarily for collecting land revenue, irrigation cess and other cesses, taxes and Government dues which are prescribed under various statutes. The Collector is vested with adequate authority to realize such dues, and does not need any additional powers for the purpose.

The Collector is not only responsible for the revenue due from the agricultural land in his district, but also supervises the maintenance of all records of land pertaining to the rights of land owners and the tenants and the incorporation of changes that may take place in such rights in the record-of-rights. Jammu & Kashmir was the first State to introduce land reforms of a revolutionary character. All land in the occupancy of tenants was entered in their name as owners and rent on land due to the owners was reduced to one fourth of the produce. No tenant could be ejected from the lands left with landlords (who were left with 22½ acres) except in due course of law, but a tenant could be summarily reinstated into his tenancy if forcibly ejected. It is the responsibility of the District Officer to watch and supervise the implementation of this agrarian policy and also to ensure that the subordinate staff regulate their conduct in a manner as would give to the tenants a feeling of protection and being looked after by the State.

*Land Development and Administration*

Although the Collector is responsible for the maintenance of land revenue records, conducting land surveys and promoting land development but in view of his manifold responsibilities in the post-Independence period, he has little time to attend to these matters personally. This aspect of his responsibilities is looked after by an Assistant Commissioner in his office and sometimes special organization has to be created for land surveys and land reforms. The Collector deals with land disputes under the Land Revenue Act but quite a volume of work gets accumulated over a period of years and a special officer has to be appointed to clear the arrears. Under the Land Acquisition Act, the Collector prepares all land acquisition cases and sends them direct to the Government. His powers in regard to the land acquisition have recently been enhanced, so that land acquisition cases are decided promptly and payment is made to the concerned party without much delay. The Collector also looks after the implementation of the land reforms and disposes of disputes that may arise therefrom under the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act.

*Control over Municipal Bodies*

The Collector exercises small control over municipalities, though he can supersede the Notified Area Committees in the mufassil towns if he considers that necessary in the public interest.

**THE COLLECTOR AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES**

Though the role of the Collector in relation to the developmental programmes has not been laid down in any clear terms, he is, nevertheless, responsible for the co-ordination and general superintendence of implementation of development programmes at the district level. The Collector is the District Development Officer and performs the functions of the District Planning Officer himself, as no officer has been provided for the purpose. The Government is considering creation of the post of the District Planning Officer to relieve Collector of routine administrative responsibilities in the field and enable him to confine himself to the broad supervision and guidance. There are no Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis in the State of Jammu & Kashmir. There are a Block Development Board and a District Development Board which advise the Collector in regard to the development programmes at the block and district levels respectively. The District Development Board provides a forum where all the District Heads meet once a month under the chairmanship of the Collector. The Board also discusses the extent to which decisions taken in its meetings are followed

up with action by various Departments. Such action is generally not pursued with interest and vigour. This is perhaps partly due to the diffidence with which the Collector meets his colleagues in the district, as his relations with them are undefined.

As the District Development Officer, the Collector has been provided with the requisite ministerial staff. He exercises administrative and financial powers of a Class II officer and special power to accord administrative approval to works of the Community Development Department the cost of which does not exceed Rs. 15,000. The District Development Officer (Collector) is also responsible for the proper implementation of the Community Development Programme and exercises administrative control over the Block Development Officer. He also co-ordinates within his jurisdiction the activities of different development departments such as Agriculture, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operatives, Rural Arts & Crafts and Industries. The Collector has recently started writing the confidential reports and sanctioning tour programmes and leave of the Extension Officers, Block Development Officers and junior police officials.

As the District Development Officer, the Collector works under the direction and control of the State Development Commissioner. The various development departments function in the block through their respective departmental officers, and the Collector as a District Development Officer operates at the block level through the Extension Officers of these departments. Consequently, there is overlapping of functions and diffusion of responsibility. It is desirable that all the developmental activities in the block should be the responsibility of the Extension Officers under the Community Development Programme and the duplication of staff and officers should be eliminated. Under statute or executive orders the Collector has little control over the District Heads of other departments. Though the Collector is the head of the district, in practice his authority to superintend the functions of all departments in the district has been diluted in recent years and departments like engineering and forestry find such jurisdiction of the Collector over them inconvenient. However, a Collector, with competence and confidence, does create an impact in his district on all departments and makes his presence felt. His responsiveness to public aspirations gives him a degree of influence among the people unequalled by any other officer in the district.

The more important departments of interest to the Collector are the Departments of Animal Husbandry, Agriculture and Community Development which includes social education. Recently, social education has been transferred from the Community Development to the Education Department in the State. The Collector's functions in

regard to these departments also are not clearly defined in his capacity as the head of the district but certain responsibilities have been assigned to him under the Jammu & Kashmir Panchayat Act and Rules and the Government order sanctioning re-orientation of Community Development Programme.

While all plans should generally emanate from the district upwards through the Commissioner to the Government the practice so far has been that all plans are mostly prepared in the Planning Department of the State Secretariat without consulting the Divisional Commissioner or the Collectors. With the recent appointment of a State Planning Commissioner, it is believed that some attention will be paid to involving the Commissioners and the Collectors in the planning process.

#### COLLECTOR AS AN AGENT OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT

The Collector, as the head of the district, performs a miscellany of functions for the State Government. At times of emergency or natural calamities like fire and floods, the Collector acts as the Chief Relief Officer in the District. Similarly, the functions of the Collector as the main supervisor in the district during elections or census operations are too well known to need any recapitulation. The Collector supplies statistics to the Planning Department generally and any other statistics that may be required for any purpose by the Government from time to time. He is also the Chief Vigilance Officer of the district and reports laxity or remissness on the part of any individual officer in the district to Government. He has the general responsibility to supervise and safeguard governmental interests and to watch if the officers of the district are in sympathy with the broad objectives of the Constitution. He is also in charge of food procurement programme carried out through the co-operative agencies working in the district. The Collectors normally route all the papers through the Commissioner. However, in matters where the urgent Government attention is necessary to be attracted, the report is simultaneously made to the concerned Secretariat Department and the Commissioner and sometimes directly to the Home Minister or the Chief Minister. The effectiveness of the supervision of the work of the Collector by the Commissioner depends considerably on the personality of the Collector and the Commissioner.

While touring has increased, the practice of writing inspection notes while out on tour has also become extinct. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Divisional Commissioners do not insist on such inspection notes being submitted to them because the Commissioners and others also do not themselves write such inspection notes.

Whereas the State Government has defined the functions of the Commissioner in detail, the functions of the Collector have not spelt out in the like manner, with the result that the effectiveness of the Commissioner in regard to his responsibility is compromised.

### *Viability of the Charge of the Collector*

As regards the staff assistance available to the Collector, he has a Personal Assistant of the rank of a Naib Tehsildar, a Headquarters Assistant of the status of Tehsildar and an Assistant Commissioner. All these three more or less function as his direct Assistants, though recently the Assistant Commissioner has been given the powers of Collector to clear the pending cases in the Collectorate. There is no separate Development Officer or District Planning Officer nor are there any Sub-divisional Officers in the State. Re-organization of the staffing pattern in the district offices has become inevitable. The need for appointing District Planning and Development Officers poses a basic problem of finding suitable personnel. There has been no recruitment in the State Civil Service on any organized basis ever since 1945 and the State administration faces dearth of personnel at all levels in general administration. In technical departments, however, the position in regard to personnel is somewhat satisfactory.

The two districts of Jammu and Srinagar are compact and more populous and being the two capitals of the Government are economically and educationally ahead of the other seven districts which are of varying size and population. The workload of the Collector in these two districts—of Jammu and Srinagar—is quite heavy and an additional Collector needs to be provided. The workload in other districts is normal. However, in districts like Baramulla, Doda and Poonch, which have a length of about 100 miles or more each, the appointment of Sub-divisional Magistrates in the peripheral Tehsils would facilitate vigil and petitioners will not have to travel long distances to the District Headquarters for a routine representation.

### THE IMAGE OF A NEW ROLE

The foregoing account of the contemporary role of the Collector in Jammu & Kashmir underlines the need for a closer interlacing of the respective roles of the Collector and District Heads of other departments, with clear-cut directives. The present arrangements and attitudes at the moment do not facilitate the exercise of unified responsibility by the Collector. Departments need to be induced to accept the Collector as the District Co-ordinator. Although the Collector performs far more significant functions than ever before, the lack of clearly

defined functions and powers detracts from the acceptance by others of such a role. In order to enable the Collector to perform his developmental responsibilities effectively, it is necessary that his functions be defined specifically as early as possible and his prestige and position as the chief representative of the Government in the district established clearly. The Collector is the chief protocol officer in his district and it is necessary that various Divisional Officers and even Heads of Departments remain in touch with him and contact him during tour in his district to resolve any departmental bottlenecks. It is also essential to rationalize the staffing pattern in the office of the Collector and to provide additional staff aides with more powers in different spheres (including the District Planning Officer) so that time of the Collector is not consumed in various routine functions. Furthermore, the Collector should be equipped by the State Government with all the powers necessary to enable him to play an effective role as the key man in the administrative set-up of the district.

Ours is perhaps the only country in Asia amongst the underdeveloped States where democracy is established on a firm footing. The District Officer has a responsibility which is not realized to the extent necessary—responsibility to help strengthen our adolescent democracy. This is possible only when the District Officer, who already feels responsible to the Government, is also responsive to the public aspirations and feelings. The present generation of district administrators, who are conditioned in one way or the other by their association with the pre-Independence administration, find it difficult to recognize that many of the problems of public administration are due to the fact that they arise in a democratic setting. When we say that the role of the administrator has changed and the old approach to the public and politics does not hold good any longer, the necessary transformation in attitudes and perspective does not take place by this verbal expression. Having been educated in and having grown up with a particular background, we, the administrators, are all conditioned by this past and the problem is to shed this conditioning if we have to meet the new challenge. This conditioning can only be dissolved if we become deeply aware of the fact that the conditioning still persists in some form or the other.

There is bound to be growing appreciation of the fact that unlike the District Officer before 1947, who depended on the prestige of authority and the powers to punish and collect taxes, the District Officer today can command prestige to the extent to which he is in sympathy with the broad objectives of the Constitution and the national policy, and is responsive to the aspirations of the people. The District Officer had fewer responsibilities before Independence. The sources and methods of his recruitment and the long period of training and experience

gave him the appearance of being meticulously efficient. He spoke chaste English, wrote polished office notes, maintained well-furnished drawing rooms with cocktail parties, kept a high standard of life and bore himself as a member of the intellectual elite. After Independence, it is his ability to view administration as a whole and his sympathy with the broad objectives of national policy which is of highest importance. Having been more fortunate in the material sense than most of his fellow beings in the district, it is his responsibility to throw up new ideas and take initiative without assuming any formal leadership of the people. The realization on the part of the District Officer that it is desirable that there should be an increasing interest on the part of the people in the affairs of the administration, that they should more actively participate and initiate programmes connected with their well-being, will enable him to view problems comprehensively. The District Officer must be responsive but uncorrupted. He should be able to enlist the creative drives of citizens and group interests in the broader planning and operation of administrative programmes. A District Officer should be possessed of that quality of Sardar Patel which enabled him to think of popular needs in terms of the administration and of administration in terms of popular needs.

Delays, unsympathetic attitudes, excuse of extra work—these are some of the contemporary malaise of district administration. The Collector needs an O & M Cell in his office which will not restrict itself to O & M activities, narrowly defined but also go into question of attitudes, public relations, communication and corrupt practices. Whereas the Collector is expected to be accessible to all, each Collector functions differently. It will be desirable to lay down a uniform pattern in regard to interviews and follow-up action on them, and have a uniform machinery set up for redress of the citizens' complaints.


Our country has accepted the democratic form of Government and worked it with success in a large measure. Its implications and the problems it has given rise need to be faced squarely. One of such problems which impinges on administration is the relationship of the politician with the administrator. It is in this sphere that the Collector faces some genuine difficulty. The district politician can reach the State Headquarters quicker to influence or interfere in the affairs of administration through his political hierarchy and the Collector feels frequently embarrassed in such situations. The ultimate success of our democratic experiment would to a large extent depend on the efficiency of the administrative set-up and if the position and the prestige of the Collector, who occupies a pivotal position in the administration, is not firmly established and strengthened, the damage that will result is obvious.

The Collector is learning to be responsive to the public needs and aspirations but such responsiveness should not be forced on him under pressure from any particular interest group but arise from a realization of his responsibilities for building up a democratic socialistic society. The District Officer must, therefore, have a keen awareness of political realities, a sharp political sense, without taking any active part in politics. Public administration functions in the wider framework of political process and no senior administrator can afford to do so without an understanding of that process.

It is a matter of common knowledge that senior and competent officers are posted in the Secretariat and junior, pliable and soft officers are not infrequently posted in the district. If senior, firm and competent officers are posted in the district in pursuance of a uniform policy all over the country, the psychological change needed to be brought about in the district administration will in some measures be achieved. Officers with experience of at least ten years alone should be posted as Collectors. There should be uncompromising opposition to any relaxation of this principle.

While the administrators receive their training in various administrative institutions and also in the field, it is necessary that inexperienced politicians should undergo a course of self-study or institutional schooling in the administrative implications of their role and the art and science of administration. This would help promote a harmonious co-ordination between the two wings of public life engaged in a common endeavour of social betterment.

As all authority must flow down the line, the Collector will be effective to the extent the Commissioner is effective in the division. The Commissioner will guard jealously the power and position of the Deputy Commissioner. It, therefore, follows that the Commissioner should be made effective as the head of the division. The Commissioners and senior administrators should see to it that the Collector functions as the Chief Executive of the district and should also ensure that the institution of the Deputy Commissioner is properly fostered and nourished, to play its new role effectively.



## KERALA

THE present Kerala, mythological land of *Parasurama*, consists of three historically distinct parts. The Malabar-Kasaragod area consisting of the present districts of Cannanore, Calicut and Palghat, was a part of British India. Princely orders governed Travancore and Cochin as two distinct entities. Travancore took shape under the Maharaja Marthanda Varma (1729-58) in the middle of the Eighteenth Century. Cochin had to wait till early Nineteenth Century for its ultimate shape. It was given to a Maharaja of Cochin to dream of a united Kerala. The Maharaja of Cochin, Shri Kerala Varma (1946-48) in his message sent to the Cochin Legislative Council on July 29, 1946 and also in his address to the Aikya Kerala Convention held at Trichur in April, 1947 expressed his wish that all Malayalam-speaking areas should come under one administration.

The Indian National Congress promised linguistic division to the country; and independent India tried to fulfil this promise. Like some other linguistic States, the present Kerala was formed out of several entities. Travancore lost Nanjanad and certain other areas to Madras. Cochin was with Travancore already, and Malabar District and adjoining Kasaragod Taluk (South Canara District) of Madras joined the Travancore-Cochin State in 1956 minus the transferred area.

Princely orders being personal administrations had certain disadvantages. But these were certainly not unmixed evils. The administration depended to some extent on the wishes or even the whims of a ruler. In Travancore and Cochin, luckily the rulers were men of wisdom. What was more significant is that they had quite often eminent men as their Dewans whom they gave a free hand in administration. Although the Princely States did not have the rule of law, in the same degree as in the British territories, they had considerable freedom from certain inhibiting factors. The British administrators, by and large, refused to look at religious problems or changes in the personal law of major communities. Social evils like untouchability were handled with a degree of timidity and a sense of fear. British administration undoubtedly aimed at preventing exploitations of the weak by the strong such as of tenants

by landlords, workers by employers, untouchables by caste people and women by men. In their dealings with these problems, however, they had the shadow of 1857 revolt at the back of their minds. In the matter of industrial development, rules of orthodox finance and considerations of competition with British industrialists always prevailed. Princely States like Travancore and Cochin, however, did not suffer from any great inhibition in such matters. In the fields of education, health, communication and industrial development, Travancore and to some extent Cochin forged ahead with determination. Malabar area which was under British administration was not so lucky and today it is a less developed area in Kerala. Princely order might not have encouraged self-government or provided for the association of public opinion in administration, but it certainly tried to tackle social problems and to lay foundations for material improvement.

### *The Emergence of the Collector*

At the turn of the century the essential features of modern administration had emerged in the States of Travancore and Cochin. Their various Dewans not only copied methods of administration, followed in the British India but also tried new experiments of their own. Different branches of developmental administration such as education, industry, engineering, agriculture, veterinary science and cooperation had been evolved in some cases comprehensively. Administration of criminal and civil law, police administration and arrangements for impartial recruitment did not lag behind the administration in British Provinces. The State of Travancore had 3 district units (Divisions) including areas that were transferred to Madras in 1956. Cochin being a smaller principality had only one district. Each district was administered by a Dewan Peishkar, with or without some Assistant Peishkars under him. Designation of the head of the district was sometimes changed but the concept of Dewan Peishkar generally prevailed. As the name signifies, a Dewan Peishkar is really a staff officer of the Dewan but for all practical purposes he was the head of the district controlling the general administration including Treasury and criminal justice.

In the Travancore and Cochin, the Peishkar is the fore-runner of the Collector of the present times, like the Writer in Bengal. The early part of the century was perhaps the most glorious period of the Dewan Peishkar, as he commanded the maximum respect, freedom of action, authority and influence in his jurisdiction. Subject to subservience to the Dewan and perhaps to the Chief Secretary, the Dewan Peishkar could do very much as he liked. Maharaja was

a distant god who was largely heard of but occasionally seen. When the Peishkar was at the height of his glory, his counterpart in the British administration had already started losing magnificence with the growth of political consciousness and introduction of reforms. The wind of change had not reached the Princely States and the early part of the century was perhaps the period of highest power and authority for the Peishkar.

The position in the States of Travancore and Cochin was almost static for the first four decades of the century. Till the eve of Independence, the Maharaja ruled through his Dewan, Chief Secretary assisted by other Secretaries, a few Heads of Departments and Dewan or Division Peishkars. There was a Revenue Commissioner but no Board of Revenues. The High Court, an independent Judiciary and a Public Service Commission were also established during the period. There was general development and by all external appearances it looked as if the administration was well settled and had a firm grip of events. Change was taking place invisibly under the surface and the desire for self-government was gaining ground. With the attainment of Independence, the forces of popular agitation in Princely States gathered momentum. In fact, in Cochin a representative Government had been introduced some time before Independence. In Travancore, after an abortive bid for Independence, popular Government was established in 1948.

Several changes took place in rapid succession after the attainment of Independence. Travancore and Cochin were united together in July 1949 and Federal Financial Integration took place in April 1950. The States of Travancore and Cochin came into formal relationship with Government of India as equal members of the Indian Union. Dewan's rule was abolished and in its place a Council of Ministers was set up. Chief Secretaries were imported from Madras to tune the administration to an all-India pattern and Division Peishkars were changed into District Collectors. The Indian Administrative Service was extended to the State for providing a basic framework for the generalist services.

### *The Pattern of District Administration*

The general pattern of administration in Kerala is similar to that of any other State. The difference, wherever it occurs, is one of tone and emphasis rather than of structure, and is due to local traditions. Broadly speaking here is a Ministry, a Secretariat, Heads of Departments and District Offices. Kerala has of course, the unique distinction of having

had maximum spells of Presidential rule. Like the existence of a popular Ministry, its absence has affected the tempo and tune of administration. The Secretariat in Kerala as elsewhere is organized in a number of departments under Secretaries, and there is a Chief Secretary essentially for co-ordination. Field work is divided among Heads of Departments, the principal of them being the Board of Revenue (including Civil Supplies), the Inspector-General of Police, the Chief Engineers of Irrigation, [Roads, Buildings and Public Health, Directors of Education, Health, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Harijan Welfare and Registrar of Co-operative Societies. These Departments work through the field staff in the districts and quite often through regional offices. Revenue administration in districts is headed by Collectors. Although the institution of District Collectors is of a recent origin in Travancore and Cochin areas of the State, conceptually the office covers all the functions of a District Collector in any other part of India. Difference in the functions of the Collectors of the State and Collectors elsewhere, where it exists, is due to local conditions, and essentially minor in character.

The State, which originally had six Districts, was divided into nine without any serious attempt at rationalization. Districts jut in and out at odd bends of a road. The city of Trivandrum which served as the headquarters of the Travancore-Cochin State was retained as the State Capital. Trivandrum is virtually at the southern end of the State. This selection betrays more concern for public opinion, prestige of an erstwhile State and regard for economy than for administrative efficiency and convenience. The geographical centre of Kerala is somewhere near Trichur which is more than 150 miles away from Trivandrum. This is a point which has been a source of frequent complaint, and people of Malabar particularly are bitter about the inaccessibility of the capital city. The location of the State Headquarters far away from the geographical centre impedes adequate administrative inspection of far flung areas.

The nine districts in Kerala are: Cannanore, Calicut, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum. In areas, the districts are widely divergent. The smaller districts are: Trichur with an area of 2,944 sq. Kms., Trivandrum with an area of 2,186 sq. Kms. and Alleppey with an area of 1,834 sq. Kms. Ernakulam is not much bigger than Trichur and has an area of nearly 3,339 sq. Kms. The other districts are Quilon with an area of 4,732 sq. Kms. Palghat with 5,127 sq. Kms., Cannanore with 5,675 sq. Kms. Kottayam with 6360 sq. Kms. and Kozhikode with 6,657 sq. Kms. Area is not a real criterion of manageability. With improved

communication and transport, it is easy to manage a district of the size of 6,500 sq. Kms. In other parts of India there are much bigger districts with lesser facilities for transport and communication. A more dependable basis for determining manageability is the size of population. Except Calicut District which has a population of 27 lakhs, all other districts have a population varying between 16 and 19 lakhs. The percentage of population in the 9 districts is almost even except in Calicut and Trichur where the percentages are 15 per cent and 6½ per cent. The remaining districts have a population between 10 and 11 per cent. A population of 20 lakhs is normally manageable. In other States there are districts with a much larger population. The districts in Kerala are generally of manageable size and population.

### *The Contemporary Role of the Collector*

The Collector has been the traditional head of the district in other States. In Kerala, conceptually he is similar to his compeers elsewhere and is being built up as such. He is in charge of law and order, land revenue, census, elections, civil supplies, distress relief, and social welfare. He is responsible for any function that is not assigned specifically to any other Department. In addition he is the co-ordinator of all activities within a district. Although the Collector does not control the work of other Departments, he guides and supervises it. Quite a large part of his time goes in presiding over committees and conferences. He is responsible for all functions, drives starting from a Memorial fund to the State Loan subscriptions. Some of his time is spent in meeting the V.I.P.s or hearing complaints. Accompanying V.I.P.s is a time-consuming affairs particularly in the districts of Trivandrum and Ernakulam. The Collector hears complaints not only regarding his Department, but also about other Departments as well. He is the person who is responsible for distributing governmental charity. He heads ceremonies and speaks on behalf of Government. The Collector is the representative of Government as a whole in the district.

It would be difficult to do full justice to the duties of a Collector within a short compass. The important functions of a Collector may be grouped under four categories. Firstly, he has certain fundamental and house-keeping duties which include common facilities for the entire administration. Such duties relate to law and order, collection of revenue, land management, civil supplies and elections. Secondly, he deals with a number of developmental schemes besides being a manager and promoter of developmental activities throughout his district. Thirdly, he has special functions with regard to local

bodies including Panchayats and in respect of Community Development Programmes. Lastly, he functions as the Government's representative in the district and looks after functions for which no other organization has been created. The main change in recent times in the duties of the Collector concern his managerial functions in the developmental field, and relationship with local bodies. The Collector is becoming increasingly a leader rather than an executive and his functions could appropriately be compared to that of a Karanavan of a Tharavad.

#### TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS

##### *Law and Order*

The Collector as the head of the district administration continues to be the guardian of peace in the district. He has to keep an eye on the activities of different groups of people, assess the likelihood of clashes between different groups and deal with strikes, demonstrations and satyagrahas. He is on the constant look out for mischief by unsocial elements and outbreak of violence of any kind. Kerala is a land of demonstrations involving processions, meetings, slogan-shouting and satyagraha.

Police functions have increased enormously since Independence. One of the rewards of democracy is that the people have more freedom to act and to ventilate their grievances. The State is also advancing industrially. The dawn of political freedom, the establishment of a democratic state and spread of education has made people more conscious of their rights. Communal motivations in Kerala are also quite marked. As a result, there are now more demonstrations and more strikes, lock-outs and industrial disputes, as compared to the pre-Independence period. Perhaps except in a national emergency there is no day without a demonstration but physical violence erupts only now and then. There is frequent labour unrest, whether they be employees in agriculture, estates or factories. To again support for their causes, they always seek mass support, and this, in turn, creates more problems for the police and magistracy. With the emergence of numerous political parties since Independence, there is always some kind of political rivalry and tension, on some ground or the other. More often than not, people who are not directly concerned with political activities, like students and workers, are also dragged into the field by the political parties, to gain their own ends. The duties and responsibilities of the executive magistrates as well as the police have as a consequence increased considerably, requiring constant vigil, utmost tact and prompt action. The

District Collector has to be in close contact with the police and his legal advisers to decide how a certain event, which may have cropped up all of a sudden and in almost unpredictable way, has to be dealt with. He receives confidential intelligence from the police officers and keeps the Government informed about the happenings in his district. In consultation with the Superintendent of Police, he makes arrangements for keeping a constant watch on points or situations vulnerable from the law and order point of view. Normally, he or one of his subordinates issues the order of firing when extreme use of force is called for. He alone is authorized to requisition military aid for dealing with any law and order situation.

The Collector lost his judicial functions with the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Cochin sanctioned separation of the judiciary even before Independence. In the State of Travancore this separation came in 1955. Although the Collector does not try cases, still he is designated as Additional District Magistrate and has the powers of a Magistrate First Class. He looks after all Governmental litigations, including conduct of criminal cases. He appoints Public Prosecutors and controls their work. He deals with the security sections of Criminal Procedure Code. He is vested with powers under different Acts and Rules such as Kerala Police Act, 1960, Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1939, Kerala Motor Vehicles Rules, 1961, and the Prohibition Act, 1950. He controls licences for fire works, explosives etc. Above all, he is now vested with various powers under the Defence of India Rules. During the emergency he has a large amount of statutory and discretionary powers.

The Collector as the guardian of peace receives assistance from three sources principally—his Personal Assistant, Deputy Collectors and the Tahsildars. Some of the magisterial functions are exercised by the Deputy Collectors. As stated already, he appoints Government Pleaders and Public Prosecutors as well as Additional and Assistant Prosecutors. He controls and supervises their work and ensures satisfactory conduct of cases. The most important branch of law and order agency is the district police. Statutorily the Collector is the head of the police in the district. Although he exercises no administrative powers over the police, the district police carries out his orders regarding control of law and order situations. The District Collector has certain powers of enquiry into complaints against the police and is authorized to write the confidential reports of police officers in the district. This, however, does not imply a relationship of direct subordination. The relationship between the Superintendent of Police and the District Collector is somewhat

peculiar. It may more appropriately be described as one of senior and junior colleague, rather than one of superior and subordinate.

### *Collection of Revenue*

The Collector derives his name from his land revenue functions. There is no basic change in the functions of the Collector although importance of items of work has changed. Land revenue which was the main source of State income has been dwindling in importance. In this State four taxes are imposed on land or land user and they are: Basic tax, Additional Land tax, Plantation tax and Agricultural Income tax. Basic tax was struck down by Courts as unconstitutional and its validity has been restored by its inclusion in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. It has been decided that the Kerala Additional Tax on Lands Act, 1961, should be repealed. Of the remaining two taxes, Agricultural Income Tax, like some other taxes, is levied and collected by a specialized agency. Collection of current tax dues has been losing importance with the declining of importance of land taxes. At the moment other taxes such as Sales tax bring a far greater return than the land taxes put together.

The main collection function of the Collector is related to the recovery of arrear revenue or dues, considered to be arrears of land resources. This work is done primarily by the Revenue Divisional Officer. But the recovery is supervised and reviewed by the Collector. All arrears of revenue and deemed arrears of revenue are collected through the revenue recovery process. Recourse to attachment of immovable properties is taken only as a last resort. Under the Travancore-Cochin Act now in force, arrest and detention of defaulters is not provided for. Under the Income Tax Act, 1961, defaulters can, of course, be detained in civil prison for recovery of the arrears. A provision for arrest and detention of defaulters for wilful evasion of payment has been incorporated in the Kerala Revenue Recovery Bill on the basis of the provisions in the Income Tax Act, 1961. The Bill, however, is still not enacted.

The Collector, being the main revenue recovery agency of the State, recovers on behalf of the Government of India arrears on the following accounts: (1) Taxes on non-agricultural income; (2) Estate and Succession duties and gift tax; (3) Customs duties; (4) Duties of Excise except on alcoholic liquors and narcotics; (5) Terminal taxes—taxes on Railway fares and freights; (6) Stamp duties on documents mentioned in entry 91 of list I of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution; (7) Corporation Tax; (8) Taxes on transactions in stock exchanges; (9) Taxes on capital value of assets of individuals; and (10) any item specified for recovery by the Central Government.

With the coming of planning, capital resources have become quite important although not quite as important as tax revenue. The Collector is responsible for recovery of various loans advanced under Plan and non-Plan schemes. The Collector takes an active interest in raising small savings and getting people to contribute to the State loans, helps mopping up sparable income of the people and is an instrument for increasing Plan resources and preventing inflation. Public loan programmes can hardly succeed without the help of Collectors.

### *Land Development and Administration*

Land management is a traditional function of the Collector. In Kerala, land management is a particularly difficult problem as large-scale encroachment is a common practice in certain areas of the State. The Collector is responsible for land records. Tahsildars effect land transfer and the Collector is the appellate authority. The Superintendent of Survey and Land Records is the technical assistant to the Collector. All sub-division survey sketches are scrutinized and approved by him. The powers of the Collector under the Land Utilization Order have been delegated to the Revenue Divisional Officers.

The Collector and Tahsildar are responsible for land assignment in rural areas. The Collector can assign areas up to 20 acres on lease for any scheme approved by the Government for a period not exceeding 20 years. In all assignment matters where the Government is the sanctioning authority, the Collector makes the enquiries and recommendations. Work in connection with land assignment has increased by leaps and bounds.

### *Land Conservancy Act*

According to the Land Conservancy Act, cases are booked and decided by Tahsildars. The Collector hears appeals against their decisions. The Board of Revenue has revisional powers in the matter. The Collector is the Chairman of the District Land Development Committee and is competent to hear objections from land owners regarding the carrying out of land development works.

### *Land Acquisition*

Although this is an age-old function, the magnitude of land acquisition has expanded tremendously in recent times. Before Independence, or strictly speaking before early Fifties, land acquisition was a small matter covering small areas in manageable number of

cases. With the progress of Plans, land acquisition proceedings are being taken for a variety of schemes. For industrial development alone there is a large scale acquisition. For colonization and slum clearance and similar matters large tracts of land are acquired by the Government. To ensure speedy execution of Plan schemes involving acquisition of land, powers have been delegated to the Land Acquisition Officers to issue preliminary notification, and the District Collector to make direction to invoke urgency provisions of the land acquisition.

Whenever the land acquired is not required for a public purpose, it can be reconveyed to the original owners. The Tahsildars are competent to order re-conveyance of an area not exceeding one acre, the Collector 5 acres and the Board of Revenue 10 acres. Any area in excess of 10 acres can be reconveyed by the Government. Neither Collector nor his subordinates can order reconveyance of the land situated within the limits of a Corporation or a Municipality. The Revenue Divisional Officer can transfer land from one Government department to another when land area does not exceed two acres in each case, provided the market value of the improvements if any does not exceed Rs. 2,500. The District Collector deals with transfer of cases above two acres up to a limit of five acres in each case, provided the market value of improvements, if any, however, does not exceed Rs. 50,000. The Board of Revenue deals with transfer of cases above 5 acres and below 10 acres provided the market value of improvements, if any, does not exceed Rs. 10,000. None of these powers is available in cases of land situated within Municipal or Corporation limits.

### *Land Reforms*

The Collector is not largely involved in the direct operation of land reforms. He is, however, the local agent of the Government and is responsible for ensuring satisfactory implementation of Government measures designed to give effect to economic and social objectives embodied in the Constitution of the country. Land reforms normally provide for abolition of intermediaries, security of tenure, ownership right for tenants, reduction of rent, ceiling on agricultural holdings, and consolidation of holdings. Kerala Land Revenue Act, 1963, provides for all these except consolidation of holdings. Separate agencies such as Land Tribunals have been created for carrying out the processes of land reforms. Certain functions, however, inevitably fall on the Collector or on his staff. The Revenue Divisional Officer is required to prepare the record of rights on receipt of applications from the Land Tribunals. The Tahsildar conducts

enquiries about the Kudikidappukars and prepares the Kudikidappukar Register which is maintained in the Village and Taluk Offices. The Collectors are responsible for reviewing the work of their subordinates. The power of issuing certificates for resuming land, for extension of places of public worship and the power of sanctioning of remission of rent under Section 38 of the Act, are vested in the Collector. Under Section 43, the Collector is required to publish the prices of principal agricultural commodities such as paddy, coconut, etc., every quarter. What is more important for the Collector is to see that action under the land reform law is carried out satisfactorily.

#### *Other Duties*

The Collector has numerous other duties in matters such as Treasury, Election, Census, Food Supplies, Vital Statistics, Ancient Monuments, Relief Operations and Licensing. Recently, Collector's responsibilities have been reduced with regard to Treasuries. Even then the general responsibility still remain. The Collector is the Returning Officer for a number of Parliamentary Constituencies and is personally responsible for co-ordinating all election work. Whether for a local body, or the State Legislature or for the Parliament, he is responsible for the satisfactory conduct of elections in his district. Food is a special problem for Kerala as nearly half the requirement comes from outside. This is one single matter which has the maximum potential for becoming explosive at any time. Collector's personal and continued attention is bound to be devoted to this subject. Relief measures are a traditional responsibility. Epidemics and cattle diseases, although primarily health problems, receive his periodic attention. The Collector is in overall control of vital statistics particularly in rural areas. He is the District Census Officer for live-stock census. He has to report about new archaeological findings and has to have an eye on the preservation of ancient monuments.

Special mention deserves to be made regarding issue of permits for the felling of trees and forest growth under Preservation of Private Forests Act. Leases and licences of temporary occupation of Government land are granted by Tahsildars and appeals and revisions are disposed of by the Collector. These are some of the additional duties which the Collector has been discharging traditionally. Some of these are of periodical importance. Quite often a district may have a smooth time for months. As long as graneries are full and there is no epidemic, the Collector can have sound sleep. But when a problem is active he has to spend many anxious hours and sometimes sleepless nights over it.

### *Tours and Inspections*

The Collector cannot keep himself well informed and keep his subordinate officers under control without well-regulated tours and inspections of local offices. Tours give him a correct appreciation of things and happenings within the district and inspections keep the subordinate officers in their path of duty. The minimum tour prescribed for a Collector is 60 days in a half year, the ratio between marches and halts being 3 : 1. A sample statement of the offices to be inspected by one of the Collectors (Collector, Calicut) is given below :

<i>Name of office to be inspected</i>	<i>Branches to be inspected</i>
1. Revenue Divisional Offices (2 in number).	General.
2. do.	Land acquisitions.
3. do.	Magisterial.
4. Administrative Officer's Office.	General.
5. All Taluk Officers (6 in number).	General and Land Assignment.
6. Additional Taluk Offices.	Land acquisition.
7. do.	Loans branch including Housing and Colonization schemes.
8. do.	Election.
9. Special Tahsildar for Land Acquisition, Kalpetta.	General and Assignment.
10. „ for L. A. Kozhikode.	Land Acquisition and General.
11. „ for L. A. Ramanattukara.	Land Acquisition and General.
12. „ for L. A. Kuttiadi Project, Perambra.	Land Acquisition and General.
13. All B. D. Os. (23 in number)	{(a) General. {(b) Loans.
14. Special Deputy Tahsildar's Office for Kothali Estate, Perambra.	General.

### *Committees and Conferences*

A large part of the time of the Collector is taken by various committees and conferences. In fact, these committees and conferences are means of his association with a variety of programmes and projects.

Quite often the Collector reviews progress of problems through these committees and meetings. A Collector has reported that he has to attend, in addition to his departmental meetings, the meetings of the following bodies:

- (1) District Development Council,
- (2) District Sports Council,
- (3) Mananchira Maidan Advisory Committee,
- (4) District Advisory Committee for Harijan Welfare,
- (5) Port Advisory Committee,
- (6) District Food Advisory Committee (Sub-committee of the District Development Council),
- (7) District Prohibition Committee,
- (8) Regional Transport Authority,
- (9) Traffic Advisory Committee
- (10) Committee for fixation of upset price for fire arms,
- (11) Advisory Committee for Medical College Hospital,
- (12) Hospital Advisory Committee for Headquarters Hospital,
- (13) Advisory Committee for Mental Hospital,
- (14) Advisory Committee for Leper Assylum,
- (15) Departmental Probation Committee in respect of Deputy Tahsildars and Tahsildars,
- (16) District Recruitment Board,
- (17) District Committee for P.W.D. Works (Sub-committee of District Development Committee),
- (18) The District Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society,
- (19) Market Committee,
- (20) Guild of Service,
- (21) Central School Management Committee,
- (22) District Committee for Minor Irrigation and Rural Development (Sub-committee of District Development Committee),
- (23) Family Planning Advisory Committee,
- (24) Childrens' Council
- (25) Telephone Advisory Committee,
- (26) Rural Industries Project Committee, and
- (27) State Committee for Package Programme.

The Collector organizes all functions that do not appropriately fall to the charge of any other department. He also heads the programmes for "weeks" or "days" especially celebrated in connection with certain

programmes. He usually attends on a visiting V.I.P. and takes him around. As the representative of the State Government, he takes salute on ceremonial occasions. He associates himself with the discussions about industrial schemes of the district. He has to receive visitors and hear complaints.

*Distribution of Collector's Time*

In a recent review it was noticed that the time of two Collectors was distributed in the following proportion :

<i>Nature of activity</i>	<i>Percentage of Time Spent</i>	
	<i>Trivandrum</i>	<i>Trichur</i>
(1) Conferences/Discussions ..	20	27
(2) Inspections/Tours ..	15	17
(3) Interviews ..	30	11
(4) Tappal ..	2	6
(5) Phone calls ..	3	6
(6) File work	30	33
	100	100

A Collector's office work was also analyzed and the time taken on different items of work was found to be as follows :

<i>Category of work</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
(1) Establishment matters of the Revenue Department personnel .. .. .	9
(2) Revenue matters such as survey and demarcation, lease of land, encroachments and evictions ..	21
(3) Land acquisition .. .. .	15
(4) Development schemes .. .. .	10
(5) Social welfare schemes (old age pension, financial aid to T. B. patients, destitute widows, physically handicapped, etc.) .. .. .	14

(6) Verification of character and antecedents in respect of appointment, passport and administration of Citizenship Act. .. .. .	14
(7) Law and Order .. .. .	2
(8) Suits (Civil and Criminal) (Execution of decrees) ..	5
(9) Issue of cement permits .. .. .	7

It is no longer possible for any Collector to complete his daily task within the course of normal working time.

### *Staff Aids*

Normally the pattern of staff in the district is similar to that obtaining elsewhere. A Collector is assisted by Deputy Collectors or Assistant Collectors in charge of sub-divisions. Sub-divisions are further sub-divided into Taluks and villages where there are the usual complement of staff. The main brunt of work is borne by the permanent staff although there are occasional additions for specific purposes or specific functions. The Collectors get assistance in the case of elections, census, food and similar matters. In the emergency, a Collector is entitled to draw staff and other resources from other departments.

There has been a definite increase in work and responsibility for Collectors in recent years and there are periodical complaints regarding inadequacy of staff. The staff position is reviewed periodically by the Board of Revenue and additional assistance is given from time to time, though perhaps somewhat grudgingly. On the whole the district machinery is a time-worn, much-patched and perhaps a ramshackle one, but the essential point about it is that it still moves. Like the nation, this organization has a resilient capacity to function as a unit and with energy in the face of an emergency.

### THE COLLECTOR AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Independence has ushered in an era of planning. Constitution lays down certain social and economic objectives which are sought to be achieved through a planned economy. New responsibilities and new dimensions have been added to the traditional functions of a Collector. Increasingly, administration is being reoriented towards social and economic purposes. The Collector is no longer a mere collector of revenue or preserver of peace. He is also the promoter of social and economic well-being. In the process of implementation or co-ordination of new schemes, the duties and functions of a Collector have undergone great changes. This is not only true of Kerala but on other States as well.

The change is typified by two aspects of the work of a present Collector. These are (1) his association with democratic decentralization, (2) promotion and execution of Plan and social security schemes. The Collector is the pivot on which all developmental activity of the district revolves. He is the friend, philosopher and guide of other District Officers. He provides the necessary mass contact for enlisting maximum public co-operation in implementation of Plan schemes. With regard to the developmental departments, his role generally is one of promotion and co-ordination than of execution. In the matter of Community Development he has a special role which combines the functions of an executive and a co-ordinator. Broadly speaking he functions as the manager or karnavan of his district family.

The peculiarity of the Collector's position is illustrated by his relationship with the other District Level Officers. In Agriculture Department, the District Level Officers virtually function as Personal Assistants to Collectors. The tour programmes of the District Agricultural Officers and their diaries and T.A. Bills are submitted to the Collector. The Collector has no disciplinary powers over the other District Level Officers but he is entitled to write their character rolls. As the head of the District Development Council he can obtain any information from any officer. At periodical meetings he reviews the progress of the work of different departments. Without his assistance other departments will find it hard to function effectively. As the Chairman of a number of committees covering a wide range of subjects varying from food to family planning, he is in a constant touch with other departments. He corresponds with Government direct on all developmental matters. With regard to preparation of Plan activities and the connected matters, he is directly responsible to Government.

The volume of work in connection with planning has increased tremendously. At present almost Rs. 3½ crores is spent in some districts in a year. The non-Plan expenditure would be almost as large as the Plan expenditure. In the pre-war days an amount of Rs. 7 crores was the total revenue of some of the smaller states. The value of money has gone down. But even then the expenditure of this magnitude is quite considerable for a district.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

There are separate District Officers for all branches of developmental activities. There is none, however, for the Community Development. Whereas the Collector co-ordinates the activities of other departments,

he guides, controls and supervises the work of the Community Development. He functions virtually as the District Officer for the Community Development programme. He chalked out the Block programme and issues instructions for its day-to-day administration. He accords administrative sanctions for the implementation of all schemes and works within the approved programme, the cost of which exceeds Rs. 10,000 but is below Rs. 1 lakh. He accords sanctions for loans for amounts in excess of Rs. 5,000 but below Rs. 10,000. The maintenance estimates of jeeps and allied correspondences are attended to by the Collector personally. Matters relating to service conditions of officers in the blocks are also attended to by him. He is supposed to secure peoples' co-operation and participation and offer advice, guidance and service to them.

### *Welfare and Social Security Schemes*

The Collector directly oversees the implementation of a number of social security and welfare schemes. These include :

- (1) Low Income Group Housing Schemes,
- (2) Co-operative Colonization Schemes,
- (3) Settlement Schemes,
- (4) Subsidized Industrial Housing Scheme,
- (5) Housing Scheme for the Employees of Local Bodies,
- (6) Poor Housing Schemes,
- (7) Middle Income Group Housing Scheme,
- (8) Village Housing Scheme,
- (9) Housing Scheme for the Weaker Sections of the Community,
- (10) Local Development Scheme,
- (11) Community Development Programme,
- (12) Rural Works Programme,
- (13) Integrated Child Welfare Project,
- (14) Applied Nutrition Programme,
- (15) Social Security Schemes like Old-age Pension, Widows Pension, etc.

Social Security Schemes, include old-age pension, T.B. Grant, grant-in-aid to disabled destitutes, destitute widow's pension, etc. They touch the life and welfare of the weaker section of the community. There are prescribed procedures for application to and sanction of grants by the Collector. Apart from the implementation of social welfare schemes, the Collector is competent to sanction relief up to Rs. 50 for a family when a family is affected by natural calamities such

as flood, fire, cyclone or sea erosion. At present, the Collector is responsible for sanctioning loans to repatriates from Burma. Periodically he makes free grant of rations and re-thatching assistance to fishermen of coastal areas. He is also responsible for verifying applications for financial assistance to men of letters and arts.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

At present there exist only municipal bodies and Panchayats in Kerala. In the case of municipal bodies the functions of the Collector are neither direct nor intimate. The chairman of a municipality is sworn in by the Collector. The chairman seeks the help of Collector in many ways. A District Collector can influence a municipality by his advice and guidance. In case of emergency he can interfere in the administration of a municipality. When there is a no-confidence motion against the chairman, the Collector or Revenue Divisional Officer may preside over the meeting. There is a proposal for vesting the Collector with powers of annual inspection. But this has not materialized so far. The existing position with regard to Panchayats and municipalities is likely to undergo change.

Panchayats have their obligatory and optional functions and sources of revenue. They are controlled and supervised by officers of the Panchayat Department. The District Panchayat Officers keep the District Collector informed about the working of the Panchayats and the Collector writes their character rolls. Over and above the general contact, the Collector has no intimate knowledge or supervisory functions in regard to Panchayats. There are also Block Committees and District Development Councils, established purely on an executive basis. The Kerala Panchayat Union Councils and Zilla Parishads Bill could not be enacted before the last Ministry resigned. It is likely to be passed as a President's Act. Once the Bill becomes law, the Collector will get intimately involved in the operation of local bodies. There will be statutory bodies at the block and district levels. The block body will be executive in character, whereas the district bodies would exercise only advisory and co-ordinating functions. The intention is that the Collector will head the District Council known as Zilla Parishad and will coordinate and supervise the functions of all statutory bodies in the field of local administration. These bodies will carry out most of the developmental functions such as communications, sanitation, education, agriculture, veterinary, co-operation, etc. Heretofore the Collector was an executive officer, exercising powers of supervision and co-ordination. Hereafter he will increasingly become the principal adviser to the elected representatives in the District Councils or other bodies.

The functions of the Collector in the future will be less regulatory and more developmental and diplomatic. Peoples' representatives will increasingly undertake execution of more and more developmental projects and the Collector will function as their mentor and guide.


#### EPILOGUE

The functions of the Collector are becoming increasingly arduous and complicated day by day. It is far easier to pass orders or issue regulations. It is not so easy to carry conviction to the people who are pulled by different pressures in different directions. The future Collector will need a lot more intellectual equipment than the Collector of the past. There are a few points here which deserve some serious attention. The first and foremost thing is the recruitment of the right type of persons for working as Collectors. A change in the Collector's role calls for a change in his attributes. The need for character, determination, skill, keenness, objectivity and sense of responsibility is there for any Collector but these qualities would be required in a greater measure in the Collector of the future. The Collector hereafter will also need personal charm, skill and capacity for persuasion. It is becoming increasing difficult to obtain suitable material for recruitment to the I.A.S. It is not merely a question of unattractive pay, it is a broader issue of availability of adequate manpower of the right calibre to feed different demanding interests. There must be a conscious effort at the university stage for producing the elite of society, namely, scientists, business managers, technologists, administrators, teachers and diplomats. In mass education this may not be possible. A solution may be that the college education may have to be limited to the suitable few. This may sound undemocratic and the political leaderships may find it difficult to accept such a proposal. In the alternative it may be necessary to choose the men necessary for each branch early enough in life and to put them through a period of training to develop their character, knowledge and capacities. Right recruitment is essential for the success of any job and more so for that of a Collector.

Selected officers should be given complete guidance and training on the job so that their job knowledge and job relationship are well founded. One point which a new I.A.S. officer particularly misses today is judicial training. Combination of the judiciary and the executive had at least one virtue, *viz.*, all officers got a training in objective assessment of evidence, facts and circumstances. This was a type training which no other form of training can substitute. Even if the judiciary and the executive are no longer combined, training in judicial work may be given to every young officer. Every I.A.S.

officer must develop the capacity to judge things on his own on the basis of available data.

Lastly, there should be a climate for growth of impartiality, independence and honest work. There have been instances where local political leaders have managed to bring some young officers to ill repute for personal reasons. It is reported that a Collector was transferred for displeasing a local political boss on the issue of reservation of accommodation. Some of the reports may have been exaggerated but they are too numerous to be wholly untrue. Any tendency of this nature must be guarded against. One cannot expect to get out of Services which one does not put into them. It would be the duty of elder statesmen to ensure that the young officers are brought up in an atmosphere free from partiality, personal vendetta or sense of fear. A young officer must be encouraged to discharge his duties with a sense of devotion, impartiality and objectivity. Unless this is made possible in the future association between Collectors and elected representatives, the capacity for useful service by Collectors will suffer. A society will have only that type of officers for which it endeavours. There is no doubt that the future society would need men of ability, integrity and independence of decision.



## MADHYA PRADESH

ADMINISTRATION in India shows a remarkable continuity in essentials from the Maurayan times till the present day. The concept of administering a State and a system of territorial divisions with a corresponding scheme of offices was evolved long ago. The two territorial divisions, which are recognizable even today, are the province and district. The Moghul functionary in charge of a district was continued by the British rulers. It was towards the end of the Eighteenth Century that the concept of the District Officer was given final shape and his place in the scheme of local administration was decided. This officer was invested with a host of powers and the character of his personal rule is difficult to comprehend. Over a century ago, Macaulay explained to the House of Commons: "Such a power as that which Collectors in India have over the people in India, is not found in any other part of the world possessed by any class of functionaries." He went on to say: "The truth is that the Collector of revenues in many parts of India is the sole consul of a great province, the district assigned to him being about the size of one of the four provinces of Ireland, of Leinster of Munster, and the population therein probably about one million of human beings. In all that district, there is not a single village—there is not a single hut—in which the difference between a good and a bad Collector may not make the difference between happiness and misery." The district as the basic unit of administration and the District Officer as the head of the district, the "territorial specialist", became a cardinal feature of the administrative set-up.

While the District Officer continued to head the district, the developments following the Mutiny, saw a whittling down of his executive powers. On the one hand, his powers were prescribed through a series of legislative enactments covering every aspect of the life of the community; on the other, his jurisdiction was curtailed by the establishment of independent technical departments centralized in the provincial headquarters. Furthermore, there was an increase in the authority of the Central Government over the provinces, and that of the Provincial Governments over the districts. While this gradual diminution of powers of the District Officer continued, he remained the head of the revenue administration and the magistrate of the district, charged with supervision over the subordinate magistracy and the maintenance

of peace. Describing the role of the Collector, the Montegu Chelmsford Report says: "This organisation, in the first place, serves its peculiar purpose of collecting the revenue and of keeping the peace. . . . Taken together these two agencies act as the general representatives of Government over the country to its remotest borders, and apart from them, there is no other. Several other specialist services exist, with staff of their own. They are controlled not by the District Officer but by their own departmental heads; they may be regarded as different sets of strings connecting the Government with the people. But in varying degrees, the District Officer influences the policy in all these matters, and he is always there in the background to lend his support, or, if need be, to mediate between a specialised service and the people." Subsequent constitutional reforms under which departments were placed in the charge of Ministers, who were responsible to the Legislature, and the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, had their own effect on the powers of the District Officer. There was a marked narrowing of the area of his activities and his influence. Despite this, he continued to be Government's principal representative in the district charged with the maintenance of peace, administration of justice, prompt collection of taxes and the proper maintenance of land records. The introduction of Dyarchy subjected the office of the Collector to further stresses and strains, which were not resolved when war broke out in 1939.

On the eve of Independence, the District Officer had become a sort of jack of all trades; about him the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee Report of 1945 said: "The lot of the District Officer, like that of the comic opera policeman, is not a happy one. He is expected to see that things go right. He is supposed to compose differences between other officers but he has no powers to impose his will upon the recalcitrant. He can cajole and persuade; he cannot compel. He is regarded as responsible for stimulating the activities of other departments, but he has no control over them."

This then was the functionary inherited by the Government of free India. His outlook had been moulded by circumstances, by the evolution of his role and the traditions of his service. He was mainly concerned with the routine tasks of administration. He had no impulse or zeal to take up constructive activities. In fact, this was not expected of him. It must, however, be admitted, just prior to the War, a beginning had been made in initiating the District Officer into the unfamiliar tasks of rural development, the co-operative movement, panchayats, irrigation, etc. According to C.S. Venkatachar: "A vital spark was missing by which a listless, disorganised, disintegrated village community could be galvanised into a new life with the aid of external

stimulus. The district administration was only modern on the debris of the past. The villages had survived because of their neglect. Their revival was beyond the task of the old bureaucracy."

## II

In the territories which now together form the State of Madhya Pradesh, conditions were no different. If anything, they were more complex. Settled administration was only known in the province of C.P. and Berar, and to a varying degree in the larger Indian States of Gwalior, Indore, Rewa and Bhopal which later merged into the new State of Madhya Pradesh. There were a host of smaller States and Zamindaris, some of which were merged into the old province of C.P. and Berar to form the erstwhile State of Madhya Pradesh; others were merged together to form the State of Madhya Bharat; and yet others formed the State of Vindhya Pradesh. The Princely State of Bhopal alone was formed into an independent Part 'C' State. Except for the erstwhile Madhya Pradesh, the level of administration in the other States varied to a considerable degree mainly because of the large number of heterogeneous constituent units. In all the merging States and Zamindaris, which were large enough to be sub-divided, the district was the basic territorial unit of administration. The other trappings of district administration also existed, including the office of the Collector.

The first task taken in hand after the integration of Indian States in 1948-49 was the establishment of a proper administrative set-up in the new States of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal. The early years were taken up with unification of laws, services, administrative procedures, etc. Gradually the level of administration in the merged areas was brought on par with the neighbouring States. When finally in 1956, as a result of the re-organization of States, Madhya Pradesh came into being, a fair measure of parity in the pattern of administration had been achieved in the constituent units.

## III

Even though the Collector in his capacity as District Magistrate continued to be responsible for the maintenance of public peace, there was a conspicuous lessening of his authority over the subordinate magistracy. In 1949 in the Madhya Bharat districts, through the separation of the judiciary from the executive, the magistracy was removed from the control of the District Magistrate and placed under the District Judge. Similar steps were taken in Vindhya

Pradesh in 1949, and a little later in 1950 in Bhopal. In the erst-while State of Madhya Pradesh, the judiciary was not separated from the executive; a measure of separation was, however, achieved by the appointment of whole-time Judge Magistrates, who although officers of the executive, were partially under the control of the judiciary. This system continued till 1962, when the State Government again launched a programme for completing the task of separation. Except for five districts out of a total of 43, complete separation has now been achieved in the remainder.

Separation of the judiciary has been achieved through executive orders, without resorting to an amendment of the statute. The instructions for the guidance of Judge-Magistrates and Executive Magistrates state: "While it is not intended to deprive the District Magistrates altogether of the powers conferred upon them by the Code of Criminal Procedure, as a result of the non-statutory separation of the Executive from the Judiciary, the District Magistrates, Sub-divisional Magistrates and other executive magistrates should refrain from exercising powers other than those mentioned in Schedules A and B to these instructions. It is believed that the powers mentioned in these schedules are sufficient to enable the District Magistrate to discharge adequately his responsibility regarding the maintenance of law and order and prevention and suppression of crime."

Two distinct groups of magistrates now function in the district, one under the control of the District Magistrate and the other under the District Judge. The former are only concerned with the maintenance of law and order. They hear cases under "the preventive" sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and most important of all, exercise powers under Section 144. They are also vested with miscellaneous powers to order disposal of unclaimed property, expunction of offences, closure of investigation, conduct of magisterial inquests, etc. The gamut of other judicial proceedings, both criminal and civil, is, however, now the sole responsibility of the judiciary under the direct control of the High Court. The extent of the cleavage between the judiciary and the executive is evident from the fact that the District Judge no longer writes the annual confidential report on the District Magistrate and the subordinate executive magistracy; this power, however, still continues with him in those districts, where separation is yet to be effected.

In a large part of the State, the scheme of separation has been in existence for about fifteen years, and it is the consensus of experienced civilians and police officials, that this has had no adverse effect on the incidence of crime or on the maintenance of law and order. This is even true of those districts where the problem of dacoity has been endemic for centuries. In any case, if frequent demands in the State

Vidhan Sabha for enquiries by judicial magistrates in preference to such enquiries by executive magistrates can be any indication, the general public appear to have greater confidence in members of the judiciary.

For the effective discharge of his responsibilities of maintaining law and order, extensive statutory powers have been made available to the District Magistrate; powers of this nature were never available even under the British régime. The provisions of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, Madhya Pradesh Public Security Act, 1959, and the recently enacted Madhya Pradesh Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1965, are more than adequate for most situations. From 1962, even more extensive powers have become available under the Defence of India Rules. It is, however, significant that the traditional powers under the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Police Act of 1861 are almost universally preferred.

Although Commissioners have no statutory powers, they have been specifically assigned the task of supervising the work of District Magistrates in respect of law and order. In a recent Circular, it has been emphasized: "Government wish to make it clear that while Collectors in their capacity as District Magistrates are primarily responsible for maintenance of law and order, supervisory functions and control of the Commissioner extend to this vitally important subject as well."

In accordance with the provisions of the Police Act of 1861, the District Magistrate is responsible for the general control and direction of the police force within his jurisdiction. While this position has never been in serious doubt, over the years, there has been a marked lessening of his direct control. On the one hand, this can be attributed to a gradual shift in emphasis from what used to be the Collector's primary duty of maintenance of law and order, to development, and on the other, to growing specialization in the police force, which a generalist District Magistrate can hardly cope in the midst of increasing responsibilities in other fields. However, he remains in touch with the activities of the department through a series of periodical reports received from the Superintendent of Police. These reports give him details about the occurrence of heinous crime, an analytical monthly statement of crime in the district, reports on the activities of political parties, labour unions and agitators, statements showing touring and inspections of the Superintendent of Police and his gazetted assistants, etc. Important correspondence with the Inspector-General of Police on certain specified subjects is also routed through the District Magistrate. In addition, the District Magistrate, has powers to inspect any police station in his jurisdiction. Through these methods, and also because he writes the annual confidential report on the Superintendent of Police, his gazetted

assistants and subordinate executive staff up to the rank of Sub-Inspector, the District Magistrate's control over the police is fairly effective. It must, however, be admitted that there is some resentment on the part of the police, on what they consider an unnecessary imposition of the authority of the District Magistrate. The fact that the Commissioner does not have anything to do with the confidential reports of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, is perhaps an indication of things to come at the district level.

While the Collector's regulatory functions of maintaining law and order are disparaged in some influential quarters, the truth of the matter is that they are assuming increasing importance every day. Agitations are launched by labour unions, political parties and even by individuals, on flimsy pretexts, and the burnt of all these has to be borne by the District Magistrate. The extensive communal disturbances during the last three or four years have been an eye opener for many. In March, 1964, in a statement before the State Vidhan Sabha, the Chief Minister reiterated the policy of Government to enforce the law with determination. This statement was circularized to all Commissioners and District Magistrates in these terms: "The State Government are determined that the law shall be enforced and that all citizens irrespective of caste or creed shall be given the full protection of the law. Government expect all Government servants to do their duty without fear or favour. While those who do their duty in good faith will be protected to the fullest extent, Government will not hesitate to deal severely with cases of slackness or cowardice." This was a clear acknowledgement that economic betterment without public peace was not possible.

One small point deserves mention before passing on to other matters. A commission has been constituted in Madhya Pradesh to examine various aspects of police administration in the State. One specific term of reference relates to the adequacy of the supervision exercised by the magistracy over investigation of crime and other police duties. The recommendations of the Commission are awaited with interest.

#### IV

As his designation implies, the Collector is intimately connected with the machinery for collection of land revenue and other Government dues. Whereas initially he was mainly concerned with land revenue, a very important tax source in the past, he is now concerned with a multitude of other Government dues. To mention a few, he is responsible for the recovery of Sales Tax, Income Tax, forest dues and excise dues. With the expansion of rural credit, the recovery of taccavi loans has become of even greater importance.

While actual recovery is effected through tahsil courts, the Collector has to ensure that Government's interests are protected through prompt recoveries. As a consequence of an enormous increase in the activities of all departments, arrears of Government dues have been accumulating despite the efforts of Collectors and departmental officers. Very recently some important taxation departments have taken up recoveries independent of the Collector. Their subordinates have been empowered as recovery officers. As a result of another development, taccavi loans are now granted and recovered by co-operative societies. The trend appears to be to lessen the Collector's burden as a common recovery agent for all Government departments.

As in the past, proper maintenance of land records still remains an important part of the District Officer's duties. There has been no change in the agency or the method through which this task is carried out. Acquisition of land, particularly in some districts of the State, is becoming of significance. The establishment of large industrial complexes with their attendant townships, entails acquisition of land on an enormous scale. A direct consequence of such large scale acquisitions is the need for rehabilitation of the villagers thus displaced. This aspect of the District Officer's work was virtually unknown in the past.

After the formation of Madhya Pradesh in 1956, steps were taken by the State Government to unify the tenancy laws in force in the different integrating units. Significantly, all the integrating States had already abolished intermediaries between tenants and Government. Consequently, the unified tenancy laws now in force are, on the whole, simple and administratively convenient. As cases under the repealed enactments gradually come to an end, litigation under the new Act is unlikely to be heavy. Revenue case work, which has never been excessive, is not likely to be a burden on the Collector in future. In any case, in most large districts, a senior assistant takes up case work on behalf of the Collector. However, to ensure that the Collector does not completely lose touch, he is required to take up a minimum number of cases, particularly appeals, from subordinate courts.

In the revenue administration of the districts, the Collector acts under the general supervision of the Commissioner, who is also his appellate authority. The Board of Revenue in Madhya Pradesh is a judicial body without any administrative powers. The President of the Board, however, records his remarks in the annual confidential report of the Collector.

While the Collector is required to exercise general supervision over municipal bodies in his jurisdictions, with increasing awareness of their

rights, most municipal committees strongly resent any interference with their activities. Hence, his only concrete contribution to municipal affairs is the conduct of elections. He has also been given powers to suspend the operation of any resolution, which is illegal or is likely to cause harm to a section of the people; even this power is subject to confirmation by the State Government. In the rural areas, the pattern of local government differs from region to region. The relations of the Collector with these bodies are akin to those with municipal bodies in urban areas. While he exercises general supervision and control, he does not interfere directly in their administration.

## V

It is as difficult now as it was in the past, to define the duties devolving on the Collector by virtue of his being the chief representative of Government in the district. It would perhaps suffice to say that he is expected to see that administration at the district level, whether directly under his charge or not, is functioning adequately and is responsive to the needs of the people. This obviously entails a certain measure of control and supervision over other departments. Time honoured methods like submission of reports and returns, tour diaries, writing of confidential reports, etc., are proving to be inadequate. The covert actions of functional departments to become independent are increasingly coming into the open. Some steps have been recently taken by Government to reverse this trend; they are dealt with in a subsequent section. At this place, it would be more appropriate to examine some of the more important tasks entrusted to the District Officer by virtue of his position as the chief representative of Government.

One of the tasks entrusted to the Collector, which was of importance in the past, is connected with the relief of scarcity. A detailed manual is available, which requires each district to draw up and keep up to date a scarcity plan for those areas which are prone to failure of crops. The manual lays down the method for opening relief works, prescribes the type of works to be undertaken, the rates payable, the method of keeping accounts, norms of work to be performed and other detailed instructions. With extensive development expenditure throughout the State, scarcities of the type contemplated in the manual will probably never arise again. But it is noteworthy that, time and again, relief has to be provided on a smaller scale in most districts of the State. The only significant change from the past is in the magnitude of the works, and in their type; as against the old concept of stone-breaking, the usual work now undertaken is deepening of village tanks, construction of roads, small scale irrigation projects, etc.

To the traditional tasks entrusted to the Collector, may now be added that of conducting elections to the State Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha. To the uninitiated this may appear to be a small matter, but to one who has once gone through the experience of organizing a general election, it is a task requiring meticulous planning and complete mobilization of the administrative resources available to the Collector. While this task is faced once in five years, elections to local bodies and bye-elections to the Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha occur at fairly frequent intervals. Conduct of elections is, therefore, firmly enumerated in the list of tasks entrusted to the District Officer. In recognition of this, an Election Section has been set up in all Collectors' offices.

While the periodicity of census operations is less than in the case of elections, the administrative problems for the Collection are almost as complex. Once in 10 years, the Collector mobilizes the entire Government machinery from the district headquarters down to the village for a period of 2 to 3 months for conducting census operations. Added to the census of human beings, a census of live-stock is also conducted periodically. No permanent staff is provided for these tasks, but it remains to be seen whether this arrangement can continue indefinitely in view of the growing complexity of the data now required by the census authorities.

Another task, which is gaining in importance, is the distribution of foodgrains and essential commodities. Up to now, the Collector was mainly concerned in the control and distribution of essential commodities like cement, sugar and certain categories of iron and steel. Of late, shortage of foodgrains has made the problem of equitable distribution increasingly important. While the Collector has been concerned for some years with the procurement and informal distribution of foodgrains, he will now have to undertake distribution on a statutory basis.

## VI

In the previous three sections, an attempt has been made to describe the role of the District Officer as it developed after Independence with particular emphasis on the traditional tasks associated with his office. It is now proposed to examine in a little greater detail in this section and the succeeding one, the effects of two new factors, *viz.*, the decision to implement large scale development schemes both in rural and urban areas, and the democratic decentralization of administration at the district level.

The Community Development programme designed to achieve a revolution in the rural areas, was the one single item of the new era of planning, which had a profound effect on the role of the District Officer. Whereas in the past, he was solely concerned with the familiar territorial units of tahsils, he was now placed in charge of a new set of smaller units, the Community Development Blocks, responsible for tasks which were as new as the blocks themselves.

In addition to the Community Development programme, which at the district level was under the direct charge of the Collector, developmental programmes of other departments also came into existence. As it was not possible to undertake such activities in isolation, the co-ordinating role naturally fell to the Collector. A new task, therefore, devolved on the District Officer. In addition to his traditional functions he was now directly associated with the general development of his district, and in particular with the rural sector.

To assist the Collector in his tasks connected with development, a broad based Advisory Committee was set up at the district level. There have been a number of changes in its constitution and functions. It now consists of all members of the Vidhan Sabha, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, whose constituencies lie in the district, all Chairmen of district and tahsil level panchayat bodies, Mayors and Chairmen of urban local bodies, representatives of labour, industry and of the District Co-operative Bank, Chairman of the District Bharat Sevak Samaj and a few others. While the Collector is the Chairman of the District Advisory Committee, one of his assistants acts as the Secretary. Meetings are generally held every two months. The functions of this Committee are purely advisory in character and they extend to "problems of purely local character of general public interest". In fact, except for matters connected with the administration of justice, maintenance of law and order, postings, transfers and disciplinary cases of Government servants and matters falling within the competence of any local body, the District Advisory Committee is competent to advise on any matter placed before it or which it considers of local importance. Till such time when the district level panchayat body takes over its functions, the District Advisory Committee provides a forum for democratic consultation with the local representatives of the people.

While other matters also come up before the District Advisory Committee, a great deal of its time is taken up with development schemes. To quote an example, when funds are allotted to the district for construction of school buildings, minor irrigation works, drinking water wells, village roads, etc, the matter is placed before the District Advisory Committee. Works are then taken up in the places recommended

by the Committee. The Committee is also consulted about the annual district development plan, and progress achieved in each sector.

On the administrative side, a separate section has been provided in the Collector's office to look after work connected with the Community Development programme. The strength in this section is dependent on the number of blocks in the district. The officer-in-charge is of the rank of Deputy Collector and he assists the Collector in inspections of blocks, supervision of specific projects and, if required, represents the Collector at meetings of Block Advisory Committees and similar bodies.

There is an element of each district development department at the block level, *e.g.*, Extension Officers in charge of Agriculture, Co-operation, Industry, Irrigation, etc. In respect of the work of these officers, the Collector exercises full administrative powers through the Block Development Officer. While there is an element of duality of control in this arrangement, no real administrative difficulties are faced because of the position of the Collector vis-a-vis the head of the department. At the district level, however, the subordination of the heads of development departments to the Collector, depends to a considerable extent, on their status. Those in charge of Agriculture, Co-operation, Industry, Live-Stock, etc., are of a lower status, and are generally under the administrative control of the Collector. In the case of departmental heads dealing with Irrigation, Public Health, Public Works, etc., the extent of subordination to the Collector is almost negligible. In keeping with their status, they are largely independent of the Collector. In the case of all district heads of departments, however, the Collector is required to write their confidential reports.

Considering that there are 452 development blocks in the State, their successful functioning almost entirely depends on adequate supervision. The Government has, therefore, laid down a norm for inspections by officers at various levels, *e.g.*, the Development Commissioner is required to visit at least six blocks in each Division and inspect at least one block in each Division each year; the Commissioner is required to visit at least two blocks on an average every month, and inspect at least one block in each district, and in all, at least six blocks every year. The Collector is required to visit the blocks in his district in such a manner that each one is visited at least once in six months; all blocks are to be inspected at least once a year. For the assistance of inspecting officers, a list of 51 items requiring their attention during inspections has been drawn up. It has also been emphasized that: "an inspection will not be completed without a visit to a few villages in the block. . . . It is suggested that more than 2/3rd of the time should be spent in the villages and less than 1/3rd at block headquarters."

While the impact of democratic decentralization will be dealt with in the next section, it may be mentioned here that even in the implementation stage, it has brought in an element of uncertainty about the role of the Collector in the implementation of development plans at the district levels. His specific tasks and relations with the district panchayat body are not clear. Perhaps, a great deal still depends on the establishment of conventions.

## VII

In its report on democratic decentralization, the Balwantrai Mehta Committee stated: "Admittedly one of the least successful aspects of the Community Development and National Extension Scheme work is its attempt to evoke popular initiative.... An attempt has been made to harness local initiative through the formation of *ad hoc* bodies mostly with nominated personnel and invariably advisory in character..... So long as we do not discover or create a representative and democratic institution which will supply the local interest, supervision and care necessary to ensure that expenditure of money upon local objects conforms with the needs and wishes of the locality, invest it with adequate power and assign to it appropriate finances, we will never be able to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development." Clearly, therefore, if district administration had to respond to the requirements of an alert and politically conscious rural population, it had to undergo democratization at the grassroots. There were two aspects of this problem: (a) democratization of active administration represented by the District Officer as the agent of the State Government; and (b) democratization of the deliberative administration. In their implementation of the scheme of democratic decentralization, varying emphasis has been given to these two aspects in different States. In any case, the intention was to set up an effective agency for the implementation of development plans in the rural areas; it was a means but not an end.

Differing systems of panchayat bodies were in existence in the integrating units of Madhya Pradesh. In 1962, a unifying Act was passed, which provides for the establishment of a three-tier system of panchayats; the Gram Panchayat at village level, the Janpada Panchayat at block level and the Zilla Panchayat at district level. The adult population of a village or group of villages, with a total population of 1000, is to elect the Gram Panchayat. The Janpada Panchayat will be elected by the panchas of the Gram Panchayats. The Zilla Panchayat will consist of the Presidents of all Janpada Panchayats within the district, all members of the Vidhan Sabha, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha,

whose constituencies fall in the district and all district heads of development departments. There is a provision for co-option of members to represent special interests at all three levels. Panchayats at all levels are required to constitute Standing Committee to deal with specific matters. There is provision for a Secretary or Chief Executive Officer for each Panchayat.

The Gram Panchayat is the basic administrative unit and is responsible for various developmental, municipal and revenue functions. The Janpada Panchayat is, however, the most important of the three levels of panchayat bodies. All developmental functions in the block area will be directly under its control. It will be both implementing and supervisory body. The Zilla Panchayat will be mainly a supervisory and deliberative body. Funds from the State Government will, however, be channelized through the Zilla Panchayat.

It is significant that in the pattern of Panchayati Raj contemplated in Madhya Pradesh, no distinctive role has been assigned to the Collector. His statutory functions solely related to conducting and supervising elections to panchayats, exercising general supervision and control through inspections and suspension of illegal resolutions, and resolving disputes between panchayat bodies. In a circular issued in 1962, the State Government has laid down that it will be the duty of the Collector "to see that a proper climate is created for the success of Panchayati Raj". Towards that end, he is required to ensure that all difficulties and problems faced by Panchayats are resolved, and that all officers of the Panchayats and development departments play their part effectively. It remains to be seen whether a more precise definition of the Collector's role will be undertaken, when Panchayati Raj is fully implemented and Janpada Panchayats and the Zilla Panchayat are set up.

### VIII

Addressing the National Development Council on October 27, 1964 the Prime Minister spoke about the need for co-ordination at the district level. He said: "All too often, we think of these things at the national level and the State level, while there is neglect and even confusion at the village level. The farmer has now to deal separately with representatives of different Government agencies, each owing allegiance to a Department or Ministry at the headquarters of the State or Central Government. The co-ordinating role which the District Officer used to play in the past has been lost. I would suggest to all Chief Ministers present here today that they should restore to the District Officer, whether he is known at the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner, the status of a co-ordinator of all governmental activities in the district

and confer upon him the responsibility for guiding all the efforts undertaken on behalf of Government, Central or State. . . . This task should be faced as one of urgency." The need for rehabilitating the waning influence of the Collector as a co-ordinator, was already engaging the attention of the State Government when the Prime Minister made these remarks. The effectiveness of the Collector as a co-ordinator, appeared to depend more on the individual's personality, than on a conscious policy on the part of Government. The Collector was finding it increasingly difficult to function as the head of a team of officers charged with the responsibility of administering policies and laws for the benefit of the people. Each department was working in isolation, unconnected, unco-ordinated, without a common purpose, except that of independent action. The State Government, therefore, took a decision to declare the Collector as the chief co-ordinating authority at the district level. The orders of the State Government are worth quoting at some length. It is stated that: "Government, therefore, have had under consideration the question as to how the policies of the Government can be effectively implemented to achieve the desired objective, and have come to the conclusion that this can be best achieved by strengthening the position of the Collector. The State Government have accordingly taken the following decision:

- (i) The Collector at the district level is unequivocally declared as the chief co-ordinating authority in respect of all departments in the district except the Judiciary, Sales Tax and Labour and that his recommendation shall be given very great importance.
- (ii) The co-ordinating function of the Collector will carry with it two specific powers. The first of these is the power to issue a directive to the district head of the department concerned in respect of any matter. . . . The second power is that of inspecting any office, if the Collector so desires.
- (iii) In order to facilitate the Collector's functions of co-ordination, each department should send a note once in two months to their divisional and district representatives, with copies to Collectors and Commissioners, indicating important measures which require implementation and the progress of which is to be specially watched. It will be the duty of each Collector and Commissioner to keep a supervisory eye on the implementation of these measures."

These orders go on to say that the Collector is empowered to call for the tour diaries of any district head of department, every effort will be made to strengthen the office of the Collector, the Chief Secretary

and Additional Chief Secretary will make field visits to discuss implementation of Government policies with Collectors and Commissioners, and make every effort to remove difficulties faced by them on the spot.

While these orders may not be ideal, they are sure to go a long way in re-establishing an effective co-ordinating authority at the district level. Efforts are bound to be made by functional departments to regain their independence but with the clear enunciation of Government's intentions contained in these orders, it is to be hoped that in Madhya Pradesh atleast, the Collector will become an effective instrument for implementation of Government policy. Time can only show whether this is a correct estimation.

## IX

In conclusion, it will be useful to briefly recapitulate the contents of this paper. While the concept of a "territorial specialist" was mainly British in origin, it has continued after Independence without much change or blurring of the original image. In the early years, the role of the District Officer was essentially the same as in the past. The subsequent separation of the judiciary from the executive has removed the subordinate magistracy from his control. He, along with his executive magistrates is, however, still charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order. Although, the law provides that the administration of the police throughout his jurisdiction will be carried out under his general control and direction, the actual position is otherwise. There is resentment of his authority. As in the past, he is still responsible for the proper maintenance of land records and, to a lesser degree, for the recovery of Government dues. As chief representative of Government at the district level, he has been assigned a number of important tasks like conducting elections, census operations, control and distribution of foodgrains and essential commodities. Execution of large scale development schemes both in the rural and urban areas, more particularly the Community Development programme, and the decision to democratically decentralize administration, are two new factors which have again subjected this office to strain. While in the case of the former, the Collector is responsible, either directly or indirectly, for the implementation and supervision of development schemes in the district, his powers of control are ill-defined. The experiment of democratic decentralization is in its initial stages in Madhya Pradesh. After legislating an Act in 1962, and establishing panchayats at the lowest level, nothing further has been done. The Collector's role in this scheme has not yet been defined in precise terms. At

first glance, it appears he will not directly participate in their administration at any level. Government's realization of the importance of the Collector's role as the Chief co-ordinator in the district, has resulted in a more precise enunciation of governmental policy, and he has also been armed with some powers to fulfil this role. To a vast majority of the people, the Collector is the image of administration, and any steps that are taken to strengthen his position are steps in the right direction.



"...Inspection without advice is idle; advice without prescription is incomplete; prescription without treatment is a mockery."

—T. F. Fox

(In his paper on "*Professionalism and Socialisation*" to the Conference of the British Sociological Association, 1953.)

## MADRAS

THE INSTITUTION of District Collector is a unique feature of Indian public administration. The concept of a generalist administrator acting as agent of Government in a distinct local area and charged with responsibility for co-ordination of the different wings of Government at local level has very few parallels in administrative systems of other countries. The French Prefect is often held to be the nearest analogue of the District Collector in India. The British Imperialist power, in ruling over a vast populous country with problems of a heterogenous character felt the need to have in each compact area a multi-purpose officer with sufficient power and prestige who could, as a trusted agent of the Central authority, keep a watch over the people, collect the revenues of Government and take some interest in the general welfare of the people, particularly in times of famine, flood and internal commotion. Land and land tenurial problems loomed large in the primitive economy of the early British era and the officer most intimately connected with these problems acquired an importance, which other functionaries of Government could not naturally command. The settlement and collection of land revenue, then the most important source of revenue to Government, brought the officials concerned with them into intimate contact with the countryside. They acquired in the process keen insight into the problems of India's predominantly rural economy and their advice came, therefore, to be specially valued by Government in the formulation of policies. The British attempt to deal with rural communities, largely by proxy so to say, through either zamindars or hereditary village officials also gave the officer, who had a measure of control over such intermediaries forming part of the establishment of the British era, a stature and influence beyond the reach of any other official at district level. If we add to this the imperative need of a foreign power operating largely through locally recruited functionaries to have their activities overseen on the spot by a member of the ruling race, or in later years by Indians specially chosen and moulded to fit in among them, we have a complete explanation for the dominance of the Collector in the Indian administrative scene.

The evolution of the office of the Collector in Madras has been, by and large, on the same lines as elsewhere in India. But there were

certain significant differences which have in some measure served to raise the stature of the Collector in Madras State. First, districts in Madras have always been of very large size. Even now, of the thirteen districts in the State, if we exclude the three districts of Madras, Kanyakumari and Nilgiris constituted as separate units of administration for special reasons, the average area of a district in Madras is nearly 5,000 square miles and the average population is 30 lakhs. The large area with its wide span of control, gave Collectors room for freer play of their initiative and vested their advice on problems of common interest to the State with special value. Secondly, the major part of the present Madras State was under ryotwari system of land tenure which brought the Collector and his machinery into direct contact with the peasantry. The opportunities for direct redressal of grievances, which these contacts brought in their wake, helped the Collector to project an image of himself and of the British Raj of which he was a visible symbol in the countryside. Thirdly, in view of the small number of districts the practice grew up of posting to district charges only senior officers of sufficient experience and maturity. The Collector's seniority enabled him to assume and exercise control over other District Officers including those belonging to other Secretary of State services with ease and confidence. Another factor which helped in this process was the absence of an intermediary such as the Divisional Commissioner. There was no doubt a Board of Revenue, but its supervision at field level was never close enough to cramp the initiative of the Collectors. It is significant to mention here that, when in 1953 the then Government mooted a proposal to introduce a system of Divisional Commissioners for closer supervision and guidance of the work of the Collectors and the departments at the district level, the scheme was strongly opposed by the Collectors and the Board of Revenue itself on the ground that it would lower the prestige and influence which the Collector in Madras had long enjoyed and to that extent impair his usefulness and effectiveness as a local agent of the Government. The proposal had to be dropped and has not been revived since then. On the whole, one can hazard the view that on the eve of Independence, the Collector in Madras was a little more powerful than his compeers elsewhere.

It will be an interesting and rewarding study to analyze the impact on the office of the Collector, his powers and prestige of the changes in Indian political and administrative set-up. First, we have a Government consisting of elected representatives of the people responsible to the Legislature and responsible to public opinion. The political executive has channels of communication with the people through its own party organization. The Collector is not, therefore, now the

sole "eyes and ears" of Government, through his close knowledge of men and affairs at district level, is still of immense value to Government in framing policies and implementing them. It is not only the form of Government which was changed; even more significant is the change in the ends or objectives of Government. From being primarily concerned with the maintenance of internal peace and promotion of a minimum sense of contentment among the people designed to keep them loyal to the alien rulers, the Government's activities now touch the life of the citizen at many points. The State is playing a more active and direct role in the promotion of the welfare of the people through planned economic development. This growth in the functions of Government has also inevitably led to an enormous increase in the number of Government's employees more closely knit than before into specialized departments. Many development departments such as agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, medical and public health have grown and have now attained a stature of their own. The considerably stiffened technical cadres of these departments are now subject more closely to control by their own superiors at regional and State level. Improvement in transport and communications and the abridgement in the size of the States as a result of re-organization on linguistic basis have facilitated more intimate contacts between the field officers of technical departments and their "staff officers" at the State level. All these developments are constantly throwing up problems of delimitation of areas of administrative as distinct from technical control. The growing importance of the specialist and the technician in the shaping and execution of policies of Government and the increasing sophistication of our economy under industrialization are other important trends which will sooner or later bring to the fore the question whether co-ordination at a local level by an administrator who has specialized only in man management is necessary and if so, whether it will prove adequate. The conscious pursuit by the Government in the last few years of a policy of democratic decentralization has brought into being at the district, block and village levels representative institutions of the people, and the District Collector in functioning as the agent of a democratically elected Government has increasingly to work through these organized representative institutions of the people. The object of this paper is to analyse in some detail these trends and assess their impact on the functions, powers and prestige of the Collector in Madras State.

#### THE COLLECTOR AS THE INSTITUTION OF LAW AND ORDER

In the pre-Independence era the emphasis was on maintenance of law and order and it is this particular aspect of the work of the

Collector which was specially valued by Government. It was the duty of the Superintendent of Police to keep the Collector fully informed both by personal conferences and special reports of matters of importance concerning the peace of the district and the state of crime. The Police Standing Orders have clearly laid down that for the purpose of control of crime and maintenance of law and order, the police force of the district will be under the control and direction of the Collector. The Collector as District Magistrate also controlled the subordinate magistracy drawn from the Revenue Department and was responsible for the prompt despatch of business in criminal courts. He was also the controlling authority in respect of prosecuting staff. This concentration of powers in the hands of the Collector and in particular the combination of the conflicting roles of prosecutor and judge which had come in for criticism even during the pre-Independence days, called for review soon after the elected Government took office in 1946. The general line of criticism was that in view of the close and confidential relationship which existed between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, the latter was in a special position to influence the District Magistrate against the subordinate magistracy, who had failed to uphold the point of view of the police. It was contended that District Magistrate and his subordinate magistracy, being also responsible for internal security and control of crime, were not averse to suggestions from the police and that the whole set-up was, therefore, fraught with possibilities of miscarriage of justice. These complaints of interference with the independence of the magistracy were of course exaggerated and in most cases had no basis. I was Joint Magistrate in a district in which separation of the executive from the judiciary had not been effected and had a good deal of magisterial work to do. I cannot recall any instance in which the police had directly, or indirectly through the District Magistrate, sought to interfere with the exercise of judicial discretion. Nor was any instance brought to my notice in which the subordinate magistracy under my control had been influenced by the police. I have no doubt that the same will be the experience of most of the other magistrates too.

The public opinion spearheaded by the legal profession was, however, strongly in favour of separation of the executive from the judiciary and this question claimed the attention of the Government soon after the transfer of power. A Committee was set up in 1946 to settle the details on which a scheme of separation of the executive from the judiciary could be evolved and based on the recommendations of the Committee, the reform was implemented in stages and was completed by 1953. The chief merit of the scheme of separation of the executive from the judiciary, as implemented in this State, was that it

could be put through without any formal amendment of the statute. The structure of the magistracy prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure was left unaltered, and within the old framework the great change was the replacement of the magistrate of the Revenue Department by a new set of officers with academic legal qualifications and training. One of the important arguments advanced against the scheme of separation was that it would impair the prestige of the Collector in the district and would militate against the effective maintenance of law and order and control of crime in the district. The Committee itself sought to guard against any such tendency by providing for the retention in the hands of the Collector and his subordinate revenue staff the requisite powers under the Preventive Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. In order to clothe the Collector with necessary authority for the exercise of these powers, the Collectors were designated as Additional District Magistrates. Their Sub-divisional Officers were designated as First Class Executive Magistrates and the Tahsildars as Second Class Executive Magistrates. Powers under Section 144 Cr.P.C. were left to be exercised by the executive magistrates as also those under Section 127 Cr.P.C. and allied sections in regard to dispersal of unlawful assembly. Likewise, powers in regard to passing of preliminary orders under Sections 107 and 145 Cr.P.C., remained with the executive magistrates. The regulatory powers under several enactments such as grant of licences under the Arms Act and Explosives Act, being essentially of an executive nature, were also left with the Collectors. These powers have in practice proved quite adequate in enabling the Collectors and the executive magistrates under them in maintaining peace and order in the districts. Experience has also belied the apprehension that separation would impair the stature of the Collector, for the completion of the scheme of separation of the executive from the judiciary coincided with the ushering of the epoch of economic planning. The additional responsibilities and new opportunities for service which a planned economy brought in its wake have assisted not merely in maintaining the stature of the Collector but actually in raising it further.

There are, however, certain trends in the Collector's role in regard to maintenance of law and order, which deserve notice at this stage. The relationship between the Superintendent of Police and the Collector has always been a delicate one and a good deal depends on the personal equation. The Collector still writes the confidential report on Superintendent of Police and in his report the Collector is specially expected to refer to the public relations aspect of the work of the Superintendent of Police. The periodical diaries of the Superintendent of Police pass through the Collector to the higher officers of the Police Department.

The Superintendent of Police also sends fortnightly confidential reports and other special reports to the Collector on political, labour and agrarian situation in the districts. The Superintendent of Police brings to the personal notice of the Collector important developments in law and order situation in the district and the two together work out the lines on which any threat to internal peace should be met. The reports on grave crimes such as murder, dacoity, etc., are sent to the Collector then and there. The power of tendering pardon and accepting approvers in serious cases still vests with the Collector in his capacity as Additional District Magistrate. Judgments in important cases—particularly sessions cases—are forwarded to him for study and the Collector can thus take note of adverse judicial comment, if any, on the conduct of the police. Proposals for appeal against acquittal have also to be sent invariably through the Collector. The Collector has thus still a good deal to do with the police and their work in the district. But the opportunities for prompt interchange of views and information in critical situations between State headquarters and districts which the police radio net-work has provided and the increase in the number of Deputy Inspectors-General of Police leading to a closer departmental supervision of the work of the Superintendent of Police have by loosening the bonds between the Collector and the Superintendent of Police led to some blurring of the Collector's responsibility. Political and labour agitations are increasingly directed on a State-wide basis and this results in a situation which the Government, in consultation with the Police headquarters, issues instructions of a general nature on how the agitations should be dealt with. These trends naturally point to a new orientation in the relationship between the Collector and the Superintendent of Police.

The question has sometimes been raised whether in a democratic set-up when the elected representatives of the people determine the broad lines on which political and other forms of organized agitation should be dealt with and whether there is need any longer for a general administrator to be involved in the maintenance of law and order at the field level. In the City of Madras the Collector has nothing to do with maintenance of internal security and it is the Commissioner of Police, also functioning as executive magistrate and dealing directly with Government, who is responsible for maintenance of public peace. In view of the trends indicated earlier the question has been raised, from time to time, whether at least on an experimental basis the system obtaining in Madras city should not be extended to select districts or at least to select urban centres. If these suggestions have not been pursued further, it is not merely due to the inherent tendency of administration to resist any change. The wide range of his functions gives the

Collector opportunities to establish contacts with people and leaders of public opinion at a number of points. His control over village establishment and the easy informal relationship which he builds up with leaders of public opinion through his association with representative organizations at the district level pre-eminently fits the Collector to play the role of a conciliator in difficult situations. He is also better equipped to make a dispassionate assessment of public reaction to any course of action proposed by the police and this assessment should be of special help to the police particularly in dealing with labour and agrarian trouble. Experienced police officers have always welcomed this kind of helpful intervention by the Collector in difficult situations, obviating the need for use of force.

There are still organized groups in our country which place their faith in extra-Constitutional methods as a means of ventilating grievances and securing acceptance of their points of view. In such a milieu, there will always arise occasions in which any action proposed purely from the law and order point of view will have to be modulated with reference to a whole gamut of larger considerations. A general administrator could relieve the police in some measure of the responsibility for making such an assessment and in this sense his association with maintenance of law and order should, therefore, continue to be fruitful. It is only when there is assurance that all sections of organized public opinion will abjure violence as a means of settling controversial points and the police have to deal, as in mature political democracies, only with ordinary type of crime without political or communal overtones, that we can think of relieving the Collector of his responsibility for maintenance of public peace in the district in his charge.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENTS

In evaluating the role of the Collectors in the Nineteen Sixties it need hardly be stated that traditional functions such as maintenance of law and order or collection of land revenue are relatively unimportant. In a homogeneous State like Madras with a stable administration, except for occasional spurts of violence, there has been very little organized or sustained defiance of authority in recent years. The Collectors have generally not been too preoccupied with problems of law and order. The rise in prices of agricultural produce coupled with increased productivity has appreciably lightened the incidence of land revenue including irrigation charges. The collection of land revenue does not, therefore, present any difficulty except in certain small ex-Zamin tracts, where the ryots are yet to get used to payment of taxes. As the policy of the Government now is to channelize agricultural credit

largely through institutional agencies, the sanction and recovery of loans—Taccavi as it is called—does not also any longer tax the time or energies of the Collector. Planned economic development at the district level is, therefore, now the main concern of the Collector.

The Collectors in India have always taken interest in the welfare of the people of their districts and the paternalist tradition of the Indian administration is well known. Even in the pre-Independence era, the Collector had used his position as the acknowledged leader of the official community at the district level to promote a measure of co-ordination among different departments. Of course, his relations with a few departments have been a little closer than with others. The relations of the police department already referred to have always been of special nature. In districts with large extents under major systems of irrigation, the Collector's relationship with the Public Works Department was also very close and intimate. The relationship between the Collector and the P.W.D. as it has evolved, in this State may be referred to in some detail, because it seems to provide a reasonably satisfactory answer to the perennial problem of evolving a meaningful partnership between technical and non-technical personnel for the common good of the people. Long before the problem of co-ordination between the several departments of Government in the interests of smooth implementation of the Plan had acquired its present dimensions, the Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue in Madras had tried to spell out the relationship of the Collector with the P.W. Department. It is worthwhile to reproduce the operative portion of the relevant Standing Order: "The Collector is the administrative head of the district. The assistance and professional advice of the P.W.D. will be solely at the disposal of the Collector. Any information he may call for should be promptly supplied. The Collector may for any special reason issue definite instructions to the Executive Engineer. If the Executive Engineer thinks that such instructions are not in the public interest and if time allows, he should send the Collector a statement of opinion and reasons and ask him to refer the matter to the Superintending Engineer. The Collector should at once do so, enclosing a copy of the Executive Engineer's opinion and reasons. If the S.E. disagrees with the Collector he will forward the case to the Government through the Chief Engineer for orders informing that the Collector has done so. Otherwise, the Collector's instruction shall be complied with."

Through periodical irrigation conferences and otherwise, the Collectors have been playing an important role in ensuring the proper working of the irrigation systems and in settling the difficulties of the ryots in making full use of the irrigation facilities provided. This close association of Collectors with regulation of water supply under the major

systems of irrigation has been of great value and is one of the main factors responsible for ensuring a very high degree of utilization of irrigation potential created under the new systems of irrigation in the State. In fact, it is the Collector who has to report to Government periodically on utilization of the facilities for irrigation created under the new irrigation systems. In the pre-Independence era, the relations of the Collector with other "nation-building" departments were not so close and this was, among other reasons, due largely to the fact that these departments themselves were not fully developed and did not as yet play any significant role at the district level.

But the enormous increase in the range of activities of Government in recent years, a change often tritely described as one transition from a Police State to a Welfare State, has brought new responsibilities and opened out new opportunities for the administrator at the district level. In this process of change, the Collector's relationship with other officers of development departments at the district level such as agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, has become closer than at any time in the past. The Collector who has always been the pivot of administration at the district level has thus become the captain of the team of officers at the district level engaged in development work. This process gathered momentum particularly with the introduction of the Community Development programme in this State in 1952. During an initial period of two to three years, the establishments working in Community Development Blocks were directly controlled by the Government and did not form an organic part of the normal administrative organization. But when the number of blocks increased and covered a significant portion of every district, the centralized direction of block work proved unmanageable. The need for and value of associating the Collectors fully with the work came to be increasingly realized. The District Collectors were, therefore, made responsible for the direction and control of the development work at the block level and considerable delegation of administrative and financial powers was effected. The District Level Officers of development departments and their heads quickly adjusted themselves, with varying degrees of mental reservation, to control and guidance by the Collectors of the development programme at the district level. The realization that problems of rural development cannot be viewed in isolation, and that the level of the rural economy can be raised only through the concerted efforts of a number of related departments of Government such as agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries and public works, provided at once the need and justification for the direction of the different departments for development at the district level by the Collector. In order to strengthen the hands of the Collectors in dealing with officers of development departments at

district level, the Collectors were among other things, empowered to write annual confidential reports on all District Level Officers concerned with developmental programme. These confidential reports are expected to touch specially on the public relations aspect of the work of the District Officers and their effectiveness in pushing through the programmes of development.

This association of Collectors soon justified itself by the results achieved. Because of the wholehearted involvement of Collectors and the general administrative machinery extending down to the villages under their control in the development programme, local enthusiasm and local resources were mobilized on a large scale in executing programmes of public utility such as rural water supply works, school building, link roads and the like.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS

The role of the Collectors in executing development programmes within the framework of the Five Year Plans acquired a new dimension with the implementation in this State in the early Sixties of the programme of democratic decentralization compendiously described by the rather imposing name "Panchayati Raj". The essential features of this programme as implemented in this State are :

- (i) Formation of a Panchayat for every viable village;
- (ii) Formation of a Panchayat Union consisting of Presidents of Panchayats at the block level, with provision for co-option of members representing special interests and participation of Legislators; and
- (iii) Formation of a District Development Council with all Chairmen of Panchayat Union Councils, Chairmen of Municipalities, Legislators and officers of different development departments, with the Collector as the *ex-officio* President.

At every one of these levels the official machinery is fully associated with the elected body for the very efficient discharge of its functions. At the village level the village officers are made responsible for the collection of taxes levied by the Panchayats. They also assist in the drawing up of village production plans by the Panchayats. At the block level the extension staff of the Community Development Programme headed by the Block Development Officer have been placed at the disposal of the Panchayat Unions in drawing up programmes of development and for their implementation. At the district level again the elected representatives of the people and the officials come together in fruitful association in the District Development Council.

This new pattern of administration has undoubtedly thrown considerable strain on the District Collector. The Collector is now the Inspector of Panchayats and in that capacity has to arrange for efficient inspection and audit of Panchayats. He guides the Panchayat Unions in the formulation and implementation of programmes for provision of basic amenities and for improvement of agricultural production. To this end, he has to secure efficient performance of their duties by officers of other development departments like agriculture and keep in constant touch with them and State headquarters for maintenance of timely and adequate supply of materials and equipment such as improved seed, fertilizers, pesticides, dusters and sprayers. The budgets of Panchayat Unions are forwarded through him to Government and he is expected to scrutinize them so as to ensure that they manage their affairs with a reasonable degree of financial prudence. Besides the exercise of statutory powers in relation to Panchayats and Panchayat Union Council, the Collector is very often called on informally to mediate in settling differences of opinion among members of the Panchayat Union Councils. He has also to assist in the promotion of cordial and constructive relationship between the elected members and official machinery at block level. All these tasks calling for utmost patience, tact and qualities of leadership have provided the present generation of Collectors unique opportunities for serving the community.

There are no doubt critics of the apparently undemocratic features of the scheme of Panchayati Raj as implemented in this State, which has left substantial powers in the hands of the Collector. There has been criticism of association of village officers with the Panchayats and vesting of responsibility for the collection of taxes in village officers. There has also been criticism of the purely advisory character of the District Development Council and the association of the Collector with it as its Chairman. These criticisms are unjustified as many of us can bear out from our experience. In many Panchayats in Coimbatore district, where I was Collector during 1960-1962, the accumulated tax arrears of past years were realized without having to resort to coercive process and the Panchayats themselves therefore welcomed the entrustment of collection work to the village officers. The Collector's association with the Development Council as its Chairman and the powers and the measure of control given to him over the Panchayats and the Panchayat Unions have helped in the evolution of proper relationship between the Panchayat Unions and their extension staff and other District Officers. The representative institutions have themselves accepted the Collector as "friend, philosopher and guide" and have by and large accepted his right "to advise, encourage and warn".

The Collector's guidance of the programme in particular has helped in mobilization of resources for rural development. The Panchayats and Panchayat Unions have displayed a rare sense of realism and political courage of most refreshing character. They have willingly accepted the fact that agricultural lands can and should bear a greater burden of taxation in the interests of development and have voted in favour of increased taxation. The additional resources thus mobilized in the form of surcharge on land and additional taxation of house property are of the order of Rs. 10 crores in the current Plan period and behind this cold fact lies a good deal of active persuasion by the Collectors.

The question has often been asked whether the formation of elected representative organizations of people at the district and block levels has in any way impaired the powers and prestige of the Collectors. If power is construed not in terms of self-importance or self-aggrandizement, but in terms of capacity to get things done, the District Officer under the new set-up has more powers and not less, for he is now able to draw on the energies of local leadership thrown up by the new democratic institutions. The new institutions far from weakening the position of the Collector have helped him in pushing through programmes for augmentation of agricultural production, family planning and provision of basic amenities in rural areas. His chairmanship of the District Development Council has clothed him with formal authority to review and co-ordinate the working of the developmental programmes and removing the bottlenecks, administrative, technical and otherwise, in the implementation of the programmes. Public opinion in this State has by and large welcomed the Collector's chairmanship of the District Development Council as he is able to ensure a non-political, non-partisan approach to the larger problems of development of the district.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND OTHER DISTRICT OFFICERS

The Collector then continues to be a potent force for good in district administration in Madras. The initiative, drive and dynamism of the Collector can still make a significant difference to the manner in which schemes of development, particularly those impinging on rural areas, are implemented at district level. The confidence reposed by the political executive in this State in the District Collectors is by far the most important factor responsible for keeping the prestige and importance of the Collector substantially unimpaired. In the initial stages of adjustment of relations between the permanent Civil Service and the political executives there were naturally mental reservations

on either side. But soon with the developmental programmes gathering apace, the Government realized that in the Collector they had an agency readily available for ensuring co-ordination among the growing departments of Government at the district level and in imparting dynamism to the programmes.

As early as 1952, the Government, in a circular reiterated the importance of the Collector and his right to control and guide other District Level Officers. The Collectors also quickly adapted themselves to their new role as agents of elected and responsible Government in a Welfare State. It did not take long for Government to realize that a strong Collector who can withstand local pressures and decide things in a dispassionate way, far from being a hindrance, would actually save Government considerable embarrassment. The sense of confidence which has been fostered among Collectors over the last ten years and the fact that Government will generally stand by them, have served to bring forth the best from the Collectors and contribute to the significant success of the Plans at district level, particularly during the Second and Third Plan periods.

The effective role which the Collectors still play in administration in this State was well demonstrated last year when this State faced an acute food situation due to interruption of normal movements of food-grains. The Collectors had to improvise arrangements for procurement and distribution of available stocks. They were left free to devise their own arrangements and tackle the situation as best they could. That the situation was brought under control within a period of less than three weeks demonstrated clearly that the Collectors and the administrative machinery under them have a still remarkable hold on the countryside. In the current year again, without any system of formal levy, the Government has been able to build up a sizeable buffer stock because the authority of the Collectors had remained substantially unimpaired in the last few years.

Many new responsibilities which could not have been visualized in earlier years have devolved on the Collectors and these are being discharged competently. The part which the Collectors have played in recent years in canvassing support for the open market loans of the State is an instance in point. The development of road transport industry has in particular thrown considerable additional work on the Collectors. The entire work in regard to the issue, variation and cancellation of permits for operation of stage carriages and trucks has been vested in the Collectors functioning as the sole Road Transport Authority at the district level. It is significant that this power was previously being exercised by a Board which included also a non-official.

A good deal of the Collector's time is also now taken up with the work of a number of voluntary social welfare organizations such as the Guild of Service, Red Cross, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. He is also the Chairman of a number of advisory committees set up at the district level and though the current trend is in favour of abolition of such *ad hoc* advisory committees and transfer of their work to the District Development Council and its standing committees, there are still a few important committees such as District Harijan Welfare Committee and District Prohibition Advisory Committee. Through these committees the Collector is able to sound influential non-official reaction to Government's policies and programmes and advise the Government from time to time on the need for necessary modifications and improvements. The point has to be stressed that it is not any particular aspect of the work of the District Collector—maintenance of law and order or control of revenue machinery or association with Panchayat Raj institutions that could in isolation account for his influence as a District Officer. It is the totality of powers vested in him and the projection of a general image as agent of the Government that have made the Collector what he is today.

#### THE EXPERIMENT WITH DISTRICT REVENUE OFFICER

The enormous increase in the range and volume of work of the Collectors in recent years has lent urgency to the various suggestions for affording relief to them. Various alternatives have been considered at different times and the way in which Madras has sought to deal with this problem of affording relief to the District Officer without impairing unity of direction should be of interest to students of Indian administration. In pre-war days, except for the part-time assistance of a Treasury Deputy Collector, the Collector had no gazetted assistant in his office to relieve him of any part of his routine work. A few exceptionally heavy districts alone had posts of Additional District Magistrates held by members of the I.C.S. The increase in work in recent years has witnessed a proliferation of gazetted officers—modestly called Personal Assistants—in the Collector's headquarters organization. Legislation enacted in 1956—the Madras Collectors Delegation of Powers Act, 1956—clothed Government with necessary legal authority for delegating to the Personal Assistant the exercise of any of the statutory functions of the Collector and thus provide in a flexible manner the much needed relief to the Collector. It was soon realized that increase in the number of Personal Assistants was no answer to the new challenge to the district administration posed by increasing developmental work. Every extra Personal Assistant entailed to

that extent a diminution of personal contribution of the head of the district to matters for which he is answerable to Government. The quality of district administration will depend on the degree of personal attention which the head of the district can bring to bear on the local problems and personalities of every block in his charge as well as every departmental agency functioning in his district. The question of bifurcation of the larger districts was, therefore, considered in all its implications by the Government but had to be dropped. Apart from the considerable additional expenditure involved in construction of buildings and possible disputes over selection of headquarters of new districts, Government had to recognize the strength of popular feeling on traditional district boundaries which over long years had acquired a sentimental value of their own. The bifurcation of well-recognized units of administration would also have in practice led to fragmentation of local non-official leadership.

The solution to the problem of rendering the Collector's charge manageable was to be found—at least in short term—not through territorial bifurcation but through functional bifurcation. The Collector was to be given effective relief through entrustment of part of his work to another officer of appropriate status. What the designation of this officer should be and what the relationship between him and the Collector should be also received prolonged consideration. At one stage it was felt that while leaving district boundaries unaltered, additional Collectors might be appointed who could assume responsibility for law and order and all aspects of developmental work over roughly half the district. But this concept of an Additional Collector had to be eventually dropped in view of the difficulties, mostly of a psychological nature, which it encountered. There was genuine apprehension that the Additional Collector might turn out to be “as second king in Israel” and the unity of district administration might get disrupted in the process. The concept of Additional Collector was, therefore, diluted and a consensus emerged in favour of appointment of a new functionary to be called the District Revenue Officer. The distribution of functions between the Collector and the District Revenue Officer was so designed that the latter was made fully responsible for most of the “traditional” functions of the Collector such as appointment and control of village establishments, collection of land revenue and loans, maintenance of land records and registration, acquisition, assignment and alienation of land. An important traditional function which was retained with the Collector was maintenance of law and order. The Collectors were responsible for all developmental work, including development programmes implemented by Panchayats and Panchayat Unions, Harijan Welfare, and major and minor irrigation. For purposes of

developmental work, however, the districts have been delimited into two developmental districts, each with a separate District Development Council of its own presided over by the same Collector. This notional bifurcation for a special purpose was considerably facilitated because almost all important development departments had more than one officer at district level whose jurisdiction could be easily delimited on the basis of development district. The branches in Collector's office dealing with development work have also been organized on the basis of development districts with separate staff, each under a Personal Assistant. This rather unusual arrangement, while preserving the unity of district administration, has served to keep the strength of the District Development Council within reasonable limits and has contributed to its effective functioning as a deliberative body. As an important variant of the District Revenue Officer scheme, in one of the districts, a Joint Collector was appointed who discharged, in addition to the normal functions of the District Revenue Officer elsewhere, also developmental functions in relation to one half of the district. This arrangement has since been given up temporarily.

There can be no lasting or *a priori* answer to the question whether or not the districts as constituted are manageable with the existing arrangements for sharing of responsibilities. In the light of my own fairly recent experience as a Collector of what was then the second largest district in the State, I feel that the present charges of the Collector are by and large manageable, particularly with the appointment of the District Revenue Officers. While development work will increase further in volume and complexity, it should be remembered that some of the present responsibilities of the Collector such as those in regard to law and order and protocol will definitely become lighter as our adolescent democracy gains further in maturity. Every administrator has after all to learn the art of judicious delegation and with such delegation it should be possible for the Collector to keep in touch with all important work in the district without feeling overburdened. It should also be remembered that improvement in communications and transport and increased mobility have offset to a substantial extent the disadvantage arising from unwieldy jurisdiction.

#### THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE COLLECTOR


What important changes may be anticipated in the position and powers of the Collector in the next five or ten years? Forecasting in regard to trends in administration has a singular habit of going awry. There were Cassandras who had foretold that with separation of the executive from the judiciary, the Collector will lose his importance

in the official hierarchy. Many had again anticipated that with the advent of popular Government, the Collector will be clipped of many of his powers and lose a good deal of his prestige. The contrary has happened. The Collector today plays a far more important role in implementation of policies of Government at district level than at any time in the past, though at it should rightly be so, in an egalitarian democracy he may not have all the outward trappings of power and pomp. One most of the important matters such as developmental programmes, general elections and law and order, the Collector deals directly with Government and in the process the control of Board of Revenue has become tenuous. We may expect this process to continue further resulting in the further eclipse of the Board of Revenue as a supervising and controlling authority. The trends towards decentralization of powers in response to the needs of expeditious implementation of the Plan should also result in the Collector assuming new powers and responsibilities.

The setting up of representative institutions at various levels in the district should not affect the position of the Collector because the present legal framework within which these institutions operate draws a sharp distinction between deliberating functions and executive functions. As long as this separation is maintained, there will be need for a senior officer to control the executive agencies and guide their work. By and large, enlightened public opinion in this State favours such separation, because they feel that execution of schemes is best left to non-political, non-partisan and expert agencies. With the growing complexity of administration and the need to implement the Plans energetically, there will also be need for increased delegation of powers to developmental agencies at the district level. With such delegation and the trend towards increasing specialization there will be greater need to check the tendency of departments to act in isolation and co-ordinate their working for the common good. The Collector's role in bringing about such co-ordination will become, therefore, far more important in future.

Historically, the Collector has come to occupy an important position in the official hierarchy, largely because of his contacts with and influence in the countryside. In a sense, therefore, the Collector's role in future will depend upon the relative importance of the rural sector in our national economy. Even today the association of Collector with problems of urban and industrial development is not very close. Apart from arranging for acquisition of land which may be required for industrial development, the Collector has no direct responsibility in regard to promotion of industries, large and small, in his charge. Industrial development, in view of the expertise required, is

planned and directed from the State level. Likewise, in regard to programmes for development of power, expansion of technical education and other sophisticated modern sectors of development, the Collector has no significant part to play. But when we consider programmes of agricultural production, it will be recognized that the Collector has and will have a very crucial contribution to make. We have no better agency than the Collector at the district level to supervise and co-ordinate the arrangements for provision of improved seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities and all other inputs needed for increased agricultural production. He has also a decisive part to play in galvanizing the farmers in the countryside and harnessing their energies for increased production. After fifteen years of planning in the course of which our economy has become diversified and highly sophisticated in some respects, we still find that success on the agricultural front is the key to all progress. As long as problems of agricultural production and of the rural economy thus dominate our Plans, the Collector will also continue to occupy a position of special importance in our administrative system.



## MAHARASHTRA

It is said that "there is not and never has been an official quite like the Collector anywhere else". The office of the Collector had great prestige and power during the days of the British rule in India. Several British writers asserted that from the point of view of an Indian villager, the Collector was not merely the representative of the Government, but he was, for all practical purposes, the Government. It is in this context that one has to understand the oft-quoted observations made in the Revenue Department Manual of the Government of Maharashtra. The Manual states: "The Collector is not only at the head of the Revenue Department in the district, but he is expected to superintend the working of the officers of other Departments in so far as the needs and exigencies of the District administration are concerned. Nothing can or should pass in the District of which the Collector should not keep himself informed. The vicissitude of trade, the state of the country, the administration of Civil Justice, the progress of public works, must all affect most materially the interests of the classes of whom he is the constituted guardian. Official interference in matters beyond his immediate control must be avoided, but temperate and intelligent remonstrance against anything which he sees to be wrong is one of the most important of his duties."

The coming of Independence ushered in an era of planned economic development and heralded the rise of a Welfare State. Government became not only responsible but also responsive to the people. The nature and the scale of duties which Government servants were called upon to perform changed radically as the emphasis shifted from revenue collection and maintenance of law and order to planned development with a view to establishing a socialist society. A system of development administration began to emerge out of a regime of "security administration". The changed circumstances after Independence were bound to have tremendous impact on the administrative set-up in the country. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, to find that the role of the Collector also changed substantially. Some of the changes were not immediately visible. They affected the content and the significance of the Collector's duties though the outward appearance remained unaltered. In Maharashtra, some changes like

the formation of Zilla Parishads and the transfer of all local developmental functions of the Collector to them marked a break with the past. Hence to understand the role of the Collector in the Nineteen Sixties in Maharashtra, it would be necessary to indicate the lines on which the changes took place during the last eighteen years.

Before Independence, except for a limited period under dyarchy and except for a short period under provincial autonomy, Governors who belonged to the civil service dominated the administration. A Governor was advised by the Executive Council which consisted of members who were generally drawn from the civil service. Administration was run by the civil service and the Government relied heavily on the Collectors. After Independence, the Governor became a constitutional head and the Council of Ministers, which is supposed to aid and advise the Governor, ran the administration. The Council of Ministers derives its strength from the legislature where it enjoys the confidence and support of a majority of members. The Ministers, who are the people's representatives in a parliamentary democracy, have a very intimate contact with the citizens and different interest groups. Apart from the official sources, the Ministers thus have several other sources of information. The Collectors, therefore, gradually have ceased to be the exclusive "eyes and ears of Government", and have become largely a mere instrument of execution of Government's policies.

As the administration, which was committed to law and order functions, gradually geared itself to development activities, the volume of work also increased. In the new atmosphere the Collector who was no longer one of the rulers, had to work with the people and could not afford to keep himself aloof from the public. A large number of visitors wishing to see him for one reason or the other now wait on him and a Collector has to spend lot of time in listening to the people. A Collector has also to play a much more active role now in the social and cultural life of the people in a district.

#### TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS

Before Independence, the ultimate responsibility for maintaining law and order in the district rested entirely in the Collector. It was inevitable that the Council of Ministers, being in regular and intimate touch with the local conditions, should take more active interest in this regard. Though the Collector remained in the picture, instructions were often issued to the police officers direct from the State headquarters, and the District Superintendent of Police came to assume greater responsibility for law and order. This process has gone much further in respect of the big cities like Poona and Nagpur. Recently,

Commissioners of Police have been appointed for these cities and the Collectors of Poona and Nagpur districts have been relieved of the responsibility of maintenance of law and order in regard to them.

The Collector's duties in respect of land records, land surveys, etc., have remained mostly unchanged. Because of increase in other work, these do not receive from him sufficient attention.

Recovery of land revenue does not present any difficulty these days. The land revenue was fixed more than 30 years ago. With the present level of prices, land revenue is now a very much lighter tax than when it was first imposed. It is, therefore, very easily paid. Except in some stray cases, the land revenue is fully recovered before the end of the revenue year, *i.e.*, by the 31st July. In Maharashtra State when crops are below 50 per cent of the normal expectations, half of the land revenue is suspended and when it is below 33 per cent land revenue is suspended in full. Hence, in border-line cases, there is often a pressing demand for declaration that the crops are below 50 per cent. The reason is not that the land revenue is too heavy to be paid and relief is required. The reason is different. According to the policy of Maharashtra Government, when recovery of land revenue is suspended, recovery of other dues like tagai, etc., is also suspended and it is the suspension of such other dues that is desired by the agriculturists.

During its brief spell of office from 1937 to 1939 the Congress Ministry had made a beginning to regulate the agricultural tenancy tenures by passing a law. In 1948, the scope of the law was considerably widened. This created a large volume of tenancy work for the Revenue Officers. In 1956, the law was further amended to give land to the tillers. The amending legislation further increased the responsibilities of the Collector, and the tenancy work now forms a substantial part of the Collector's duties.

Work concerning acquisition of land has increased considerably with the expansion of development programmes. Wherever necessary, Special Land Acquisition Officers are appointed. The Collector, however, is required to supervise the work of these officers.

The work of the Collector in respect of tagai loans also increased with the expansion of development activities. These loans are meant for diverse purposes, *e.g.*, the scheme for digging wells, conversion of land into paddy fields, etc. Besides, several special schemes are executed on the basis of incurring the expenditure initially on Government account and treating it as a tagai loan. Soil conservation is an example of this type. Recovery of tagai loans presents many problems. Since loans are advanced to help agriculturists, recovery cannot be ruthlessly pursued so as to expropriate them. Recovery must not

overlook humane considerations, and that makes it a long drawn affair. The work of advancing short term credits is now the responsibility of co-operative credit societies; and of giving middle and long term credit, of land mortgage banks. The Collector's work in this behalf is now likely to decrease substantially.

During the Second World War and especially during the years after Independence the Collector's workload also increased in some other respects. As a result of the acute shortage of foodgrains, cloth and other essential commodities the Collector had to undertake the work of distribution of the available supplies of these commodities. Acute housing shortage threw on him the work of requisitioning of premises. By about 1953 Civil Supplies work began to lose its importance, but by 1956 it regained significance once again. Fair Price Shops were re-opened. The Collector had to assume responsibility for the distribution of sugar, distribution of cement, steel, tin and similar other essential commodities. This work continues to be an important aspect of the Collectors' responsibilities.

The years after Independence also witnessed some other changes which had far-reaching consequences. As the work of the revenue officers increased, they found less and less time for criminal cases. The work was, therefore, entrusted to Resident Magistrates. Thus, in practice, Revenue Officers were not trying criminal cases but they had the powers to try such cases. The District Magistrate had also the general control over the Resident Magistrates. This provided a point of contact between the District Magistrate and the police. A number of practical difficulties in the administration of justice at the lower level could be avoided by this contact. But in the larger interests, separation of the judiciary from the executive was always demanded. The new Constitution mentioned the separation of the judiciary from the executive as one of the Directive Principles of State Policy. In 1951, the judiciary was separated. Judicial Magistrates were appointed for trying criminal cases and control over them was transferred to the District Judges. The Collector, however, retained in his capacity as the District Magistrate, certain magisterial powers which were necessary for prevention of breach of peace. The merger of States in 1947-48, the re-organization of States in 1956 and the bifurcation of the bilingual State of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat were momentous events which also affected the traditional role of the Collector. As the Government of Maharashtra gives great importance to industrial development, the Collector was appointed as the Deputy Commissioner of Industries. It is hoped that this would enable the Collector to discharge his duty of helping the process of industrial development more effectively.

Since Independence, the position of the Collector in respect of municipalities has mostly remained unaltered. In 1963, the Government of Maharashtra appointed a Committee, with the Minister for Urban Development as its Chairman, to advise the Government in the matter of unification of Municipal Acts. The Committee thought that control of municipalities by the Government should be limited to most essential matters and that too for the purpose of improving their administration. Certain general powers of control, which are exercised by the Collector, Commissioner or Government are common in all the existing Municipal Acts and the Committee was in favour of retaining them in the proposed legislation. The Maharashtra Municipalities Act, 1965, vests the Collector with the powers of inspection and supervision. The Collector has powers to call for returns and reports and to suspend execution of orders and resolutions of a Municipal Council on certain grounds. The Collector is also given extraordinary powers of directing the execution of certain works in case of emergency.

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In the pre-Independence set-up, the Collector enjoyed a pride of place in the district. It is true that except in respect of the police, he did not have much formal authority over the other departments. However, because of his position as a member of the civil service that dominated the administration, he commanded the respect of the district team. With the advent of democratic government, the Collector became an executive officer like other officers. It, therefore, became necessary to invest the Collector specifically with some powers which could enable him to keep him in touch with other departments. The Collector was therefore empowered to convene every month a meeting of all District Officers for the purpose of co-ordination. Later he was also nominated as the local representative of the O & M organization of the State Government and, in that capacity, given powers to inspect the offices of other District Officers for making suggestions for administrative improvements.

When any department (particularly, Buildings and Communications or the Forest Department) finds it necessary to accept a tender other than the lowest, it has to put up the case to a committee called the Tender Committee; the Collector is the Chairman of this Committee. Besides, there are a number of committees constituted for advising different departments on specific problems and the Collector is associated with them as their Chairman. Some such committees are the Police Advisory Committee; the District Anti-Corruption Committee; Jail Advisory Committee (where jails exist); Employment Advisory Committee, etc.

Since the establishment of Zilla Parishads, the Collectors have been specifically charged with the duty of co-ordination among the different departments for the purpose of implementation of schemes in the State sector. Besides, many of the schemes involve acquisition or requisition of land and for that purpose, the concerned departments have to keep in touch with the Collector. Other duties of the Collector like distribution of foodgrains, distribution of iron and steel etc., also bring him in touch with other departments. All these enable the Collector to exercise considerable indirect influence on the District Officers of other departments.

#### THE COLLECTOR AND PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS

Till the establishment of Zilla Parishads recently, the Collector used to have certain functions in respect of District Development Boards and Village Panchayats. He was the Chairman of the District Development Boards, which were set up in 1952 by reconstituting the District Rural Development Boards, to assist and advise the officials in the implementation of local development programmes. He was also the Chairman of the Village Panchayat Mandals, which were established in 1959 and which took over from the District Local Boards the functions of supervision and control over Village Panchayats. The District Development Boards provided a valuable link between the administration and the people. In addition to the schemes of agricultural and co-operative development, a significant programme undertaken through the District Development Boards was that of local development works. This was followed in 1952 by the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service. The Collector had to give more attention to the development work. He became the Chairman of the Sub-committee of the District Development Board, known as the District National Extension Service and Community Development Advisory Committee, for advising on questions of policy relating to the implementation of block development programmes.

The role of the Collector in regard to the development functions of the State was radically altered in 1961 as a result of the introduction of Panchayati Raj. The Study Team on Community Development and National Extension Service, headed by Shri Balwantrai Mehta and appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects of the National Development Council, had recommended towards the end of 1957 a three-tier scheme of democratic decentralization at the level of the village, the block and the district. Under this scheme, the popular body at the district level was to have supervisory and co-ordinating sectors, the executive responsibilities being vested with the people's institution at the block level. Panchayati Raj could not be introduced

in Maharashtra till 1961 due to the re-organization of the States. The Government of Maharashtra appointed in June 1960, soon after the inauguration of the Maharashtra State, a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri V. P. Naik*, the then Revenue Minister (now Chief Minister), to examine the problem of democratic decentralization in the context of the conditions prevailing in this State. The Naik Committee, *inter alia*, recommended that there should be a strong executive body at the district level, to be designated as "District Council". The Committee devoted some serious thought to the question of making the Collector the chief administrator of the proposed District Council and decided against it. Instead it proposed the appointment of a full-time officer of senior time-scale of the I.A.S. cadre. Here, the following observations of the Naik Committee may be of special interest.

"...As far as Government is concerned, the Collector is, therefore, responsible for practically everything that happens or should happen in a district. Burdened with a multiplicity of functions and with physical limitations of time and energy, the Collector is unable to do justice to any of his functions. The position of the Collector today is in many respects obviously unenviable.

Apart from being responsible for law and order, as a captain of the team of district officials he is expected to concern himself with activities of all development departments but has no real authority on the staff or detailed functioning of those departments. This creates unnecessary and avoidable correspondence from village to Government through a labyrinth of vertical and horizontal channels and even a slight mistake of overlooking an appropriate channel can be fatal to a good proposal. The present difficulties will be further accentuated, with the tempo of ever-increasing Plan expenditure and the number and variety of schemes multiplying. While the Collector may continue to make a genuine attempt to be responsible to the people for implementing schemes expeditiously, he may find himself hopelessly bogged in a tangle of departmental rules and procedures."

The recommendations of the Naik Committee were accepted by Government. All the development work at the district level was transferred to the Zilla Parishads and an officer of the level as that of Collector was placed at the disposal of the Parishad as its Chief Executive Officer. He now performs all developmental functions previously handled by the Collector.

The Maharashtra Zilla and Panchayat Samitis Act, 1961, clearly specifies a list of subjects called the District List which, generally speaking, includes all development activities of Government at the district

or lower level. In addition to the several normal functions of the State Government included in the District List, which are now transferred to the Zilla Parishads, the State Government intends to execute as much of the State plan as possible through the agency of the Zilla Parishads. In this context, one can easily appreciate the vital role of the Chief Executive Officer in the new Panchayati Raj set-up. The Chief Executive Officer, who enjoys the rank of a Collector, is vested with the executive authority for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Maharashtra Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis Act, 1961. All the Class I and Class II officers working under Zilla Parishad are responsible only to the Chief Executive Officer. He is authorized to assess and give his opinion confidentially on the work of these officers. The Chief Executive Officer is entitled to attend the meetings of the Zilla Parishad or any of its committees. He appoints officers and servants of Class III Service and Class IV Service from the lists of candidates selected by the District Selection Board or the Divisional Selection Board. He exercises supervision and control over the acts of officers and servants holding office under the Zilla Parishad in matters of executive administration and those relating to accounts and records of the Zilla Parishads.

This does not mean, however, that the Collector has absolutely no contacts with the Zilla Parishads. He continues to be responsible for the elections to the Zilla Parishads and other local bodies. He is the Chairman of the District Selection Board which selects candidates for appointment to posts in each cadre and each category of officers and servants in the District Service (Class III) and District Service (Class IV). The Chief Executive Officer attends the meetings of the District Selection Board as adviser. In certain matters such as scarcity works, the work may be done on an agency basis by the Zilla Parishad but the Collector can inspect and give directions. The Collector shares with the Chief Executive Officer the power to control the Talathis.

The peculiar relationship between the Collector and the Chief Executive Officer must be understood in the context of the position of the Collector before the formation of Zilla Parishads. As most of his time was taken by schemes like village roads, drinking water wells, school buildings, etc., he was hardly able to make any effective contribution to schemes in the State sector like irrigation, high-ways, rural electrification, etc. The Naik Committee found that "the Collector in view of his preoccupations with local development and a variety of meetings he has to attend, had to relegate to the background subjects which were once considered his prime responsibility or are important from the State's administrative point of view." The

bold experiment of divesting the Collector of his developmental functions in the local sector which are now performed by the Chief Executive Officer under the Zilla Parishad certainly would enable the Collector to concentrate more on his traditional functions and perform them more effectively. The Collector being the Government's representative at the district level, is now in a position to evaluate impartially the working of the local bodies. The Collector also executes directions of Government or Commissioner issued under their controlling powers.

The Collector and the Chief Executive Officer are, according to the Naik Committee, partners in the common effort towards overall development and are expected to work as colleagues under the same Commissioner's supervision. Before the formation of the Zilla Parishads, the Commissioner was practically the final controlling authority for the division and had to shoulder the responsibility of the voluminous and intricate work in the field of local development. Since 1962, the Commissioner is able to supervise and guide the district administration more effectively. The offices of both the Collector and the Chief Executive Officer are inspected by the Commissioner. It is of course not necessary for the Chief Executive Officer to route every letter through the Commissioner. In practice, for bulk of the correspondence the Chief Executive Officer deals directly with the administrative department as much of his correspondence is caused by the need to interpret certain provisions in the Act or bye-laws made under it. The Commissioner is kept informed both by the Chief Executive Officer and the administrative department. In the case of the Collector's office, however, much of its correspondence is routed through the Commissioner.

The changes that have taken place in recent years have certainly made the Collector in Maharashtra State at least more effective in relation to his traditional functions. Before the Collector was given relief by the creation of the post of a Chief Executive Officer, the Collector tended to become a jack of all trades, doing all sorts of odd jobs as the need for them arose. The inevitable result was that he could not do full justice to any of his assignments. Since the allocation of the developmental functions to the Zilla Parishads and the Chief Executive Officer, the Collector is free to perform his traditional functions as well as special tasks such as procurement of foodgrains, which he is expected to undertake because of the teething trouble of a developing economy. The Collector continues to enjoy the position of prestige in the district administrative set-up even though the halo created round his office was bound to vanish as years rolled by. In Maharashtra, as the Collector acquires experience of working as

a Chief Executive Officer and the Chief Executive Officer as a Collector, it is possible that the wind of democratic change would start blowing even in the sheltered and secluded world of the Collector's office. Such a development will contribute a lot to the process of the transformation of the regulatory administration into development administration.



"I have no doubt that the sense of judicial responsibility has a very large and important effect in raising the character and improving the conscientiousness of our executive magistrates, which it certainly adds greatly to their useful influence among the people..."

—F. J. HALLIDAY  
*Governor of Bengal, 30 April, 1856.*

## MYSORE

**M**YSORE was one of the important Princely States in India before Independence. It continued as a separate entity even thereafter. With the formation of the Andhra State on October 1, 1953, Bellary District of the composite Madras State merged with Mysore.

On the re-organization of States on November 1, 1956, the new State of Mysore was formed. It comprises the former States of Mysore (including Bellary District) and Coorg, South Kanara District and Kollegal Taluk of the former State of Madras, three districts of the former State of Hyderabad and four districts of the former State of Bombay.

Though basically the system of administration and the laws in force in these integrating units were similar, there were some differences and these had to be reconciled so as to secure a really uniform system of administration and a code of common laws. While the Central laws were in force in all the integrating areas with minor local amendments, the local laws differed in their form and content. The process of enacting common laws is going on and substantial progress has been made in this direction; but this is a long and tedious process and may take some more years to be completed. A uniform pattern of administration to the extent possible within the framework of the existing laws has, however, been evolved. The State has been divided into four Revenue Divisions, each under the control of a Divisional Commissioner and the Revenue Appellate Tribunal has been established as the highest Appellate authority under the Land Revenue Act and some other enactments. The Divisional Commissioners are declared to be the Heads of Departments in their respective Divisions in respect of the Revenue and the development departments. There are Heads of Departments with State-wide jurisdiction in respect of matters like Survey and Settlement, Food Supplies, Excise and Commercial Taxes.

The one common unit of administration in all the integrating areas (as in the rest of the country also) was the district. The head of the district was designated in some of the integrating areas as the Collector and in others as the Deputy Commissioner. After the re-organization of the States the uniform designation of "Deputy Commissioner" has been given to this officer in all the areas. For facility of reference

in the context of an all-India pattern, the designation of "Collector" will, however, be used in this paper.

The "District" in the sense in which it is understood today has been in existence for well over a century. Many changes have taken place since then in the concept of district administration but basically it has remained the same during this period. In some States, the State Governments exercised their control over the Collector directly, in others through the Board of Revenue, and in yet others through the Divisional Commissioners. Whatever the set-up above the level of the district might be in the different States, administration at the district level through the Collector has remained substantially what it was.

The Collector was the "eyes and ears" of Government in the district. He had to keep himself in close touch with the trends of public opinion and the impact of the policies of Government on the people of the district. He had to keep Government informed of all the important developments taking place in the district, to suggest remedial or corrective measures to be applied whenever a situation demanding such action arose and act on his own initiative and take such action as he considered appropriate in an emergency. Apart from these duties as an administrator and local representative of Government, his responsibilities were limited to the maintenance of law and order and to the collection of revenues. This did not, however, mean that an active and conscientious Collector did nothing beyond these duties specifically cast on him. There were Collectors who were taking active interest in matters like agricultural production, development of communications, construction of irrigation projects, town planning, public health and sanitation, expansion of education and even matters like archaeology and anthropology. It was open to a Collector to interest himself in any matter of public interest and his efforts were successful to the extent he was able to carry the leaders of public opinion with him. So long as he did not wound the religious susceptibilities of the people he could expect their whole-hearted co-operation in any project which he undertook and which was calculated to promote the good of the people.

Means of communication were few and correspondence was time consuming. More often than not the Collector had to meet any situation that arose without having the benefit of the advice of his seniors or the authority of the orders of Government; he had, therefore, to rely on his own initiative which he did. The Government, for its part, appreciated this difficulty and upheld the action of the Collector even if they might have dealt with the situation differently had it been possible for them to have looked into it earlier. While he had no direct authority or control over the other District Level Officers, they were

consulting him on all major problems and were acting in accordance with his advice—partly on account of the fact that they had the same difficulty as the Collector had in securing the orders of their superiors and partly because with the support of the Collector it was easier for them to justify the action that they took. The position and the status of the Collector were consequently very high in the district and he was in a real sense the head of the district. The Government and the Heads of Departments came more and more to rely on the Collector to translate into action the policies laid down by Government and left it largely to him to work out the mechanics of implementing such policies.

Under the Land Revenue Act and under the Police Act he was the district head of the revenue and police administration. With the establishment of local bodies like Village Panchayats and Municipalities, the Collector became the chief controlling authority for the district in respect of their administration. The Collector was directly connected with the administration of only a few local bodies and had their resources at his command, but even in respect of other local bodies in his district he had both the authority and the responsibility to ensure that all of them functioned efficiently and to apply correctives in cases in which the local bodies failed to discharge their duties and responsibilities properly and adequately.

Food and cloth became scarce during the Second World War and the Government had to accept the responsibility for the equitable distribution of what little was available. This responsibility was entrusted to the Collector and his staff who were the one agency on which Government could rely for such important *ad hoc* assignments.

## II

While thus the Collector was the general purpose administrator with varied duties, his responsibilities became larger still with the advent of Independence. The philosophy of planned development made it incumbent on the Collector to draw up a District Plan covering the local requirements, to get it approved and implement it. Having already been accustomed to attending to development work—though possibly on a smaller scale and without the resources that become available under the Plan—it was easy for the Collector and his team of District Level Officers to adjust themselves to the role which they had to play under the Plan.

Parallel with the philosophy of planned development, democratic bodies were set up at various levels in the district and the Collector had to reorient his methods of approach to problems, his methods of

work and his attitudes. The main functions of the Collector continue to be the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue; but equally important now are his responsibilities for social welfare measures and the development of the district. While in the old days, the Collector took a decision of what was good for the people and implemented his decision, of course, with the co-operation and assistance of the people, it is now necessary for him to go beyond this and not only to satisfy himself that a particular course of action which he proposes to adopt is good and desirable, but convince others of the correctness of it. The following passage from the paper which I had submitted on "The Changing Role of the District Officer" for the Conference held in Hyderabad in December, 1961, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration would be of interest in this regard:

"The more difficult problem which a District Officer has to face today in discharging this responsibility is one of personal relations—vertical, viz., his subordinates and the people for whose benefit he undertakes the several welfare activities, and horizontal, viz., the popular body which he serves and the co-ordinate officers of other departments. It was hardly necessary for the administrator of bygone days to interest himself in trying to find out as to what people thought of the local administration and its activities. He had full discretion to do what he liked within his own sphere of activities and so long as the principles of good government were observed he would not be asked to account for any of his *bona fide* actions. Today, however, the district administrator has to make a happy compromise of the policies laid down by the higher authorities and of the trend of local public opinion. He could otherwise hardly make a success of his career. Even if the district administrator thinks that a particular project is good for the people, it cannot be implemented unless the district administrator is able to convince the beneficiaries about the real utility and benefit of the scheme. If in this process for reasons of their own the local leaders do not see eye to eye with the district administrator, the project, however good it may be in itself, cannot, more often than not, be implemented. Likewise a project which the district administrator considers to be none too good may have to be implemented if there is enough popular support for this and if people are vocal about it."

As could be seen from what I have stated, the Collector may have very clear ideas about what the people of a district require and about the relative priorities to be assigned to such requirements; maybe,

in view of his background, training and knowledge of the availability of resources, the Collector would be in a position to have a more rational approach to the several problems that are to be faced than many others whose views would necessarily be tempered by parochial considerations but the views of the Collector may not prevail, particularly, if there are competing demands for the same project in different places or competing demands for different projects in the same place but within the limited resources available for the purpose. To this extent, the Collector cannot function as effectively as he used to as a promoter of development activities. His discretion is fettered considerably and it is inevitable that in the present context of democracy he would have to accept the decision taken by some other authority and duly implement it whatever his personal views regarding such a decision might be.

In framing the Plan, the Collector has to consult the local officers of the various departments and the various local authorities, statutory and otherwise and draw up a Plan, taking into consideration the total resources that are available for utilization in his district as indicated to him by the Government and the priorities which are to be assigned to the various projects which are necessary and/or desirable. The Collector has the District Development Officer as his immediate assistant to look into developmental matters. This Officer was invariably being drawn formerly from the cadre of the Administrative Service. Recently, however, the Government has decided to replace all the officers of the Administrative Service by promoting officers of the Development Department at the next lower level, *viz.*, that of Block Development Officers. The parent department from which the District Development Officer is drawn is not very material in this context. What is important, however, is that he should be a person with vision, understanding and imagination. It is hardly possible for the Collector personally to go into all the details of a Plan for the district. All that the Collector could do would be to indicate broadly as to how the District Plan is to be drawn up, consistent, on the one hand, with the available resources, and on the other, with the various projects that are proposed to be undertaken under such a Plan. It would be for the Collector to provide the skeleton and for the Development Officer to fill in the flesh and prepare a detailed and realistic Plan. The District Development Officers that are now working in the State are fairly efficient. They have worked in lower capacities either as Block Development Officers or as Tahsildars or as both. Many of them have undergone orientation courses. They know what is expected of them and they try to see that they rise to the occasion. How far they succeed depends as much on them as on their colleagues of the

Development Departments who have to feed them with the material required for preparing the Plan.

The preparation of a Plan is of relatively minor importance when compared to its implementation. The Plan is drawn up at the district level. It is cleared at the State level with such modifications as are considered necessary and appropriate, but at the stage of implementing the Plan, the Collector has to face and overcome several difficulties. The implementation of the Plan is in the hands of officers of several departments. The Government has, no doubt, declared that in respect of Plan Projects, the Collector being the authority responsible for the implementation of the Plan would also have the right to exercise some kind of administrative control over the District Level Officers of the different development departments. He has also been empowered to record his confidential remarks of the performance of District Level Officers in implementing the Plan schemes and other development projects. There are, however, practical difficulties in ensuring that the Collector could effectively function in this direction. The District Level Officers are under the administrative and technical control of their own departmental superiors and under some sort of compromise administrative control of the Collector. For so long as the senior officers of the concerned development department and the Collector see eye to eye with each other the position of the District Level Officer of that department is safe and his responsibility is only to execute the scheme or project in question. But it quite often happens in practice either on account of the personal differences of opinion or for considerations of departmental prestige that such understanding does not exist. In such an event the District Level Officers cannot function as effectively as they should.

Considerable amount of thought has gone into the question of strengthening the Collector further by giving him full administrative control over the District Level Officers, but no tangible decision has yet been taken in this regard. The position that exists now is that while the Collector on account of the traditional respect which he commands in his district is able to get the work done through the District Level Officers, if necessary by convincing their superiors about the correctness of the course of action recommended, it also means a lot of waste of time and effort. It would be much more convenient if the Collector is officially recognized as the head of the team of the District Level Officers and is given full powers to set about his task in any manner that he considers appropriate. While making this suggestion, the point that technical control and supervision should necessarily vest in the authorities of the concerned departments has not been lost sight of. If full administrative control is vested in the Collector and if his position

as the controlling authority is placed beyond any doubt, the District Level Officers would necessarily have to function according to the orders of the Collector and the Collector for his part will have to take the full responsibility for the actions of the District Level Officers. The only point would be that if the District Level Officer were to make any mistakes in the actual execution of a project or wants technical guidance in the execution of a project it would be for the next higher authority in the departmental echelon to set matters right by giving suitable instructions or to give the guidance sought by the District Level Officer. It is sometimes argued that the co-ordination of the activities of the District Level Officers could be secured even without vesting any control in the Collector, that there should be more of "correlation" than of "co-ordination" and that the Collector should be able to get the best out of the colleagues of other departments, both by persuasion and precept. But it is hardly possible, particularly, in the present set-up for the Collector to get work done in this manner. It is much better to face facts, to recognize that responsibility goes hand in hand with authority and to ensure that even at the risk of offending the susceptibilities of the officers of the development departments the Collector is declared as the administrative head of the district with powers of control over all the District Level Officers.

Yet another practical difficulty that has to be met with and overcome would be that as matters now stand, the Collector has some sort of authority over the District Level Officers, however slender this may be, only in respect of Plan programmes. The work of the development departments is divided into watertight compartments, *i.e.*, into Plan and non-Plan projects. While the Collector has some say in respect of the Plan projects, he has none in respect of non-Plan projects. In a developing economy like ours it is hardly possible to draw a clear line of demarcation between Plan projects and non-Plan projects. This kind of classification might be alright for the purposes of sanctioning the projects or for the purposes of auditing the accounts in respect of the expenditure incurred on the execution of such projects, but it is not of much help in the field. If the Collector is expected to see that development activities undertaken in the district are actually implemented, he should be vested with authority in respect of all the activities of the development departments and the classification of these activities into Plan and non-Plan projects would have to be done away with. It may be added that in spite of all these limitations, many of the Collectors have been able to function fairly effectively as co-ordinating authorities, exercising their influence over the work of the District Level Officers of other departments to see that the developmental programmes are implemented. This is,

however, mostly due to the initiative and personality of the incumbents but not so much because of the office they hold.

A very important factor that has to be taken note of in this context is that in the old days the Collector could devote considerable time to tours and inspections, could keep himself in direct touch with the people, could study their local problems and suggest solutions and could help the people in undertaking schemes which would advance their welfare. Those spacious days are now over. While he continues to be burdened with much of the work which he was doing in the old days he has, in addition, to undertake several items of work which his predecessors never did. It is no doubt true that attempts have been made from time to time to give him relief by having Additional or Joint Collectors and by transferring some of his responsibilities under the Land Revenue Act and several other statutes to such Additional or Joint Collectors. But for so long as no substantial reduction in the routine work can be effected, the Collector cannot discharge all the duties expected of him efficiently and promptly.

It is sometimes argued that with the establishment of the democratic bodies which are in immediate charge of developmental activities, the Collector need not take any direct interest in some of the matters with which he was formerly associated and that it would be adequate if the Collector were to devote himself to work relating to the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue and act only as a sort of general co-ordinator in the implementation of the projects which have been decided upon by the popular bodies and that he should easily be able to find the time required for this purpose. This is an extreme view to take; it would not be conducive to sound administration if the Collector was reduced to the status of a subordinate executive who is merely to carry out the behests of the popular bodies. It is conceded that this logically would be the situation that would arise some years later, by which time the popular bodies at the district and lower levels can be expected to become really efficient and to consist of representatives of the people who are capable of undertaking such responsibilities. That time has not yet come and until then it is in the interests of both Government and the people that the Collector should have a say, and quite a powerful say, as much in the framing of the policy as in its execution.

The Collector is the President of the District Co-ordination Committee. He can influence its decisions, partly in his capacity as the Chairman and partly on account of his position as the District Co-ordinator. The District Co-ordination Committee is not only associated with the framing of the Plan and in determining the order of priority

in which the various Plan schemes should be undertaken but also in reviewing the actual progress made in respect of such schemes. This, in many of the districts, the Co-ordination Committees have been doing. They are also dealing with and solving inter-departmental problems that arise from time to time and hold up or tend to hold up the progress of the projects.

### III

When the Collector undertakes his tours he normally attends not only to the routine work of his own department but checks on the progress of the various projects that are under way; whether such projects are undertaken by the Departments of Agriculture, Industries, Co-operation or any other Department. If he considers that the progress of any project is particularly slow, he normally inspects the work once again along with the District Level Officers/Officers concerned, finds out the difficulties in the way of expeditious progress of the project, finds the solution to the problem and ensures that the work does not get held up. But he does not conduct formal inspections of the offices of other departments. It is left to the higher authorities of each department to inspect the district offices of their departments and to see that the work in the department is attended to efficiently.

The Collector being the head of the district is invited to participate in various meetings at the State and the divisional levels in which matters relating to developmental activities are considered. For example, co-ordination at the State level is secured by inviting the heads of development departments to the Conference of Deputy Commissioners, and at the divisional level by inviting the Deputy Commissioners to the Divisional Level Co-ordination Committees. Really important issues involving more than one department and of applicability to more than one district are brought up for consideration at such conferences. The Collectors do not, however, normally participate in conferences of officers of the development departments which are called solely to deal with problems relating to their own departments.

The Divisional Commissioner is no doubt the head of the revenue and the development departments at the divisional level; he is also the local representative of Government at that level. He conducts the meetings of the Divisional Level Co-ordination Committee at which problems relating to more than one department are considered and solutions found.

But for the fact that inter-departmental problems are considered and resolved at the district level and the divisional level through the efforts of the Collector and the Commissioner, the Plan projects cannot be executed half as expeditiously as they are now being executed.

I have already referred to the need for giving administrative control over the District Level Officers of the development departments to the Collector. The same principle applies to the Commissioner at that level. There will be considerable resistance from the heads of departments to any such move as they will naturally assume that the powers that are now vested in them will get transferred to others. The suggestion now made is most certainly not one calculated to reduce the prestige or position of the Heads of Departments. The Head of the Department should continue to function as the chief authority of the department and should continue to exercise technical control over the activities of the officers of his department at all levels. The suggestion is only in respect of administrative control which is absolutely necessary if effective implementation of the projects is to be ensured. Up to a point free exchange of views on a plan scheme would be very desirable and may be that most of the problems can also be resolved by a free and frank exchange of views on matters that concern the activities of more than one department in the implementation of a Plan project. There are, however, limitations to this principle and when an agreed decision cannot be obtained by persuasion or discussion, it is very necessary in the public interests that there should be an authority who could impose a decision. It is in this context that the suggestion has been made about the Collector and the Divisional Commissioner being clothed with the requisite authority to exercise a degree of administrative control.

#### IV

Mysore State has established Panchayati Raj institutions at the districts, the taluk and the village levels under the Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959. The system of having the three-tier institutions is in consonance with the national policy for local bodies. There is direct election to the Village Panchayats and the Taluk Boards and representation for the Taluk Boards on the District Development Councils. The Collector is the Chairman of the District Development Council and in that capacity he would be able to influence its deliberations. The powers and the responsibilities given to these three bodies are such that the Taluk Board is the real effective executive body; the Village Panchayat has also some executive powers, but in view of the paucity of funds and personnel its activities are limited in their scope. The District Development Council is primarily a body which controls the activities of the Taluk Development Boards but hardly discharges any executive functions at its own level. The system has been working fairly satisfactorily and these bodies are discharging the duties expected of them, with the financial

assistance given to them by the Government and with the revenues which they might themselves raise under the Act.

Apart from his capacity as the Chairman of the District Development Council and in that capacity exercising superintendence and control over the working of the Taluk Development Boards and Village Panchayats through the District Development Council, the Collector has also got some powers to control and superintendence vested in him under the Act. These democratic bodies have wide powers in respect of both the administrative control over their establishments and control over the manner in which their resources are to be expended. They are still in their infancy; the Presidents and members of these bodies at the taluk and the village levels are no doubt imbued with a sense of public duty and would like to go all out to help the people in their areas, but there are instances in which, for want of experience, such enthusiasm has been misdirected and has led to confusion in regard to priorities to be assigned to works to be undertaken, the manner in which the works are to be executed and in regard to the relative responsibilities of the policy-makers and the executive. Such difficulties are bound to arise in all democratic bodies, particularly in their infancy. The executive which was used all along not only to undertake execution of works but also to make decisions regarding the nature of work to be executed or the priority to be assigned to a work, sometimes finds it irksome when it is brought home to it that the decision-making powers have been transferred to another set of persons.

Basically, the democracy that is sought to be established at the taluk and the village levels is merely a reproduction on a small scale of the democracy which has already been established and has been working for nearly two decades in the Centre and at the State levels. It has, however, to be recognized that the standards of education, training and equipment of the policy-makers in the Centre and at the State levels are far superior to those of the policy-makers at the village and taluk levels. This is, firstly, because there is a much wider choice in selecting the policy-makers in the Centre and at the State levels, and secondly, because, the more qualified and the more intelligent among the non-officials would prefer to enter a field which affords them a wider scope for their activities than one in which their activities are circumscribed. It would be too much to expect, for some years to come, that democratic bodies could function as efficiently at the lower level as they can at the higher. Deliberately shutting one's eyes to the practical proposition that has been enunciated above would not subserve the interests of the nation. While democracy should be fostered at all levels of Government, the process has got to be slow and those who are responsible for the administration of the country or the State have to

ensure that in its infancy democracy at the local level has the benefit of superintendence and strict control by the executive. This principle may not find favour among many sections of public opinion on purely ideological grounds but it has to be conceded that this superintendence and control are inevitable if democracy at the local level has to grow steadily and is to succeed. It is in this perspective that the Mysore Village Panchayat and Local Boards Act of 1959 provides for checks and controls, supervision and superintendence by various authorities, the chief of whom, for all practical purposes, would be the Collector. The Collector can statutorily suspend the resolution of a local body, can get any work executed by the local body which it should have carried out but did not, and can further see to it that the moneys available with the local bodies are expended, strictly, in accordance with the provision of the Act and the Rules made thereunder. Broadly speaking, the Collector can ensure that the intention of the Legislature while framing the Act is translated into action by these bodies.

It may be difficult for the Collector to exercise such authority as a matter of routine through the statutory powers vested in him. If the Collector were to exercise such authority too often, the initiative of the local bodies might be stifled. While in extreme situations the Collector might have to resort to his statutory powers, it would only be right that he should act in the day-to-day administration of the local bodies as their friend, philosopher and guide, and ensure that they discharge their duties on their own initiative and not under duress. Any Collector with the proper background and training can make a success of this role. It requires patience and sympathetic understanding of the point of view of the local bodies if the Collector has to play this role effectively. He has not only to see that the activities of the local bodies are channelized in the right directions but has to carry conviction to the local bodies that the course of action which he is suggesting in the right one.

Apart from the Collector, the Deputy or the Assistant Collector is an intermediate authority between the Collector and the local bodies who helps the Collector in seeing that the responsibility that has been vested in him in this regard is discharged efficiently. Some of the powers vested in the Collector under the statute are, therefore, delegated to the Deputy/Assistant Collectors and they also keep themselves in close touch with the working of the local bodies and ensure that they are functioning properly. The role of the Collector and the Deputy or Assistant Collector has a special significance in the control of Panchayati Raj institutions. All the officers at the next lower level function, more or less, as executive subordinates of the Taluk Development Boards and consequently the powers of these officials to advise

the Boards are naturally limited. More often than not the advice tendered by the executive at the lower level is misconstrued by the local bodies as acts of indiscipline. But the Collector and the Deputy/Assistant Collectors do not suffer from this disadvantage and are, therefore, in a better position to advise the local bodies suitably.

The Collector is assisted by the District Development Officer as much in the routine administration of the Panchayati Raj institutions as in the preparation and implementation of the District Plan referred to earlier. The feeling that this officer should be an officer who has close touch with Panchayati Raj institutions is gaining strength, and many of the officers in this cadre are now drawn from among those who were formerly working as Block Development Officers. The amendment to the Mysore Local Boards and Village Panchayats Act which is now before the Legislature provides for the District Development Councils having their own non-official Chairmen, who would be assisted by a Chief Executive Officer of the rank of a Collector. It is possible that latter functionary will be drawn, at least in due course, from the cadre of Development Department and not from the Administrative Service. While theoretically it would be to the advantage of the Panchayati Raj institutions that their Chief Executive Officer should be a person who has worked in the Development Department for several years and who is conversant with their problems and difficulties, there are definitely some risks in accepting this proposition. As indicated earlier, the Panchayati Raj institutions are still in their infancy. They require to be nurtured for some years to come before they can stand on their own legs. The position as it would be some years later when they have gained strength and are capable of looking after their own affairs might permit of the Chief Executive Officers being drawn from the hierarchy of their own subordinate executives. But until that stage is reached, it may be desirable to have the Chief Executive Officer at the district level from the cadre of the Administrative Service who might be able to consider the problems of Panchayati Raj institutions objectively and to tender advice uninhibited by the fear that if such advice is not palatable to the local body he would be exposed to risks regarding his prospects in service

## V

The Collector is the head of the district administration and in that capacity he cannot be treated merely as an officer of the Revenue Department. Very often especially in recent years this mistake is committed by not only non-officials but also by the officers of the various departments. This is very unfortunate since such an assumption,

which is contrary to facts, is likely to affect administration to a considerable extent.

The Commissioner of a Division is also in a like position. He is also certainly not an officer of only the Revenue and Development Departments. Generally speaking the responsibilities of the Commissioner and the responsibilities of the Collector are identical within their respective jurisdiction. But the Commissioner is not just the head of the Revenue and Development Departments, but he is, at the same time, is overall charge of the working of the entire administrative set-up in the Division as the local representative of Government. The position of the Commissioner at the divisional level is much more clearly defined than the position of the Collector at the district level. It would be in the public interest to give similar formal recognition to the position of the Collector as the local representative of Government in the district—in other words restore him the position which he held before Independence.

Where there are heads of departments in charge of certain specific functions, the Collector corresponds with them directly, *i.e.*, with the Commissioner of Settlement and Land Records, the Inspector-General of Registration, the Inspector-General of Police, the Commissioner of Endowments, the Director of Food Supplies and so on. Attempts are being made to involve the Divisional Commissioner also in the relations of the Collector with these departments; but his responsibilities are of a general nature and he should not be saddled with any routine duties connected with the administration of these departments.

There are very few subjects in which the Government directly deals with the Collector, one of the few such being Land Acquisition. Even here, the Commissioner is given certain responsibilities like approval of awards where the amount of compensation exceeds Rupees one lakh, but does not exceed Rupees three lakhs, and the responsibility of reviewing the progress made in respect of land acquisition cases. But the administrative departments of the Secretariat prefer getting the reports of the Collectors through the Commissioner or other Heads of Departments.

## VI

After Independence, the position of the Collector has certainly become weaker than it was before. The various departments of Government have begun to treat themselves as separate entities, functioning in watertight compartments. This tendency on the part of the various departments has not only been tolerated but even encouraged by some authorities at the highest levels. While it is all good for each department

to so function as separate entity to get the best out of their field officers, it has resulted in weakening the district administration. While this has been happening on the one hand, the creation of the posts of heads of various new departments and the Divisional Commissioners has also contributed to the lowering of the status and position of the Collectors.

The Cabinet and the administrative departments of the Secretariat look for advice more and more to the Heads of Departments and the Commissioners than to the Collectors. While in petty matters, the Collectors' advice might be sought and obtained directly and might even be acted upon, in all other matters, his views, though obtained, do not carry as much weight as they used to before. One of the reasons for the Government to rely less on the Collectors and more on the Heads of Departments seems to be that most of the Collectors who are recruited directly to the Administrative Service are still young and inexperienced and those who have come into the Administrative Service by promotion, though experienced, might not rightly or wrongly carry much weight. These reasons may not in themselves be an adequate explanation but the fact remains that the cumulative effect of the various factors mentioned above has been the lowering of this position of the Collector in recent years.

Nevertheless, the Collector still continues to be an important part of the administration. The traditional role which he held in the district is keeping him going and the people still look to him as a very important personage. But this traditional respect cannot help the Collector long in maintaining the position which he held before. In the eyes of the people, small things get exaggerated importance and unless the Collector is "built up" as an important personage in the district, it is hardly possible for him to continue to maintain his status as before. Status symbols like the flag and the police *bandobust* play a large part in building up the Collector. If these were to be interfered with on grounds of either economy or ideology (the process of interference has already started), the Collector is bound to become a "small man" and when he does, it will be impossible for him to function as effectively as he has been doing so far. It is, therefore, very essential that there should be a return to the old standards and the Collector's status and position should be restored. There is a tendency on the part of a few to consider that in the present set-up, a powerful Collector is an anachronism and that the Collector should be more or less the person to translate into action what the powerful political elements in the district desire him to do. This is a dangerous principle and if accepted either expressly or by implication will lead to a breakdown of administration.

The districts, as they now stand, differ in their area, population, level of economic development and so on. The districts were formed decades ago and at a time when considerations that weighed

with the Government in constituting the districts were different from what they would be today. The statement at the end indicates the area, population, area under cultivation, area under forests, area under unculturable waste, etc., in each of the districts. As would be seen, not all the districts involve the same amount of work or responsibility. The re-organization of the districts would involve considerable expenditure without corresponding benefits. Keeping these considerations in view, the Mysore Land Revenue Act provides for the appointment of Additional Collectors only where considered necessary and for specific purposes. There are at present Additional Collectors in Mandya District (because of the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme), in Raichur District (for reason of the development of irrigation under the T.B. Project) and in South Kanara District (because of the development of the Harbour). It seems, however, to be necessary that such Additional Collectors should be appointed in some of the other important districts also, as otherwise the Collector may have to devote most of his time and energy to routine work, leaving him hardly any time for really worthwhile development work. One school of thought considers that it would be adequate if help is given to the Collector by the appointment of more Assistants; but this would not really serve the purpose in view, unless the Collector, while he retains the overall responsibility for the administration of the district, can have sufficient time to attend to development work. In Mysore State, there does not exist any legal difficulty in the appointment of Additional Collectors. But such assistance is not needed for all the districts nor for all times. Considerations of time and place would have to weigh with the Government in deciding on the district in which such assistance would have to be given. This question is already engaging the attention of Government and it is expected that the Government would give such assistance wherever required.

The Collector of the Nineteen Sixties has been performing all the functions which his predecessors of the Eighteenth Century did, but his responsibilities have increased far beyond the confines of the responsibilities of his predecessors. Correspondingly, however, his stature and his importance have become considerably less, but the State and the people expect the Collector to attend to all his duties with as much efficiency as his predecessor. This expectation cannot be fulfilled unless the old values are restored and unless the Collector is built up again as a very important entity in the administrative set-up. Efforts that are being made in this direction would have to be speeded up and concrete and positive action will have to be taken to see that it is done. Sooner it is done the better it would be for the administration and for the welfare of the people.

## DISTRICTS IN MYSORE STATE

Sl. No.	District	Area in Sq. Kms.	Population	Area under Cultivation (Hectares)	Area under Forest (Hectares)	Area under Unculturable waste (Hectares)	Cities with a population of one lakh and over		Important Industries]
							Population	Place	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Bangalore	..	7,980	25,04,462	3,53,229	79,206	1,54,360	16,00,000 (Bangalore City)	Silk Soap.
2.	Belgaum	..	13,372	1,98,811	9,43,711	1,87,809	71,261	1,45,000 (Belgaum)	Sugar
3.	Bellary	..	9,907	9,15,261	5,80,613	1,53,101	52,073	..	Sugar
4.	Bidar	..	5,488	6,63,172	3,48,011	5,252	40,052	..	Sugar
5.	Bijapur	..	17,078	16,60,178	14,45,391	82,472	29,899	..	Cement
6.	Chikmagalur	..	7,218	5,97,305	2,06,952	1,46,315	2,44,719	..	..
7.	Chitradurga	..	10,839	10,94,284	5,28,844	86,519	2,14,492	..	..
8.	Coorg	..	4,110	3,22,829	95,997	1,35,654	1,20,820	..	..
9.	Dharwar	..	13,735	19,50,362	11,90,674	1,11,225	45,238	3,00,000 (Hubli-Dharwar)	Cement
10.	Gulbarga	..	16,400	13,99,457	12,61,115	37,815	90,316	..	..
11.	Hassan	..	6,832	8,95,847	2,93,519	25,132	1,62,356	..	..
12.	Kolar	..	8,357	12,90,144	2,75,528	68,053	2,33,788	1,60,000 (K.G.F.)	..
13.	Mandya	..	4,983	8,99,210	2,52,109	16,952	1,25,958	..	..
14.	Mysore	..	11,958	16,71,399	4,38,838	3,09,744	1,96,289	3,00,000 (Mysore)	Sugar
15.	N. Kanara	..	10,269	6,89,549	1,19,832	8,33,348	21,622	..	Paper, Silk
16.	Raichur	..	14,222	11,00,995	10,47,056	13,025	74,395	..	..
17.	Shimoga	..	10,531	10,17,368	2,66,131	1,45,941	3,72,630	..	Sugar
18.	S. Kanara	..	8,415	15,63,837	1,96,791	2,22,585	2,28,494	1,50,000 (Mangalore)	Iron, Steel, Cement
19.	Tumkur	..	10,609	13,67,402	5,00,955	43,682	2,61,388	..	Sugar & Paper Cement

## ORISSA

**N**ATURAL Orissa, by historical accident, remained scattered in three British administrative units of Bengal, the Central Provinces and Madras. The coastal districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore were tagged with Bengal, the Oriya speaking tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam were kept in Madras and Sambalpur and Khariar remained in the Central Provinces. Dismemberment of the units created lack of uniformity in revenue and criminal administration system. In course of time, Angul was formed into a district with Angul and Khondmals. Sambalpur was amalgamated with Orissa in 1905 on the partition of Bengal. With the creation of the province of Bihar and Orissa in 1913, Orissa was a Division with only five districts, namely, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur and Angul. The coastal districts and Sambalpur followed the Bengal regulations and C.P. land tenure respectively in land revenue administration, while Angul and Khondmals had their own regulations. In the administration of criminal justice, in Angul the Deputy Commissioner exercised special powers under criminal laws.

The formation of the province of Orissa in 1936 brought the Oriya speaking tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts in the shape of two districts, namely, Ganjam and Korapur. Their revenue administration was left with the Zamindars so far as it related to the zamindari areas and the State Government maintained the criminal administration. In Koraput and Balliguda agency of Ganjam, the Collectors were the Agents to the Governor and the Revenue Divisional Officers were the special Assistant Agents, and they exercised the special powers under the Criminal Procedure Code. Khariar came to Orissa in 1936.

On the merger of 23 Princely States with Orissa in 1948, four new districts, *i.e.*, Dhenkanal, Bolangir-Patna, Sundargarh and Keonjhar were formed and the seven existing districts were re-organized with addition of new areas. The integration of the Princely States increased the responsibilities of the Collectors, as the merged areas were to be administered under the laws, rules and regulations they brought with them. Two more districts were created in Orissa, *i.e.*, Kalahandi and Mayurbhanj in 1949. Orissa since then comprises of 13 districts.

The area and population of the districts vary in each case as they are formed mostly on administrative convenience. The size of the seven districts ranges from 4,000 to 5,000 square miles and the districts of Sambalpur and Koraput comprise of 6,764 and 9,919 square miles respectively. The districts of Bolangir and Keonjhar extend to 3,500 square miles. Balasore is the smallest in area, having only 2,507 square miles with 14,16,000 population. The population of Koraput, the largest district in area, is about 15 lakhs while Cuttack having only 4,210 square miles, has 30,60,000 population. The coastal districts are richly populated and the districts lying in the interiors are mostly covered with hills and forests.

The District Collectors who were designated as Administrators for the ex-States had to face a multitude of administrative problems in the new change-over. They were heretofore dealing with established laws prevalent in regular districts but in their new role, they had to follow the laws, rules, regulations and customs prevalent in the ex-States. The matter became more complicated when they were vested with Civil, Criminal and Revenue powers and to decide cases in accordance with the principles of justice, equity and good conscience, under the provision of Paragraph 4 (c) of the Orissa Administration of States Order, 1948. A few of ex-States had written laws but most of them were being guided under the executive orders of Rulers which had the force of statutes. On the merger, the people of some ex-States, accustomed to unwritten laws, expected the same type of administration from the Administrators who were put in an embarrassing position to adjust themselves to the new environment. To add to it, the attitude of Government to accommodate the wishes of the people, by listening to their demands voiced through the newly formed Advisory Councils of which the Collectors were the President, put the latter in a difficult situation. Abnormal political situations in some of these merged territories made the Collectors ever alert. Some disturbing elements took advantage of the situation and fanned political agitations in certain sections and this called for firm maintenance of law and order. The Collectors, therefore, had a difficult time for about a year.

#### TRADITIONAL FUNCTIONS

The established pattern of district administration is followed in Orissa as in other States of India, where every inch of soil forms a part of the district at the head of which there is a District Collector or Deputy Commissioner who, in the eyes of most of the people, is "the Government". He is generally an officer of Indian Administrative Service

or Indian Civil Service. He is the voice of Government and is the link between it and the people and is the pivot round whom the district administration revolves. He is mainly the custodian of law and order, administrator of land, controller of local bodies, co-ordinator of activities of all departments of Government in the district and the functionary to execute orders under different Acts and Rules. In addition to his normal duties, he is usually the Chairman of different committees such as District Small Savings Committee, District Tribal & Rural Welfare Committee, District Athletic Committee, District Cultural Affairs Committee, Managing Committees of Hospitals and Schools, District Red Cross Committee and District Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Board. He is also the member of Co-operative Banks in the Headquarters. He is to attend all Government functions at the district level, receives visitors and State guests and arranges for their visits to different places of interest in the district; drives for the collection of subscription, loans and funds for different purposes. Besides this, his association is required in the non-political and cultural meetings and ceremonies held in educational and other public institutions.

As the Collector was finding it difficult to discharge all the above multifarious duties satisfactorily, Additional District Magistrates were appointed, in 1947, with specific duties assigned to them to relieve the Collector a part of his load. They were given the Court work in respect of criminal, revenue, miscellaneous items, excise, Court of Wards, inspection of Courts and other institutions and work of routine and unimportant nature. The Collector was to devote his sole attention to matters relating to law and order, post-war development, civil supplies, national savings publicity, administration of Arms Act and Treasury. Although this gave the Collector some relief, the general control over all matters in the district administration still rested with him.

### *The Collector and Law and Order*

As the Chief Executive Officer and the Head of Criminal Administration of the District, the Collector controls and directs the police and where necessary, in consultation with the Superintendent of Police, makes such disposition of the force as is required for the maintenance of law and order and to control crime. He may require the police to submit general or special reports on any matter connected with crime or the prevention of disorder. He remains in constant personal touch with the police and directs the latter to take such action as is considered necessary for maintenance of law and order. He is ultimately responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and for proper conduct of criminal cases. His important duties are

to inspect Police Stations at regular intervals with special attention to the proper working of the Arms Act, maintenance of station diary, investigation and preparation of cases for the Courts and working of the officers of the Police Stations. While taking cognizance of criminal cases, he may also direct a Police Officer to enquire into it and to submit the report to him. The Police submits the first information report and in special report cases, they keep the District Magistrate informed on developments in investigation at all stages. Periodical meetings are arranged to affect co-ordination between the police and the magistracy and to discuss important problems such as control of road traffic, control over administration of Motor Vehicle Act, patrolling in certain areas where there is apprehension of offence on property, etc. He used to inspect the Courts of Subordinate Magistrates and Malkhanas, look to the proper maintenance of records and registers in the Subordinate Courts as prescribed by the High Court from time to time, and hear appeals from the judgments of the Magistrates of the Second and Third Classes.

The role of the Collector-District Magistrate as the Head of the Criminal Administration of the district underwent substantial changes with the separation of the judiciary from the executive which made him absolutely an executive magistrate. The Senapati-Narasingham scheme of 1953 in this behalf was accepted by Government and it was implemented in three phases in different districts.

The scheme at present extends to 9 districts and will be shortly extended to the remaining 4 districts. Under the scheme, an officer of the State Judicial Service is appointed as an Additional District Magistrate. For every sub-division, an officer of the State Judicial Service is appointed as the Sub-divisional Magistrate and exercises the Civil powers of a Munsiff. Requisite number of Judicial Magistrates are appointed from the Judicial Service or on deputation from amongst the experienced Deputy Collectors and Sub-deputy Collectors. These officers, commonly designated as Judicial Magistrates, are under the administrative control of the Judicial Additional District Magistrate, who exercises all the powers of control of the District Magistrate over them. The District Magistrate is consequently relieved of his responsibility in respect of trial of criminal cases. But he is still directly responsible for the administration of law and order and controls the Revenue Officers working under him exercising magisterial powers in respect of the "Administrative" Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Sub-divisional Officers are Magistrates of 1st Class in respect of the "Administrative" Sections. They also exercise special powers in respect of Sections 108, 110, 145, 186 and 190 (1) (c) of the Criminal Procedure Code. The scheme introduced in 8 districts

is under examination by an Evaluation Committee of which the Chief Justice of the Orissa High Court is the Chairman and the Member, Board of Revenue as the member. This scheme has not, however, brought about any change in the relation of the District Magistrate and other subordinate Revenue Officers exercising magisterial powers with the police for maintenance of law and order. His relation with the Police for maintenance of law and order remains untouched and he still continues to be the Head of Criminal Administration of the district. He exercises general control over the district Jail and can take into his own hands the complete control of the same if exigencies of circumstances demand it. His role as executive head of the district has assumed greater importance in the present days when the existing order of the society requires more attention for maintenance of law and order.

Besides the statutory powers given to control the staff of the Police, magistracy and general administration, the Collector also controls them by writing their Character Rolls, giving appreciation in respect of general administrative ability, control of staff, tact, zeal, initiative, relation with the public and performance of work in general. He initiates the Character Rolls on the Superintendent of Police, and countersigns the same on the Deputy Superintendent of Police after the Superintendent on Police records his remarks and gives an assessment of his personality, character and abilities including detective power and ability to conduct prosecutions. He also writes the character rolls on other officers on their revenue, criminal and general work. These annual remarks are countersigned by the Divisional Commissioners.

### *The Collector and Land Revenue Administration*

As the Collector of the district, he is responsible for the collection of land revenue and taxes due to the Government. There has been no material change in the role of the Collector in matters of collection of Government dues, although the agencies and systems underwent changes from time to time. He is ultimately responsible for the land revenue administration to the Board of Revenue who prescribes the different registers, and returns and issues executive instructions from time to time for collection of Government dues. *Touzi* is maintained in the district office, indicating land revenue and cess dues against landholders or tenants and these are collected through different agencies. In the permanently settled districts, the intermediaries, whose *zamia* was fixed, were responsible for payment of land revenue. In other areas, village head-men such as Gountias, Pardhans, Naiks, Sardars and Karanams collected the dues from the tenants and credited these to the Government. According to the provisions of the

Orissa Estate Abolition Act (Act 1 of 1952), all the intermediaries were abolished and the duty of the collection was assigned to the Anchal Adhikaries who were Revenue Officers. The revenue administration of the Anchals was under the Board of Revenue. The Anchal Sasan was but a temporary set-up which lasted for some time, and a regular pattern of revenue administration was established with the creation of Tahsils.

The districts are divided into Tahsils and the Collector is responsible for the collection of land revenue, excise dues from the licensees and vendors. Stamp duties assessed by the Registrars is also realized. Other public dues such as forest dues on contractors, commercial tax dues, mining royalties, which cannot be realized by the departmental officers, are collected by the Collector by taking recourse to procedure under the Public Demands Recovery Act. The executive staff in the Nizarat execute the certificate orders and collect Government dues under the said Act.

Proper and correct maintenance of land records is also the Collector's responsibility, for efficient collection of land revenue. On the death of land holders or in the event of any transfer of land, the records are to be corrected and this part of the work is controlled by the Revenue Section of the Collectorate, although the primary work is done at the Tahsil level. Technical revenue staff such as Amins or Patwaris are provided at the Tahsil level to correct land records and to identify and demarcate lands in land disputes.

As the authority of land acquisition, the Collector exercises the statutory power provided under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. For the development of industries, irrigation, agriculture, capital construction, resettlement of displaced persons and matters incidental thereto, the Land Acquisition Act (Orissa Act XVIII of 1948) empowered the Collectors to make speedy acquisition of lands. Excepting for the lands acquired for the Hirakud Dam Project for which there was a special land acquisition organization, in other districts even for land acquisition for major projects the responsibility of acquisition was with the Collector. This Orissa Act was subsequently repealed and usual procedure, according to the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, was adopted after amending certain provisions for the purpose of acquiring lands for emergency purposes. For the speedy acquisition of lands for different projects, such as Paradip, Express way, Delta Irrigation Projects in Cuttack District, Machkund Project in Koraput District and Hindustan Steel Project in Rourkela, Land Acquisition Officers were appointed to work under the control of the Collectors. Rehabilitation of persons displaced from these acquired lands as well as the evacuees

of the East Pakistan and Tibetans is also the responsibility of the Collectors.

### *Relations with Local Bodies*

Smooth functioning of the local bodies, viz., Municipalities and Notified Area Councils, depends on the Collector's tact. He inspects the local bodies offices at least once a year, scrutinizes their budget, conducts the municipal elections, presides over the election of Chairman and Vice Chairman and advises the Government on the recommendation of the local bodies on different problems. As an appellate authority against the order of taxation passed by the Executive Officers of local bodies, he controls the taxation and guides the municipal councils in formulating their policies for augmenting their resources. He looks after the utilization of different Government grants sanctioned for different purposes and in case of any deviation from the normal rules prescribed for the utilization of Government grants, recommends to Government for such action as is considered necessary. In case of any serious irregularity and mismanagement of a local body, he advises Government for suitable actions which may even extend to its supersession. Although under the existing division of work, the Additional District Magistrate looks to the general matters relating to the local bodies administration, the Collector deals with important problems arising out of their maladministration.

### *Other Duties*

During emergency and natural calamities, the Collector takes steps to provide relief to the distressed, raises funds by appealing to the people and makes arrangements for their relief and rescue when flood occurs, specially in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. In this work, he is the liaison between Government and the people to get their active co-operation. For holding the decennial census which has assumed importance involving numerous details, he is to seek co-operation of literate public to play the role of enumerators or computers and he is to have them properly trained and to see that no deviation occurs in the census programme. Sometimes, cattle census is also conducted and the responsibility falls on the Collector. While playing the multifarious role in the district administration, he is to see that nothing goes wrong in the district.

### *Staff Assistance*

With the increase of the responsibilities of the District Magistrates, the staffing pattern in the district office was reviewed and more staff was appointed. Apart from the Additional District Magistrates,

other officers were appointed in the district headquarters to look after work such as development revenue, land records, establishment, Nizarat, Touzi, land acquisition, emergency. Each of these matters is under the charge of an officer. The Office Superintendent co-ordinates the work of different sections in the Collectorate. At the sub-divisional level, the number of officers depends on the workload and in a big sub-division, such as in Cuttack or Koraput, generally, there is a Sub-divisional Officer and officers in charge of revenue, rent suit, nizarat and certificate cases. In minor sub-divisions like Pallahara and Hindol in Dhenkanal district, the number of officers is limited to a Sub-divisional Officer and a Second Officer who are to deal with all matters. Each Tahsil has a Tahsildar to look after collection of land revenue, grant of lease, maintenance of Government properties and other miscellaneous revenue work.

Till recently, in 8 out of the 13 districts, the Sadar Sub-divisional Office was an integral part of the district office and the staff of the Sub-divisional Office was assessed on the workload of the district office. This was an inconvenient system and to enable the Sub-divisional Officers to act independently, the Sadar Sub-divisional Offices were separated from the district offices from 1st April, 1963. Since then, 52 Sub-divisional offices in the State are working separately from the district offices. Staff is provided in each Sub-divisional Office on the basis of workload. Allocation of duties among the Officers in the district headquarters and Sub-divisional offices was so long the responsibility of the Collector, but since May 8, 1964, specific duties are being assigned to different officers in the district as well as in the Sub-divisions by the State Government in separate notifications. In the district headquarters of Cuttack, which is the heaviest district of the State, there are 3 Additional District Magistrates, 16 Deputy and Sub-deputy Collectors and in the Cuttack Sadar Sub-division, there are 9 Deputy and Sub-deputy Collectors to whom separate duties have been assigned by Government.

### *The Collector and Development Programmes*

With the attainment of Independence, the Collector was called upon to play a prominent role in implementation of development programmes directed towards promoting health, prosperity and happiness of the people. These objectives could be achieved only through schemes of planned development and the willing and effective co-operation of all sections of the people, particularly those for whose benefit the schemes were to be carried out. The task was onerous, calling for zeal, imagination, foresight, wisdom and an all-pervading spirit of selfless service. The Collector has now become the leader of the team consisting

both of officials and non-officials. For securing the people's participation in the implementation of development programmes, a District Development Committee, consisting of officers of different development departments as well as the non-official representatives of the people was set up under the chairmanship of the Collector. The members were the Executive Engineer, Civil Surgeon, Food Production Officer, Veterinary Officer, Health Officer, Inspector of Schools and Publicity Officer, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Assistant National Savings Officer, Chairman, District Board, M.L.A.s of the district and District Board Engineer. Option was given to the Collector to co-opt any other member whose presence in the Committee he considered to be useful. The Committee was to meet once a month on a fixed day at the beginning of the month. The district level officials attended the meetings and laid before the Committee a progress report for the previous month, indicating their achievements, and the obstacles, if any, which could be remedied by the Collector, the M.L.A.s and the Heads of the District Board. It is in this matter that the Collector was of the greatest help either personally or through his subordinate touring staff who were enjoined to observe the execution of the schemes during their tours and report to the Collector. The discussions in the meetings were recorded in the minutes and submitted to Government in the Planning and Reconstruction Department within 3 days of the date of meeting. Apart from attending the meetings, the district representatives maintained the closest touch with the Collector and it was incumbent on the Heads of Departments to meet the Collector during their visits to the district and to discuss with him the development plans of his department. The Government, on the other hand, was also seeking for the advice and help of the Development Committee in working out the details of plans, when necessary. Although the Collector had a comprehensive view of the plans of the district, their execution was left to the officers of the concerned departments and he was only responsible for the execution of the plans relating to the Revenue Department. It was "expected that all officers of every grade, of every Department, working in a district to co-operate with one another fully and willingly in the accomplishment of the great task of uplifting the "people of the province".

The increase in the workload of the Collector consequent on the increased emphasis placed on development programmes led to a tendency on the part of the general administration to neglect the normal revenue and other functions. It was, therefore, considered necessary to strengthen the general administration first and then to spread out into developmental functions, if administrative organization was not

well equipped in standing the strain both of regulatory and development activities. The progress so far achieved in the field of development, processed through the general administration, however, made it possible to bifurcate the responsibilities between the development and the general administration and sufficient decentralization was achieved to have a proper system of administration in both the general and the development field. As the development work in the district had expanded so much that the Collector could not bestow his personal attention to the necessary details, a Development Officer was appointed to assist him in the matter. This officer prepared the district development plan under the advice of the Collector and looked to its day-to-day administration. In the districts where tribal population is substantial and special attention needs to be paid to their welfare, a District Welfare Officer was also appointed to relieve the District Development Officer of the welfare work concerning the tribal population.

At the sub-divisional level, the Tribal Welfare Department provided a Rural Welfare Officer of the rank of the Sub-deputy Collector wherever work was substantial. Where the work was light, a non-gazetted officer of the rank of Tahsildar was appointed. Rural Welfare Organizers and Inspectors trained in development work were assigned to work in the field. In the National Extension Service and Community Development Blocks, development work was left to the Block Development Officers who are responsible to the Collector through the Sub-divisional Officers. The development work in the Block and the work under the tribal welfare programme are co-ordinated at the levels of the Tribal and Rural Welfare Officer and the District Development Officer in the Collectorate. For audit, the staff provided in the district office are deputed to the sub-divisions and blocks. Originally, at the block level, a subordinate engineering staff was given to implement all works, but subsequently this system was approved and an Assistant Engineer was provided at the district level for technical advice and supervision. A Rural Engineering Organization was set up under a Chief Engineer to be in charge of rural works in blocks and for other non-P.W.D. works at the district, sub-divisional and block levels. This organization work, in close collaboration with the Collector.

#### *District Development Board and Standing Committee*

With the expansion of the activities in the field of development, a District Development Board was set up, comprising all the District Level Officers and non-officials, including M.L.A.s and M.P.s and some other selected persons of the locality. The Board used to meet once a quarter and the achievements of the plans were thoroughly

discussed and resolutions were sent to Government. The Collector was the Chairman of the Board. Subsequently, when the execution of development works was transferred to Panchayati Raj institutions, the Board yielded place to a committee designated as Standing Committee of the Zilla Parishad for administrative co-operation. The developmental activities of the district are now discussed at zonal meeting held in the districts which are attended by all the Heads of Departments, the Development Commissioners and the Panchayati Raj Commissioner.

### *Relations with and Control over District Level Officers*

As the head of the district executive, the Collector co-ordinates the activities of all departments of Government at the district level and no department can manage its affairs without his co-operation. All District Level Officers, therefore, keep close contact with him and apprise him of the matters for which they need his help. The District Level Officers of Agriculture, Co-operation, Industry, Animal Husbandry and Works Departments who are responsible to their respective Heads of Departments for their general administration, bank on the Collector's support all the more for the speedy implementation of their development programmes and bring to his notice any difficulty faced in their execution. If demonstrative seed farms are to be established in each block for propagation of nucleus seeds and lands are to be acquired from individuals or Government lands are to be made available, the District Agriculture Officer worries the Collector till lands are available. The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies meets the Collector often for securing help in distribution of fertilizers and bone meals to the people through Co-operatives and Gram Panchayats and sees that his job is done. Loans for improving irrigation facilities and lands are provided by blocks. For construction of major and medium irrigation projects and power towers and poles on private lands, constant contact with Collector is kept by the Executive Engineer for land acquisition and removal of obstacles, if any. In organizing industrial, agricultural, educational or cattle fairs, the co-operation of the Collector is invariably solicited. In short, in such functions, his active assistance, if not, at least his sympathy, is generally required by all.

The Collector exercises the following powers in respect of the District Level Officers concerned with development work:

- (a) They submit tour programmes and tour diaries to the Heads of Departments through the Collector who comments on them and may call for explanation where there has been

unsatisfactory tour and send it to the Head of the Department.

- (b) The Collector sanctions casual leave, and any application, for leave other than casual leave is forwarded to the Heads of Departments with his recommendation.
- (c) If the work of a District Level Officer is not satisfactory and despite repeated instructions, the officer does not improve his performance, the Collector may move the Heads of Department for his transfer;
- (d) The Collector may call for their explanation on administrative matters in consultation with the Heads of Departments;
- (e) The Collector writes the confidential report on the work of the District Level Officers and forwards it to the Head of Department who, after recording his own remarks, incorporate them in the character roll of the officers.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS

The Collector's relationship with the Panchayati Raj institutions has been defined in the Orissa Panchayat Samiti & Zilla Parishad Act, 1959. With the introduction of the three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions in 1960, the role of the Collector in the sphere of development programmes underwent a change. The Collector can inspect any work in progress under the control of the Parishad, Samiti or Panchayat and their offices and other institutions under them. He may call for records, registers and returns, plans and estimates, statements, accounts, statistics and information reports from them. Under emergency power, he may get a certain developmental work completed and the cost of it paid up out of their funds. He may also cancel any resolution or order passed by the Parishad or Samiti if it is illegal and not in conformity with the powers conferred by law and is likely to cause danger to human and life safety on execution. Although these powers are statutory, these are to be exercised with tact and care and at all events to ensure cordiality of relation between the general administration, and the Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis. The successful working of the new three-tier popular institutions depends on the development of mutual understanding between the Collector and the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samitis. Although difficulties were experienced at the first instance, better understanding developed gradually at all levels and a sense of co-operation grew up. The Collector is now the friend, philosopher and guide to these institutions.

Although the development schemes are now mostly executed by the Panchayati Raj institutions, the Collector is still looked upon as the authority who is able to solve any difficult problem. People approach him for providing irrigation projects, roads, drinking water supplies, schools, health facilities and he is to hear them sympathetically and to advise the Panchayat Samitis or Zilla Parishads to consider their requests. His opinion, about the priority to be given to a project is highly valued. Although the three-tier institutions are responsible for most of the development work, the Collector's responsibility is still there for execution of important programme such as intensive food drive or some similar other project of national urgency. The credit certainly goes to the Collector if a Block in his district is considered as the best in the year and is awarded the prize of a crore of rupees which the State Government has declared for the establishment of an industry.

As the overall agent of the State Government occupying a cardinal position in the district administration, the Collector plays the protocol and invariably, receives the dignitaries of the country and foreign countries on their arrival in the district, even if the Governor, Members of the Cabinet and other high officers may be there. He accompanies the Governor, the Chief Minister and the Members of Union Cabinet during their official visit to his district. He is supposed to be conversant with all problems of the district and to answer questions to the visitors. As the mouth-piece of the people of the district, he voices their difficulties before the authorities visiting the district and arranges for their interview with them. Any matters represented by the people before the authorities are clarified by him for better appreciation. He is to satisfy the Government and his higher official authorities, to ensure loyalty from the subordinate officers, to keep the unofficial members of the new three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions in good humour and in general, to hear the people at all times.

### *Tours and Inspections*

The Collectors are required to tour to acquaint themselves with the real needs of the people, to inspect offices under their administrative control, to instruct officers on the spot where necessary in urgent matters and to oversee generally the execution of development programmes. The minimum number of days of tour prescribed is 90 in a year, out of which at least half of the touring is to cover night halts and at least one third is to be performed in the second and third quarters of the year. In tour, the Collector is required to avoid the beaten tracks and spend a substantial number of days in the interior. Performance of at least two sustained tours of about 5 days' or one

tour of 10 days' duration in each of the half year is obligatory. Monthly tour diaries are compiled and submitted to the Revenue Commissioner and Government. Appreciation of the working of all branches of administration including development and any matter of interest or importance finds place in the tour diary. Half-yearly and annual reviews of tours are made by the Divisional Commissioner and shortcomings found in them are reported to Government. Inspections of offices are conducted during the tour. The following offices are inspected by the Collector under the Rules or Instructions mentioned against each:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (a) All branches of the Collectorate.             | Under Rule 54 of the Board's Misc. Rules.   |
| (b) District Treasury and Sub-Treasuries.         | Under Rules 85 and 88 of the Board's Misc. Rules and Rules 4 (3) of Orissa Treasury Code, Vol. I.   |
| (c) District Welfare office.                      | Under T. & R.W. Department, letter No. 544 dated 13th January, 1958.  |
| (d) Mining Section of the Collectorate.           | Under provisions of Boards Misc. Rules.   |
| (e) District Public Relations office.             | Home (P.R.) Department circular No. 9756 dated 6th November, 1951.  |
| (f) Excise office.                                | Under Rule 69 of the Orissa Excise Manual.  |
| (g) Sub-divisional offices.                       | Revenue Department letter No. 55081 dated 7th December, 1961.   |
| (h) Tahsil & Taluk offices.                       | Rules 33 of Rules for collection of revenue and Rule 143 of the Manual of Tahsil Accounts.  |
| (i) Block Development (Panchayat Samiti) offices. | <p>(a) C. D. Department circular No. 1390 dated 25th February, 1957 and circular No. 3372 dated 3rd April, 1959.</p> <p>(b) Section 35 (c) of the Orissa Panchayat Samiti &amp; Zilla Parishad Act.</p> |

- (j) Gram Panchayats. Under Section 97 of the Gram Panchayat Act.
- (k) Municipalities and Notified Area Councils. Revenue Department No. 5946 dated 22nd May, 1957.

Besides the above, the Collector also inspects Police Stations, Jails, Veterinary Dispensaries and Stockman Centres and recognized Medical Institutions under rules and instructions prescribed in this behalf. The inspections being numerous, the inspections of offices of the local bodies, excise office and election, revenue, Touzi, land acquisition and establishment sections of the Collectorate are entrusted to the Additional District Magistrate, Specific Blocks, Panchayats, Police Stations and other institutions are also allotted to the latter while preparing the annual inspection programme.

#### RELATIONS WITH COMMISSIONER AND OTHER HIGHER AUTHORITIES

Under Section 4 of the Orissa Board of Revenue Act, 1951, the Board of Revenue superintends the work of the Divisional Commissioners and the Collectors in respect of revenue administration. Under Section 4 (1) of the Orissa Revenue Divisional Commissioner's Act, 1957, Divisional Commissioner is the chief executive authority of the Division and he deals directly with the Government. He is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the districts and administration of local bodies and for ensuring efficient day-to-day administration in the district. The main duties of the Commissioner include: (i) inspection of the offices and Courts of the Collectors once a year; (ii) furnishing half-yearly review of the tour diaries of the Collectors and Sub-divisional Officers to the State Government; (iii) reviewing monthly demand collection and balance of land revenue, cesses and other Government dues; (iv) regulating matters connected with the grant of pension, gratuity and other retirement benefits in respect of officers under his control; (v) furnishing the budget estimates of the districts to the Board of Revenue; (vi) calling for returns and reports from the Collectors' offices, and (vii) bringing to the notice of the State Government important matters of administration. The Collector keeps the Commissioner informed of all important developments in the districts. If anything important in respect of any Department is noticed which needs immediate reference to the concerned Head of Department, the Collector does so, keeping the Commissioner informed.

The role played by the Revenue Commissioner in the district administration has not changed after Independence mostly. Collector's achievement in development work are judged by the Divisional

Commissioner as well as by the Development Commissioner. With the establishment of the Panchayati Raj administration, his work in relation to the Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samiti is judged by the Commissioner, Panchayati Raj. The Collector is thus responsible to the Board of Revenue through the Divisional Commissioner for revenue administration, to the Divisional Commissioner directly for law and order and general administration, to the Development Commissioner for the development work and to the Commissioner, Panchayati Raj for the Panchayati Raj administration. The Member, Board of Revenue and the three Commissioners write his annual character remarks on their concerned subjects. In emergent matters involving higher administrative policy when there is not enough time to contact the Divisional Commissioner, the Collector is directly contacted by the Chief Secretary and the Cabinet who direct him to take certain action. The Divisional Commissioner is also kept informed of it and the Collector is asked to proceed according to the instructions. In emergency, sometimes, Collector and Divisional Commissioner both are called by the Cabinet for discussion and asked to take action.

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The growth of Panchayati Raj institutions and the expansion of development programmes has thrown up new problems and new stresses and strains. Relations between officials and non-officials have assumed a new dimension. To relieve the Collector of the increasing load of work, the State Government decided on 4th August, 1965, that work relating to development and Panchayati Raj institutions should be handled by an Additional District Magistrate and the Collector should confine himself mostly to traditional functions. The division of the work between the Collector and the Additional District Magistrate under the new arrangements is as follows :

*Collector**A.D.M.*

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|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) Bill Budget and Establishment | (i) Civil Supplies              |
| (ii) Compensation                 | (ii) Development                |
| (iii) Confidential                | (iii) Excise                    |
| (iv) Election                     | (iv) General—Miscellaneous      |
| (v) Emergency                     | (v) Gram Panchayat              |
| (vi) Judicial                     | (vi) Library                    |
| (vii) Land acquisition            | (vii) Nizarat                   |
| (viii) Land records               | (viii) Records Room and Copying |

- |             |                               |
|-------------|-------------------------------|
| (ix) Mining | (ix) Registration             |
| (x) Revenue | (x) Statistics                |
| (xi) Touzi  | (xi) Treasury                 |
|             | (xii) Tribal & Rural Welfare. |

The results of the above allocation of duties, which directly disassociates the Collector from developmental activities, would be known only after the new arrangements have worked for some time. The institution of the Collector has stood the test of time and it seems difficult to find any substitute for it which can be depended upon by the Government for unified enforcement of its policies and programmes in the districts.



## RAJASTHAN

THE institution of Collector as a District Officer is a new one in Rajasthan and practically it is true to say that it assumed the present form only after the integration of the Princely States in 1949. It is true that some of the more important States such as Jaipur, Jodhpur, etc., had introduced the system of district administration before the integration and had also appointed Collectors or Deputy Commissioners as Officers-in-Charge of these districts. For instance, Jaipur State was divided into four districts in November, 1944, and Deputy Commissioners were appointed for them; and in the case of Jodhpur State this system was introduced in the year 1948. But there is a good reason why even the large-sized Princely States did not find it necessary to have the institution of Collectors at a time when in British India this system was running for more than 150 years. In British India, a major and original function of the Collector was the collection of land revenue. In many of the States in Rajasthan, there was hardly any land revenue to be realized as such. The land was mostly held by the Jagirdars who paid a sort of tribute to the rulers. The main revenues of the State were derived from custom duties, both import and export, and railways. As revenue earning departments, therefore, Customs and Railways were more important to the States than the Land Revenue Collecting Agency. Besides, the concept of a Collector as "Mai-Baap" of the district was quite incompatible with the existence of the ruler who was the "Annadata" for the whole State.

Ajmer which is now one of the twenty-six districts of Rajasthan was a part of British India. The district of Ajmer-Merwara used to have a Deputy Commissioner and this post continued till the integration of Ajmer in Rajasthan in 1956. In November, 1956, at the time of integration, the nomenclature of this post was changed to Collector.

For the maintenance of law and order, there were officers who may be equated to the Sub-divisional Magistrates of today. These officers were called Nazims in some States like Jaipur, Bikaner, etc., and Hakims in other States like Jodhpur, Mewar, etc. In certain States this function was also discharged by Judicial Officers. The purpose of stating all this is to show that the Collector in Rajasthan started with much less cobweb of traditions and other such similar handicaps than the Collectors of the post-independent British India where there

was a natural tendency to copy their pre-Independence predecessors. But he had much less authority too and his position was much less recognized or established as compared to his counterparts in the former British Indian provinces.

The situation had its disadvantages also and but for the fact that the Rajasthan Government at that time had its hands full with the business of integration of services and laws, and had not much time for development, there would have been serious difficulties. It was a problem at that time to co-ordinate the activities of the various departments at the district level. The District Level Officers sometimes resented openly if the Collector asked them to do anything. They expected orders either from their heads of departments or their Divisional Officers. Things would move only because of personal relations or tact of the Collector. He could expect some assistance at the level of the Commissioner to smoothen inter-departmental difficulties. Sometimes for purely local matters decisions would be awaited from the Government.

As gradually the need for the Government to have some co-ordinating authority in the far flung districts was realized, certain directives were issued regarding the countersignature of T.A. bills of Superintendents of Police by the Collector, initiating of the annual character roll etc., to make his position specific and clear vis-a-vis the Police. Law and order situation naturally was the first matter which received attention. As the situation improved, some of the directives were relaxed.

Personally, I think that what made the co-operation between the Superintendent of Police and District Magistrate more effective during the last few years was the happening of certain incidents such as communal and other riots in some districts. In all these cases the State Government took the attitude that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were equally responsible for any shortcomings in the maintenance of law and order. Perhaps, there is nothing unusual in this for a former British Indian province but in Rajasthan the police started realizing that they had some body to lean upon and this made the Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate come closer together.

With regard to the other departments also, the idea that the Collector was the head of the district administration was first categorically stated in 1954. At the Senior Administrative Officers' Conference of that year, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Shri M. L. Sukhadia, said in his inaugural address:

"I mean to make it absolutely clear that the Collector is the focal point of administration in the district. He represents the

Government in the last resort. It is not possible for the administration to function effectively or achieve co-ordination at the district level unless his authority is felt by Officers and I want him to function as the first among equals”.

#### LAW AND ORDER

In law, that is, according to the Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Act, the District Magistrate is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the district. He is kept informed about all the important happenings, political and communal or those connected with labour, etc., by a daily intelligence report. He has frequent discussions with the Superintendent of Police on the situation in the district. But naturally the ideal collaboration between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police depends on mutual relations and the understanding between the persons who occupy the respective posts. There has been much less difficulty where the District Magistrate has been senior in service to the Superintendent of Police; but even when the District Magistrate is junior he has by tactful handling been able to get the co-operation of the Superintendent of Police. On the whole as things now stand, it may be observed that the relations between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police are cordial in this State. The police being a non-development department has not expanded according to increasing requirements during the last ten years and a real problem of the maintenance of law and order in the faster growing cities has arisen due to the shortage of manpower in the police department. This is a common difficulty which the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police face together. Perhaps this is an all-India problem, but so far as Rajasthan is concerned, the striking power available to the police in a large scale commotion and disturbance in the bigger cities leaves much to be desired. This is a cause of worry to both the Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate whenever any political, student or labour leader gives notice of an agitation.

The question naturally arises: how much time does a District Magistrate spend daily on law and order problems in mid-Nineteen Sixties in Rajasthan. The answer is “not very much”. The romantic view is that the Collector “rises at day break and goes straight from his bed to the saddle. Then he gallops off across fields bright with dew to visit the scene of the late dacoit robbery”. In actual practice the District Magistrate of today does not very much bother about isolated crimes unless they are sensational. The District Magistrate in mid-Nineteen Sixties is generally concerned with mass upheavals. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police may not, therefore, officially

meet daily unless there are indications of unrest either due to the food situation or labour trouble or some political or communal or other agitations in the district.

With the separation of the judiciary from the executive, the I.P.C. cases are now disposed of in most districts of the State by the Munsiff Magistrates who work directly under the High Court. The District Magistrate has, therefore, no work connected with the ordinary criminal trials in the district. The enforcement of all other laws such as the preventive sections of the Cr.P.C., Excise Act, Municipal and Motor-Vehicle Acts, etc., is the duty of the Excise and other Magistrates under the District Magistrate.

The District Magistrate continues as the Chief Prosecuting Officer. The Public Prosecutor is appointed by the Government in consultation with him and the District Judge. The District Magistrate advises the State Government whether appeals are to be filed against acquittals, etc. When notices under Section 80 Cr.P.C. are received for claims against any Government department, the District Magistrate decides finally whether the claim is to be accepted or the notice ignored, for claims up to Rs. 1,000.

The District Magistrate in Rajasthan issues the arms licences and no objection certificates for explosive licences, recommends cases for passports, extends visas up to 30 days for Pakistan nationals, issues nationality certificates, gives licences for cinemas, fixes their admission rates, arranges supervision of execution of condemned men, inspects jails, permits or prohibits playing of loud-speakers, gives certificates of belonging to Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, authorizes admission of people to mental hospitals, takes over treasures, troves and escheated property and does all such other work as the District Magistrates do elsewhere by virtue of executive instructions or authority conferred by statutes. The only occasional colourful break in this monotony of official work is the marriages that he performs as Marriage Officer under the Special Marriage Act.

As political consciousness grows, the number of agitations for the redress of various real or imaginary grievances is also likely to grow. The manner in which each agitation is dealt with besides the nature of the agitation depends on the attitude of the Government, and the Collector generally is better placed than the Superintendent of Police to appreciate the way in which the Government is thinking. Also in the capital city the processions move towards the Assembly or the Chief Minister's house. In other districts they converge on the Collectorate or the residence of the Collector, for though it is only 15 or 16 years in Rajasthan that this institution of Collectors has been set up, people

already know that he represents the Government in the district. This has made the Collector and the Superintendent of Police come closer together and it can no longer be thought that we can leave law and order in the hands of the Superintendent of Police alone, sparing the Collector to concentrate on the development works. With the increasing complexity of society and growth of political awareness it seems obvious that the Collector's function as District Magistrate is not likely to lose importance in the near future.

#### LAND RECORDS

As stated before, land revenue was not a very important source of revenue, in most places in Rajasthan before integration. The number of officials for the collection of land revenue and for the maintenance of land records was also, therefore, not large. For instance, there was a tehsil in one of the desert districts of the State where there was only one non-Jagir village in the whole of 6,000 square miles of the tehsil and consequently there was only one Patwari. Now the tehsil has been divided into two tehsils and there are about 125 Patwaris. Even in Jaipur district where there was not much Jagir land, the land revenue rose from Rs. 50 lakhs a year before the resumption of Jagirs to Rs. 80 lakhs at present and there has been consequent increase of land records staff. For the last ten years, therefore, the main problem of the Collectors in Rajasthan was the building up of a suitable system for the collection of land revenue and maintenance of land records specially for such areas which were under the Jagirs. The work is now complete. It is now being felt that perhaps in the case of land records we have over done the thing. The land records system built up in Rajasthan is based on the old system prevalent in neighbouring States at a time when there were intermediaries between the tenant and the Government in those States. We now find, therefore, that some of the entries, such as the one recording the possession of the land each year, are redundant and lead to unnecessary litigation. The forms are, therefore, being suitably modified. In any case, with the abolition of Jagirs the function of a Collector as collector of land revenue in Rajasthan has lost its novelty and excitement and has, in the last 2 or 3 years, become routine. In fact, in the near future when all the cultivable land in Rajasthan gets distributed, and we have permanent tenants all over the State, the land revenue work may cease to have importance and will become a routine function of the Collectorate office. Since the Patwaris do not any more record, annually, the name of the actual cultivator, *girdawari* and *partial* have also lost much of their importance. It is hoped that the Patwari in course of time will only become a tax collector and recorder of crop statistics. His influence for good or evil will whither away.

In turn, this may mean some reduction in the limelight that plays upon the routine land records and land revenue work of the Collector.

In one respect, unfortunately, the Collector's work in Rajasthan is not likely to be reduced. A very large part of the State suffers from frequent scarcity conditions due to failure of monsoon. In fact there is no year when parts of some districts are not declared scarcity affected. Arrangement for the supply of food, fodder and sometimes drinking water takes a great deal of time of the Collector in these districts every year. In the desert areas of the State, there are many villages and townships where there is no perennial source of drinking water supply. Drinking water is carried in water tanks by railways throughout the year. Women from the neighbouring village wait at the station with pitchers for the train to arrive. This is a normal thing. But when the monsoon fails in these areas the more serious problem is that of the cattle migration. In the desert districts the main occupation of the people is the rearing of cattle and sheep. When the rains fail, all these herds start moving in search of water and pasture. Hundreds of these herds move from the west of the State towards the eastern districts. Arranging fodder and water for such large number of cattle becomes a very heavy work for the Collectors of the concerned districts.

Collectors in Rajasthan have no function in connection with Excise and Sales Tax except when the dues have to be collected under the Public Demands Recovery Act. The District Registrar and the Sub-Registrar on the other hand, unlike in some other States, are under the Collector in Rajasthan. The actual work under this head with the Collector is nominal and except for occasional inspection especially while inspecting a tehsil, this work is not much of a burden on the Collector.

The Collector in Rajasthan as elsewhere is in charge of the Census and elections in the district. Census comes only once in ten years, but elections nowadays seem to be continuous. There is always some bye-election going on somewhere in the district either for the Assembly or the Municipal Board or the Panchayat or a Nayaya Panchayat. These bye-elections, except for the Assembly and Parliamentary seats, are routine affairs, and with experience gathered are managed at the sub-divisional or tehsil level. It is only when the general elections come once in five years for the Assembly and the Parliament, and once in three years for the Panchayats that pace of life becomes very brisk in the Collectorates. Long before the elections begin, training has to start for hundreds of people who will man the polling stations. Thereafter polling parties are arranged and materials not only for polling but also things like bamboos and ropes for constructing polling stations are provided to each party. They have to be transported to and from the

polling stations some of which are situated at remote corners of the district. (Some years ago the Collectors in Rajasthan used camels for the sandy areas. Now they requisition tractors and other powerful vehicles.) Police protection is provided at all polling stations and in many cases arrangement for the food and shelter for the polling parties has also to be made. All this work has to be done on a very tight time schedule. It is a sort of semi-military operation, but the people who man this are generally the Collectorate clerks and not the trained people of the Army Supply Service. There is nothing very special about this in Rajasthan. Collectors all over India do the same thing with the help of the same sort of staff. The wonder is that the system never fails. No body has ever complained that polling could not take place on account of mis-management anywhere, however, remote from the district headquarters the polling station might be. Of course, all other work practically stops in the Collectorate when elections are going on. Sometimes the actual elections take more than one month to complete. This is frequently so in the case of the elections to the three-tier popular institutions—of the Panchayats, the Pradhans of Panchayat Samitis and the Pramukhs of the Zilla Parishads.

For the last two or three years another work which is taking up a large part of Collector's time is the Civil Supplies work. It started with sugar rationing. Unfortunately, due to reasons not entirely convincing to the people, the sugar quota allotted by the Central Government to the cities of Rajasthan comes to about half a kilogram per head per month. With such a meagre quota a very strict system of rationing had to be introduced. Practically no staff assistance was provided to the Collectors for the preparation of the ration cards and for arranging a regular supply of sugar to the cities. All this had to be managed by the Collectors by borrowing men from other departments. By the time some satisfactory machinery for the distribution of sugar was built up, the serious food shortage started all over the country in the middle of 1964. Fortunately, Rajasthan is more or less self sufficient in food-grains but the acute shortage in the neighbouring States raised prices here, and wheat disappeared from the market. It then became a heavy task for the Collectors to arrange an equitable distribution of imported wheat. Writing in August, 1965, it appears to me that the most harassing job of the Collector in mid-Nineteen Sixties is the Civil Supplies work and there is no indication at present that this work would be reduced. Of course, a lot of staff assistance has now been provided for this work but then the people expect the Collector himself to be answerable for all the difficulties that the people are undergoing.

As elsewhere, the Collector in Rajasthan is the Chairman of the District Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board. Since the number of both

of ex-service men and of serving Military people is quite large in Rajasthan, the work is of more importance than in some States. The State Government framed rules for the allotment of land to the soldiers. There are some benevolent funds for the ex-service men. Grants are given from these funds by the Collectors.

Natural calamities like floods, fire, earthquake, etc., are dealt with by the Collectors as in other States of India. There is one calamity, however, which is peculiar to Rajasthan. The sandy areas of the State are the breeding grounds of the desert locusts. Methods of dealing with this menace are, therefore, different here. In other places, the locusts suddenly come, settle down on some fields, devastate them and then fly away before anything can be done about them. Such occurrences are common in Rajasthan also, but here locusts can be effectively destroyed in the few days after they have come out of the eggs and before they have started flying. As soon as warnings are received from Africa and other countries that the year was likely to be a bad one, insecticides are collected, spraying machines are repaired and jeeps are requisitioned. Everybody then waits for the egg-laying reports. Near about three weeks elapse before the eggs are hatched and the locusts in their first stage come out. The Revenue staff involves the people in the villages in spraying the insecticide and killing the locusts. Sometimes, if the areas are remote, no egg-laying reports are received and the first information that the Collector gets is that the locust swarms have already reached the second or third stage. Men and materials then have to be rushed to the spot for dealing with them. Altogether, the period of locust breeding and invasion is a hectic one for some Collectors. Fortunately the locust cycle is a long one, nearly ten years. But in bad years such as in 1952 and in 1962, the Collectors in some districts have little time for anything else in the months of July, August and September.

#### DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

It was realized from the very beginning all over India, that the Collector as the general purpose and senior most officer in the district was the most suitable officer for taking over the responsibility of the District Development Programme. Development work started in this State in right earnest in 1954 after the completion of integration, and as stated before, the Chief Minister made clear to everybody that the Collector was to be the co-ordinating authority for the development work. Some departments notably the Public Works Department, took the matter in a normal manner. The P.W.D. was from early days habituated to taking the help of the Collector in many matters. For

instance, for acquiring land, for deciding the alignment of roads, for arranging famine relief works, etc., there were always regular consultations between the Executive Engineer and the Collector. In the case of some other departments, however, there was a trace of resentment in accepting the outside authority like the Collector as the leader.

The Government, therefore, clarified the matter and codified the whole position by an Order of January 27, 1957. This Order was issued after the Collectors had explained their difficulties in the Senior Administrative Officers' Conference, held in that year. This Order was modified to a certain extent after another Senior Administrative Officer's Conference was held in 1958. Its scope was enlarged by another Order of August 12, 1961 after the abolition of the Divisional Commissioners. The existing Order is dated August 12, 1961. This describes the Collector as the District Officer and makes him responsible for overseeing the development programme of the district. Officers of the various development departments posted at the district level whether gazetted or non-gazetted are called Development Officers. The list of such departments given in the Order, is as follows:

1. Education.
2. Electricity.
3. Medical & Health.
4. Agriculture & Animal Husbandry.
5. Local-Self-Government.
6. Public Works Department (Health, Buildings and Roads, and Irrigation).
7. Social Welfare.
8. Co-operation.
9. Revenue.
10. Forests.
11. Industries.
12. Publicity.
13. Mines.
14. Statistics.
15. Tourists.
16. Labour.

All the Development Officers have to send in advance their tour programmes to the Collector. They can proceed on casual leave with the permission of the Collector. Their applications for regular leave are forwarded through the Collector. The Collector gives his remarks

in the character roll of the officers. His guidance, however, is confined to the administrative matters only and the technical supervision is exercised by the Heads of Departments. The latter keep the Collector informed of all the departmental development schemes which are likely to be implemented in the district.

One thing should be made clear. Decisions about a development work can rarely be taken at the district level. If a road is to be built, the Collector can have a decisive opinion about its alignment, but the Collector has practically no voice in the decision whether the road should be built at all. Such decisions are taken at the State level. Similar is the case for medium irrigation dams or seed farms. The Collectors can help in acquiring the land, or resettling the displaced persons but whether the district would get the dam or the farm is for the State Government to decide. In other words, the Collector's work in the field of development is more of co-ordination and giving help in implementing them than initiating a work. All these powers given to the Collector over the District Level Officers are, however, not without value. Since the District Level Officers know that the Collector writes their annual confidential report, they try to keep him informed of their activities. The Collector's task as the watch-dog of Government, therefore, becomes easier. In one respect I think the District Level Officers also feel that this leadership by the Collector is of help to them. In the meetings of the Zilla Parishad which the District Level Officers attend, it is common for the District Level Officer concerned to come under fire when members have any grievance against any Government department. It is generally the Collector who comes to his rescue either by explaining the position adequately or by promising to take up the matter with the State Government.

It will be seen that the role of the Collector as the District Development Officer cannot be defined in as exact terms as his functions as a District Magistrate or a Revenue Officer. If his role, as the cliché goes, is to be the captain of the team, then at best he is a non-playing captain. The 1961 Government Order makes this clear in the following words: "It rests upon him to appreciate the problems of the local bodies (panchayat samitis, municipalities, etc.) and ensure that prompt remedies are meted out to them by the Departments concerned." The workload of the Collector so far as Development side is concerned, depends a lot on the interest he takes in the work. It is not possible to set a norm for this work for the Collector.

There is in Rajasthan in each district a Public Relations Officer. This officer works directly under the Collector. The main job of the Public Relations Officer is to give publicity to various development works going on in the district. In districts where there are

large cities, the Public Relations Officer is of immense help in calming down people whenever there is any tension in the city. Such tensions arise unfortunately all too frequently in these days of food shortage and rising prices.

Another item of work which takes a great deal of time of the Collectors specially in the large towns is the distribution of house building loans. Loans are given for house building for low-income and middle-income group people and also to Government servants. The demand for such loans especially in the growing cities is large and the amounts allotted for such purpose would not in some cases meet even 20 per cent of the demand. The distribution of such loans becomes a matter of headache for the Collector. This is not only because of inadequacy of staff help but also because of the desire to ensure fair play and to make the best of the limited funds.

The remnants of the work connected with refugee rehabilitation has been passed on to the Collectors. These are mainly the allotment of shops which are still being constructed, distribution of doles and pension to the old and the infirm and general supervision of old women's homes and collection of rents and instalments of shops given on rent or on hire purchase system. This work is mainly of supervisory nature, but is likely to be difficult if the persons concerned develop some significant sense of grievance.

#### PANCHAYATI RAJ

The Collectors were entrusted with the responsibility to look after the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service Blocks when these schemes started in Rajasthan in 1952. State Civil Service Officers (Rajasthan Administrative Service) were made Block Development Officers in the Community Development Projects and selected Tehsildars were the Development Officers for the N.E.S. blocks. The programme was started with great enthusiasm and hope, but all that was expected could not be achieved.

Perhaps too many things were taken in hand and in many of these things people affected had not much interest. The B.D.O.s had not only limited funds but their distribution and utilization was also not always rational or purposeful. (The bulk of the Taccavi loans was still distributed through the Tehsils). The Collector as overall supervising officer could help the block whenever any co-operation or co-ordination of other departments was needed, but on the whole his contribution was of limited effectiveness.

The scheme of Panchayati Raj with three-tier system was introduced in Rajasthan on October 2, 1959. At the lowest level is the Panchayat

containing about 8 or 10 wards. The number of voters in each ward is 100 to 150. The voters elect a Panch for their ward and a Sarpanch for the whole Panchayat. The Sarpanch thus is elected directly by all the voters of the Panchayat. Thirty to fifty Panchayats form one Panchayat Samiti. Attempt has been made to make the Tehsil and the Panchayat Samiti coterminous as far as possible, but there are occasional variations. For instance, in the Jaipur District there are 15 Tehsils and 17 Panchayat Samitis. The Panchayat Samiti consists of all the Sarpanchas and Panchas of the Panchayats included in the Samiti. The local Sub-divisional Officer is also an *ex-officio* member of the Panchayat Samiti. All the members of the Samitis and the M.Ps. and M.L.As. form the electoral college for the election of the Pramukh of the Zilla Parishad. The Zilla Parishad consists of all the Pradhans, the M.P.s, the M.L.As. and the Pramukh. The Collector as the District Development Officer is an *ex-officio* but non-voting member. The Panchayat Samitis and the Zilla Parishad also have some provision for co-option of representatives of women and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes if they are not sufficiently represented. The presence of the Collector is of help to the Parishad as he is able to remove many local difficulties, convey the views of the Zilla Parishad on any subject to the Government and at times, by tact and desire to be helpful, can guide discussion to more fruitful channels or decisions.

In this three-tier system, most of the executive powers rest in the Panchayat Samiti. The Panchayat itself is too small to be a viable executive unit. It has some municipal functions and it also executes local development works such as construction of drinking water wells, primary school buildings etc. The Zilla Parishad for all practical purposes is an advisory body. In any case, a district is too large an area to give the people a feeling of self-government. From the point of view of area and population, the Panchayat Samiti has the optimum size. It has rightly been given almost all those powers which have been transferred to the Panchayati Raj.

An unnecessary and uninformed controversy cropped up at the time of inauguration of Panchayati Raj in the State. It was concluded that with the coming of the Panchayati Raj institutions, the bureaucracy, especially the Collector, would be deflated. The possibility of such an eventuality gave some satisfaction to arm-chair politicians and some concern to a particular type of civil servants. Actually there was little chance of a conflict between these institutions and the existing system. The reason was not far to seek. The Panchayati Raj institutions had been given only such work as was connected with rural development and were not given any regulatory or tax collecting functions. Even for the taxes imposed by the Samitis, the Tehsil is the collecting authority.

Except for the newly created agency of the Community Development Blocks, there was no official agency available in the country side for the development work. In other words, there was practically no bureaucracy at that level, which could be deflated. On the other hand, not only was the Collector not deprived of any of his functions but also he was given the supervisory power over the Panchayat Samitis. In one respect, of course, Tehsildar's powers are gone. Taccavi except in case of famine taccavi, is no longer distributed through the Tehsildar; it is now routed through the Panchayat Samitis. This change has been for the better. This power of giving Taccavi has increased the prestige of the Panchayat Samitis. It has resulted in a healthy competition among the Sarpanchas. They will try to get the maximum amount for their constituencies.

As is well known Taccavi loans given for construction of wells and for other productive purposes are sometimes misused in marriages and other functions. There is a great deal of controversy on the point as to whether the number of cases of such misuse has gone up or down after the introduction of Panchayati Raj. Perhaps it is too early to give a final judgment on this subject. My own feeling is that there has been a reduction in the number of cases of misuse.

Before discussing the interrelationship of the Collector and the Panchayat Samiti it will be necessary to list the functions that have been transferred to the Panchayat Samiti. Apart from their own clerical staff, the Panchayat Samitis directly control the staff of the primary schools of their area. The distribution of salaries, the grant of leave and transfer of teachers within their area is the responsibility of the Panchayat Samitis. Other staff under their administrative control are the Village Level Workers and the stock-men of the Animal Husbandry Department, vaccinators, field-men, drivers, etc. The Samitis exercise these powers through their Administrative and Finance Committees. The Pradhan of the Samiti sends his comments about the work of Vikas Adhikari to the Collector. The other responsibilities of the Panchayat Samitis are connected mainly with extension work such as distribution of fertilizers and seeds, selection of demonstration plots etc. The Samiti distributes Taccavi (for wells, pumping sets and for diary cattle), cement and also G.C. sheets when these are available. What gives the Samiti its prestige is this power of distribution of these items. Funds for Local Development works are also distributed by the Panchayat Samiti to various Panchayats, and the engineering overseer of the Samiti gives technical guidance and completion report of these works. Construction and maintenance of irrigation works costing not more than Rs. 25,000 have also been included in the schedule of functions of Panchayat Samitis. In addition to these Panchayat

Samitis have also been given a large number of supervisory duties in connection with Health, Sanitation, Social, Education, Animal Husbandry, etc. It will be seen that formerly either there was nobody to perform these duties or these were looked after by the petty officials of various departments. No Head of Department has lost any administrative control over any of the Extension Officers and they can transfer them as they like. For the transfer of the Vikas Adhikari and the Extension Officers, however, it is necessary under the law, to consult the Pradhan of the Panchayat Samiti.

The Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act designates the Collector as the District Development Officer but lays down his duties as Collector and as District Development Officer in separate sections of the Act. As District Development Officer his main functions are:

“59 (b) to co-ordinate the work of various development departments of the State Government at the district level.

(c) To examine that the amounts placed at the disposal of a Panchayat Samiti are being properly utilized for the purposes for which they are earmarked, that the minimum standards of service are maintained in institutions run by Panchayat Samitis in the district and that the Vikas Adhikari and his team are fully playing their role as extension staff.

(d) to make a report to the Zilla Parishad as to all matters embodied in clauses (a), (b) and (c).”

It will be seen that powers under Section 59(c) are very wide indeed. This gives the District Development Officer complete inspecting and supervisory powers over the Samiti.

The duties of the Collector as collector are mainly connected with recovery and repayment of loans advanced by the State Government to the Panchayat Samitis. He assists the Panchayats and the Panchayat Samitis in the early recovery of their dues on account of taxes and loans. The Act also gives the Collector power:

“69 (d) to watch and report to the State Government as to whether priorities fixed in the plans are being adhered to and the general pattern of work is in conformity with the policies laid down by the State Government or by the Central Government.”

The Collector has also complete powers of entry into and inspection of any immovable property or institution under the control of the

Panchayat Samiti including any records, registers or other documents maintained therein. The Act thus makes doubly sure that Collector will have no excuse to say that he lacked the necessary powers if he failed to take action when any Panchayat Samiti did not function properly. The Collector is also required to examine the budgets of the Panchayat Samitis before they are presented to the Zilla Parishad. In short, the Collectors continue to function as eyes and ears of the Government in respect of the Panchayati Raj system. Though the Zilla Pramukh is elected, he has practically no executive function. The Pradhans of the Panchayat Samitis do not always go to him for help. The Pramukh is influential with the Pradhans to the extent he has approach to the Government or has effective relations with local officials because of his personality and desire for public service. The Pradhans know that if they have any temporary shortage of cement or diesel oil in their areas, it is the Collector who can probably help. For other matters also, such as, transfer of an undesirable Extension Officer or a Patwari, they come directly to the Collector. It becomes a very delicate job for the Collector to see that the Pramukh does not feel neglected, but if mutual confidence is developed, development work does get a new momentum.

The relations of the Collector with the Pradhans of the Panchayat Samitis are on the other hand easy and friendly. Since they are confident of their own authority, the Collector can talk to them on equal terms. If a Pradhan comes to meet the Collector, he can always chide the Pradhan by citing the performance figures of a neighbouring Pradhan. This puts him in a competitive mood. Again, since a Pradhan is almost always moving about in his area it is very easy to find out the crop conditions or the local reactions to Government policies by having a talk with the Pradhan. On the whole the system has worked well. The experience has been that a very large majority of the Pradhans have really good qualities of leadership and things are bound to improve in future.

For staff assistance to the Collector for development work, there is a Deputy District Development Officer who is also Secretary of the Zilla Parishad. The detailed inspection of the Panchayat Samitis is done by the Deputy District Development Officer. Enquiries are sometimes ordered by the State Government against erring Pradhans or Sarpanchas. In such cases the Additional Collector or the S.D.Os. respectively are appointed inquiring officers. The report is sent to the State Government who, if they so decide, may remove the Pradhan after consulting the Zilla Parishad. The Zilla Parishads have to give their views within 30 days.

There was practically no development work for the Collector prior to 1952. None of the duties and powers of the Collector which he traditionally exercised have been taken away by the Panchayati Raj institutions. To the extent the Collector helps, guides and inspects this new machinery of development, his powers and duties have increased. As supervisor and overseer of these democratic institutions on behalf of the State Government his role is almost that of a patron. All this becomes clear when the Collector himself attends a meeting of a Panchayat Samiti and the whole agenda goes overboard, for the members are eager to hear the suggestions and have guidance of the Collector or put forth their own problems before him.

One criticism of the Panchayat Samiti that one persistently hears is that nowadays loans and subsidies go, not on the basis of need or utility, but on party or caste basis. To some extent this criticism is based on facts but the misuse of power in this manner is not very widespread. One has also to remember that when loans and taccavi used to pass through official channel, in many cases the actual amount that reached the cultivators was much less than the amount shown in the Tehsil records. Not even the most vigilant Collector has ever been able to stop corruption at that level.

#### THE FUTURE

What of the future? Already the atmosphere is changing. Instead of the usual cringing type of officials in the villages, the Collectors now meet community leaders who are conscious of their position and responsibility. People have got the taste of political life and power and there is no going back now. The question is how soon more powers should be given to the Samitis. Just as the most pleasant job is at present the distribution of loans, the most unpleasant job is collecting their repayment and taxes. The most difficult test that the Panchayati Raj will face, therefore, is when tax collecting powers are passed on to them. Then would gradually come some of the regulatory powers. If there is still a Collector then, he would only be a watch-dog of the State Government to take over the functions of the Samitis in emergencies, somewhat as the Governor now takes over the functions of the State Government.

Like the post of Collector, the post of Divisional Commissioner was a new thing in Rajasthan. Immediately after integration in 1949, five Commissioners were posted at five Divisional Headquarters. They were expected to inspect the Collectorates and the Tehsils and consolidate the various periodical reports such as the Annual Administration Report, report on the working of the Arms Act, the Police

Administration report, etc. They had powers of transferring Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars within their divisions. They could sanction journeys outside the State and had similar other administrative powers. The Government, by an order, dated 16th May, 1961, abolished the post of Commissioners. Their functions were mostly passed on to the Collectors, except that the power of inspection of the Collectorates was now given to the Board of Revenue. On the whole, except for the persons concerned, nobody noticed the abolition. (Last year a post of Border Commissioner was created. His jurisdiction is over the Indo-Pakistan Border in Rajasthan and his functions are related to the problems peculiar to the borders.)


In short, the Collectors in Rajasthan both in theory and practice deal with the Government directly. The Chief Secretary summons six monthly meetings of the Collectors of each region to discuss problems. The Board of Revenue no doubt exists, but the Collectors generally treat the Board as one of the many heads of departments. In fact, except when dealing with transfer, posting of or enquiry against a Tehsildar, the Collector rarely writes himself to the Board. Collectors, however, send to the Board regularly the demand and collection statement, rainfall figures and other such statements connected with land revenue.

The status of the Collector has been built up in the State during the last sixteen years. So far as the citizens are concerned they know him now to be the representative of the Government. The same may not be true of the various heads of Government departments. Most of them have their own representative in the districts and like to deal with them directly, without very often caring to keep the Collector informed.

Collectors attend office from 9 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. Some of them have fixed hours for meeting visitors but most of them see the visitors any time during office hours. Access to the Collector is easy throughout the State. Most of the visitors are villagers who have a grievance against the Patwari or the Tehsildar or have some complaint against neighbours. About half the visitors can get redress only from a law court, but they think that the all powerful Collector can set things right himself. It becomes difficult to explain to them the legal position but a word of sympathy certainly cheers them up.

The workload of the Collector is very unevenly distributed in the State. Some of the districts are large and unwieldy. For instance there are 15 Tehsils and 17 Panchayat Samitis in Jaipur District. Besides, Jaipur City, with a large industrial labour and middle class population, is itself a big charge. Similarly Kota, which is also an

industrial city, has 12 Tehsils and 11 Panchayat Samitis. On the other hand some districts are quite small and manageable, like Bundi with 4 Tehsils and 4 Panchayat Samitis. The State Government is trying to provide more staff assistance to the Collectors, specially in the larger districts. There is no move yet for the creation of a separate District Development Officer, as has been done in some other States. The Collectors have been relieved practically of all their court work and do a few cases only to keep in touch with the revenue laws. Also their routine duties are now handled by the Additional District Magistrates and other magistrates attached to the District Magistrate. There is a large scale delegation of powers. Even so, in order to effectively supervise and keep control over the affairs of the district the Collector has to do a lot of work himself. Invariably, some of the sections in the office of the Collector are neglected because with the limited time available to him, the Collector concentrates on those portions of his work in which he finds special interest. The duties and functions of the Collector have a fascinating variety. They increase or decrease with developing administrative situations and political conditions. This in itself provides a challenge and avenue for self-fulfilment.



## UTTAR PRADESH

**T**HE title of this article implies that the role and the functions of a District Collector have been changing from time to time. This is true but in the centre of the change there is a fixity, and in order to evaluate the position and functions of the Collector of a district in Uttar Pradesh in the Nineteen Sixties it is necessary to examine both aspects of the matter, that is to what extent his functions and position have undergone a change and to what extent they remain as they were. This exercise invites a comparison with his forbears in previous decades.

If John Simple, who was Collector of a U.P. district in the Thirties, came and visited a Collector of U.P. district in the Sixties and spent some time with him, the first impression he would get would be of a vast change which will intrigue and even confuse him. He will notice a large number of visitors and of different types than he was used to. He will also notice that visitors keep no time. It is the Collector who has to adjust his daily routine to suit the convenience of his visitors. And if John Simple sat with the Collector during interviews, he might get the impression that the Collector of these days has wider and larger individual contacts, while in John Simple's days general contact with the public, and particularly with the public in rural areas, was preferred and individual contacts were kept to the minimum. And listening to the conversation at the interviews John Simple may find that the Collector has a large number of individual visitors who were seeking their own interest and that the points raised were very limited and personal and at times John Simple may even think that the Collector was busy appeasing a few influential individuals rather than discussing general policy matters. He will also be struck by the way visitors put up their cases. In John Simple's days the visitors put their cases in a polite, almost submissive and apologetic way and left the decision to the Collector. These days points are put forward aggressively and hints may be dropped that if the decision is not given in favour of the person making the point, he would consider that justice had not been done.

The second point John Simple would notice would be the attendance of the Collector at a very large number of meetings of numerous committees. The number and functions of these committees

would bring vividly to the notice of John Simple the great extension of the field in which the District Officer now operates. These committees would reveal the widening and deepening of the area of district administration today. Some of these meetings are concerned with the regulatory matters like price control, rationing of foodgrains, licensing, issue of permits and the exercise of various controls and regulations which cover quite a large field of ordinary citizen's life. John Simple was used in his time to leave these things to the natural play of economic forces and to the resources of the individuals. Today the Collector is the regulator of the life of the citizens over a vast field. If a citizen wants to celebrate a simple ceremony connected with a child's *sanskar*, he must get a permit for sugar from the District Collector; if he wants to repair his house, not to speak of building a new one, he must take Collector's permission to buy cement; even if he wants to give a feast at his own expense, he must ask the Collector before inviting a number of guests larger than that prescribed. These regulatory functions were almost unknown in the Thirties. They became a feature of administration in the Nineteen Forties owing to the War but have since then continued owing to shortages.

The Collector today rations big populations in towns, provisions them in several ways and regulates their life in a dozen ways.

But some other committees, John Simple would notice, are concerned with what is called development. John Simple had seen the seed of this when late in the Thirties the Rural Development Department was established. But it has now expanded and grown in complexities and scope and has been re-organized. If asked what were the main functions of the District Collector, John Simple would have replied in his days without hesitation: Maintenance of law and order so as to enable the citizens to go about their daily routine in peace and freedom; to look after the revenue administration and to collect taxes promptly in order to provide revenue to the State and also to maintain correctly and up-to-date the land records in which are contained the rights of the millions in rural areas to their land and to look after the rural people when natural calamities visited them; and to dispose of justly, impartially and expeditiously revenue and criminal cases. Today, while these functions remain, the place of pride is taken by development work. John Simple would find the Collector in the Sixties a less relaxed man than John Simple himself used to be, but if he had an opportunity of an evening chat with the Collector, he could easily get a picture of the developmental set-up and the place therein of the Collector. The Collector today is responsible for achieving economic and social goals and, therefore, his functions have become as large as life itself. It is not as if John Simple was not interested in

these aspects but that was in a pioneering way. John Simple himself organized a flower show, was president of the district club which he visited pretty often, helped in setting up rifle clubs, organized various kinds of exhibitions, helped in organizing local charities, promoted education and public health and hygiene, organized sports and took part in them. He also promoted better agriculture, advanced loans for digging of wells, for buying of bulls and agricultural implements, inspected Village Panchayats and schools and in a number of ways promoted social welfare of the people in his charge. His wife organized maternity shows and sometimes Purdah clubs. She also distributed medicines when camping with her husband in the rural areas and indeed sometimes performed other health services as she was closely associated with the local Red Cross. Some rural dispensaries were opened in her name and she ran the Dufferin Hospital at the district headquarters. Nevertheless John Simple could not have the idea of the present day Collector's developmental activities until he sat at various committees and toured with the Collector in rural areas.

While the Collector is responsible for increase in agricultural production, for setting up rural industries, for reclaiming *Usar* land and conserving soil, for promoting fishery and poultry and while he is specially charged with the welfare of the backward castes and tribes and women and is generally expected to promote all developmental activities of various departments, the developmental organizational set-up is, more or less, entirely non-official, consisting of the representatives of the people. The Collector is neither Chairman of the Zilla Parishad nor is its member, nor he has any worthwhile powers over the Zilla Parishad or the Kshetra Samitis (Panchayat Samitis or Panchayat Unions). The Zilla Parishad consists of the Pramukhs of the Kshetra Samitis and some other persons with an elected Chairman. District level officials of the development departments of the Government have been deputed to the Zilla Parishad to carry out in an integrated and co-ordinated manner development work under the aegis of the Zilla Parishad; they are headed by an official called the District Planning Officer. Similarly, at the block level the Block Development Officer with his assistants has been placed on the staff of the Kshetra Samiti which consists of elected members with an elected Chairman. The organization at Gaon Sabha level is simpler; it is also an elected body with an elected Pradhan. The Panchayati Raj consisting of elected representatives of the people and organized at three levels and assisted by Government officials deputed to them is charged with the task of development and making the country prosperous through increased production in various fields. The philosophy was and is that such a tremendous task of raising the country from

poverty to prosperity can be performed only by the people themselves and not by a few officials. People are aware of their felt needs; they are in the best position to frame their plans and to implement them and to know their results and to correct irregularities and remove irrelevancies, rectify mistakes and progress developmental activities along right lines.

On such a theory and such an organization, it seems inexplicable, on the face of it, as to why the Collector's functions and importance should increase. Many people held the view that an all-purposes officer like the Collector was suitable only for a bureaucratic type of administration but would not fit in with a democratic organization where the people's representatives at various levels would be sitting and debating and deciding, where the problems to be dealt with will be economic and social and where even various Government departments would be functioning under their own political heads. What is the explanation that this opinion has not turned out to be true and the Collector's functions have expanded rather than contracted and his role in the developmental field over-shadows his role even in the basic functions of Government. This development also contradicts the obvious view that as the people's representatives take on more work to themselves, assume more functions and responsibilities, to that extent the Collector's position will become less prominent and indeed he would, in due course, fade away. The fact of the matter is that whatever may be the set-up, function and power belong to those who can wield power and discharge functions. While there are some excellent people in the people's organizations, well-intentioned and able to achieve, yet no organization, whether at the district or the block or the village level, can rival the effectiveness of the District Collector. He is the pivot and pillar of administration and to the administration still attaches in this country considerable prestige. The Collector also stands out above parties and away from them and the general people still look up to him for an impartial and just decision. He has also a faithful band of officials trained in the art of administration and, what is more, subject to strict official discipline. He is their chief and when he commands them into action it makes a stir. The Collector still represents the unified administration in a district, is directly in touch with Government departments in the Secretariat, is consulted by Government in all controversial matters; he has the resources of the Revenue staff and the district police at his disposal. He, therefore, has the sources of power which he can effectively use. This is the explanation of his position today; a job has to be done. The job is pressing and it has to be done urgently; the man, therefore, who can do it will do it. Indeed the representatives of the people

themselves look up to him for guidance and support. Today the test of a District Officer is whether he can draw out the co-operation of the people. To guide the representatives of the people in the art of the administration, to hold balance between the various parties wherever necessary, to adjudicate and to activate the implementation machinery have become the main functions of the Collector today. The people in rural areas still look up to him for receiving justice and sympathy, detached and impartial decisions, and even though sometimes voices are raised that the district official was suborned or weak, by and large the picture of a District Officer as an impartial adjudicator at the district level for redress of grievances remains untarnished.

The Collector of a district in Uttar Pradesh in Nineteen Sixties is well supported by the Government and his seniors. Doubtless he is no longer the only ear and eye of the Government. There are other eyes and ears. But there are differences between eyes and eyes and ears and ears and the Government often consults the Collector to find out the correct position or the correct decision when rival and partisan forces are at work whether at the district level or at the State Headquarters. In any case, there may be other eyes and ears but the hands of the Government are still the district executive machinery and the Government is interested in keeping its hands strong and effective. The Government relies on the District Officer for presenting them an unbiased picture of the district and the Government is also aware that the district administration has to carry out many unpleasant but necessary duties in the process of which it is apt to annoy powerful influences against which the district administration should be protected. Sometimes rival and partisan forces negate each other and by this simple process the Collector emerges supreme. John Simple would, therefore, feel re-assured to see this even though he may take some time to find this out.

## II

John Simple would also notice that the Collector deals with a bigger dak and if he were permitted by the Collector of the Sixties to read the papers, John Simple would be struck by a large number of enquiries which the Collector scrutinizes. After John Simple left the service, a significant development happened in the matter of public complaints. The public were invited to lodge complaints against officials in the belief that there was much to be complained against—but the public was too frightened to do so—and in the hope that honest and genuine complaints will pour in, providing a basis for action which will cleanse the administration. Every mode of human activity is diverted to ends

and purposes other than those for which it is devised and it is not only the genuine complainants who came forward but blackmailers who wanted to suborn the district executive officers to their will by harassing them by false complaints. The filing of these complaints and enquiries that followed considerably shook and demoralized the officials. The honest and the good were more demoralized, for they could hardly relish the loss of dignity involved in an enquiry even though ultimately the accused may be acquitted. The number of anonymous and pseudonymous applications multiplied. The techniques of weaving true facts into false stories developed into a fine art and the Government got concerned. First, the Department of Complaints was abolished, then orders were issued that anonymous and pseudonymous complaints should not be entertained. The threat of the blackmailers and suborners was during the later Forties and early Fifties but the Collector of the Sixties is comparatively better off in this respect. The blackmailers and suborners have been fully exposed for they over-reached themselves. The emphasis now is on the principle that an honest, effective officer is not mutilated in search of a dishonest officer. The District Collector has survived a difficult period in this respect and is now comparatively in a comfortable position, even though he is subjected at local levels sometimes to undue influences. But this is an exception rather than the rule. To John Simple the present position would not seem very satisfactory but doubtless on further reflection he would understand that in a democratic set-up you cannot stop complaints and assertions by people. All that you can do is to ensure at Government level protection of the honest, upright and effective officer. District officials' protection is in their own hands, namely in straight-forward and honest work.

Looking at other papers John Simple would still recognize the territories known to him then, though they have expanded and thrown up new features, some hills and other valleys. He would miss his beloved Court of Wards. But he will find that the range and complexities of district administration have tremendously increased. This tremendous increase is merely a reflection of the increase in the functions of the Government itself. All Government policies are executed at the district level by the District Officer and as the functions of Government have increased by taking on more regulatory and developmental functions so has the field of district administration at the district level increased. In John Simple's times the function of the State was an enabling one, holding the ring, promoting basic activities in various fields and enabling the ordinary citizen to promote his interests, to engage in business, to make profit and loss, to increase his produce and to improve his well-being etc. In the Sixties the functions of the State have become positive.

The State runs industries, actively intervenes in labour affairs; the programmes of *Usar* reclamation and soil conservation and promotion of fishery and poultry have been planned on a very big scale. Even welfare activities are being promoted by the State. The State is actively involved in the promotion of sports and even cultural activities. The State has become as large as life. The responsibilities of the Collector as the Government's representative at the district level, have therefore, expanded accordingly. But apart from increase in his own work, he has also to oversee, promote and co-ordinate the work of other departments in a way in which this was not done in John Simple's time. District level officials of various departments are subordinate to him today in a way that was not in the Thirties. He writes the character rolls of all these officials, encourages and guides them and also, when occasion arises, reprimands them. The Collector today is primarily charged with the task of increasing agricultural production. In this field he works with the representatives of the people and people's institutions on the one hand and officials of the various departments on the other. He has also to see that the various schemes of Government are well planned, well executed and there is no wastage of money. He inspects the work of all and when occasion demands enquires into the conduct of the officials and the non-officials and reports to Government. The statutory portion of the Collector in this respect is neither well-defined nor well established, but he works more through influence than through statutory powers. His strength is that he is consulted and trusted by the Government and is trusted and respected by the general public. He is in constant touch with the people and with facts. Even the development department in its executive sphere works through officials of whom the Collector is the chief and the officials look up to the Collector not only for guidance and encouragement in executing their duties but also for protection. Besides, the Collector is the Chairman of a number of advisory committees.

All this has made the Collector somewhat of a public leader also. Indeed this aspect has been recongnized by Government by providing the services of one or two District Information Officers. They are constantly putting out to the public through the press and the pamphlets and through various visual and auditory channels the welfare and development work done in the district and also other aspects of district administration. Today the Collector works not so much by merely giving decisions as by explaining them all the time. There is need to explain all the time and this development would make John Simple somewhat impatient for he was taught to do the right thing and not to explain or apologize. The picture of the district administration, as

it has emerged now, is one where official and public aspects of administration merge, where not only decisions are given but also explained, where not only general contact with the public is maintained but also individual contacts are cultivated or are forced upon, where more and more problems are referred to the Collector and solutions expected of him. John Simple would, however, see that the seed of this was always there because even in the Thirties it was a common saying "When in doubt go to the Collector. When you have no place to stay, stay with him". But John Simple would definitely carry the impression that district today was over-administered.

John Simple will notice that elections now are more frequent, and a bigger affair. The Collector of the Sixties is all the time either planning or preparing or carrying out elections for one body or the other. This not only means tremendous work but confronts the Collector with one of the most difficult and delicate jobs giving rise to all kinds of complaints and the Collector all the time explaining and defending.

John Simple would very much like to know something about tours of the District Officer for he would get an impression that the District Officer of today is more tied to his desk than John Simple was. This is true in a way but those District Officers who are keen on touring still do it. It is not as if touring has gone into disuse even though tentage and horse have. District Officers in Uttar Pradesh tour fairly well and do a good job on tour for they look to the basic revenue and police administration, and also to the impact of development plans on the people in rural areas. There they come to know the general reputation for honesty and efficiency of officials of the various departments; they come to know what people think of governmental activities, particularly in the development field; they have an opportunity to verify where the resources mobilized for agricultural production have gone and to what use they have been put; on tour they can find out from the man himself what his views are about Government policies, what are his priorities and what is important to him. They can see progress of various departmental schemes, like reclamation of *Usar* and soil conservation. Most important, they can find out whether the schemes are being so run as to make the expenditure thereon worth-while or they are merely white elephants damaging general economy. Practical difficulties on the spot can be found and resolved or brought to the notice of the Government. On tour the Collectors inspect the Tahsils and Thanas and a number of Government institutions, organizations, works and projects, John Simple will notice some changes. He would first see that the *abadi* (residence) of the Patwaris in their charges,

on which he was so keen, is not strictly enforced now and quite a number of Parwaris are *ghair-abad*. He would also notice that there is not paid that detailed attention to the Patwaris' records as was in the past and that there is increase in the collection of statistics and figures even though they are not very reliable. But John Simple would recollect that in his time also he held the view that statistics and figures were not very reliable and that the best thing was to trust one's ears and eyes.

John Simple would also notice the absence of the landed gentry and the courtesy calls of the Zamindars, dressed in colourful clothes and sometimes carrying a sword. In their place he will find a number of visitors drawn from the masses of the people, Pradhans, members of the Block Committees and Zilla Parishad, representatives of the people, new local leaders, etc. He will observe that the Collector holds a larger and bigger number of meetings of villagers than in the Thirties and the women participate in large numbers. The Collector still holds successful meetings and is listened to respectfully. People of various political parties like to speak from his platform. The District Officer is still looked upon by the common village-folk as the embodiment of governmental authority and the head of the officialdom at the district level. They still put to the Collector on tour their difficulties in an honest and sincere way in the faith that they will get redress. John Simple, however, would also notice a number of individuals who meet the Collector seeking their own interest and sometimes not averse to trying to suborn the Collector to their way. As a matter of fact, the points of contact of the Collector with the villagers have increased in the Sixties owing to the implementation of the Community Development Programme in the villages. The villager now speaks to the Collector not only about revenue and police matters and general administration as in the past but also concerning the whole range of Community Development schemes. Here he has much to say and the Collector has much to listen to and much to do. It is satisfying that the relationship between the Collector and the villagers has deepened and widened. John Simple would be quick to notice that the villager now stands more erect than before and there is an element of demand in what he says rather than entreaty. He has become more assertive and the District Officer no longer works at and for a passive population but rather explains and satisfies the demands of an awakened peasantry no longer under the restrictive discipline of the local zamindars. The villager, however, still needs the protection of the district officials for the trouble now comes from a less responsible element, namely the village bullies.

John Simple would, however, miss the *Shikar* and notice that the Collector does not relax so much as in his days nor engages into

physical exercises like the *Shikar* or horse-riding. In John Simple's time it was both "On Parade" and "Off Parade", but now it is only "On Parade".

### III

John Simple would hear much about the establishment of the Welfare State in Uttar Pradesh, indeed in India, and will be a bit intrigued about it, as he will neither find a system of universal old-age pension nor free and compulsory education up to the age of 16, nor unemployment allowances nor full employment; he will also not find free medical services of a high order nor free dentistry, free provision of spectacles, nor free provision of vitamins. In 1947 it was often said that the Police State was ended and the Welfare State had come. In this was involved a double misconception. The Police State cannot be abolished, it must always remain; indeed the Welfare State is a super-structure built on the Police State; the super-structure would collapse if the foundation disappeared. Also a Welfare State is not established by a declaration. What happened in 1947 was that the objective was defined as a Welfare State and developmental activities were started in order to find the wherewithals with which to establish the Welfare State. If intentions were horses, everyone would ride. We are still in the process of producing and assembling the wherewithals through increased production of every commodity including food and consumer goods in order to bring about the Welfare State. At present we are in the midst of a developmental state in which the State machinery is actively sponsoring and promoting economic activities through the public sector. The Government has assumed many responsibilities in the economic and industrial field and these duties and functions are reflected in some way or the other at the district level and the District Officer is involved in them.

These developmental functions loom large in public view but they have not taken away from the Collector his basic responsibilities nor divested him of basic administrative duties. The basic structure of district administration remains unaltered; and even when it has undergone some changes, there has been no break from the past; the changes have a continuity about them. Indeed there has been a renewed emphasis on maintaining law and order and public peace and on collection of taxes. The Board of Revenue has re-emphasized the need of keeping the accounts in good order and improving the quality of land records. For some time law and order, collection of taxes, maintenance of records and disposal of cases were taken for granted. This attitude resulted in neglect of these subjects with the result that

conditions deteriorated in these fields of administration. The role of the District Magistrate of late has again emerged prominent and he is today armed with more legal powers than his predecessor. John Simple will be quick to notice this. Collectors are busy improving land revenue and taccavi accounts; arrears of taxes have mounted up and from time to time Collectors are reminded to justify their designation of Collector by quickly collecting the arrears. Government and Commissioners of Divisions have reminded the Collector of the importance of looking to routine Revenue administration. The old values have been re-emphasized and in this field of basic administrative duties, the work of the Collector is now heavier and more difficult owing to democratic pressures.

John Simple would notice that the District Magistrate is armed with more legal powers and is, therefore, more powerful and that the collector has become bigger than he was in his times. He has become a direct Collector of taxes employing an army of petty revenue Collectors and collecting taxes directly from the cultivators, without the intervention of Lambardars as in the days of John Simple. As a representative of the Government in the district also the Collector's personality has expanded. These days he writes to Government more often and hears from them from often. He comes in touch with more V.I.Ps. and more frequently than John Simple did; and he is consulted on a larger number of subjects, over a wider field than Government consulted John Simple. Thus as a District Magistrate, as a Collector and as a representative of the Government, the District Officer of the Sixties is bigger than he was in the Thirties.

#### IV

Seeing all this, the question that would arise in the mind of John Simple would be how does the Collector of a district in the Nineteen Sixties manage to discharge all these duties and responsibilities. There are two answers: First, the Collector has been either relieve of some of his former duties or has ceased to take interest in some of them under the influence of changed conditions. Secondly, he is now assisted by a much bigger staff than in the Thirties. To take the first point first. The District Officer these days practically does no case work, neither original nor appellate, neither revenue nor criminal. He remains the head of the criminal administration of the district with control over the police and the Sub-divisional Magistrates and exercises powers under the Cr.P.C. and other extraordinary criminal laws, but as regards the Criminal and Revenue case work, this has been transferred to an Additional District Magistrate called A.D.M. (Judicial) who

has under him a number of Judicial Officers with revenue and magisterial powers. All the cases under the I.P.C. and all the cases under Rent and Revenue Laws are now disposed of by this body of Judicial Officers. This body functions directly under the administrative control of the Commissioner of the Division. These Officers are still available to the Collector for ordinary magisterial duties in times of emergency or on festivals, etc. The Sub-divisional Magistrates and Sub-divisional Officers function under the District Magistrate and the Collector but they mostly deal with cases under the Cr. P.C. and under some miscellaneous Criminal Acts and with Revenue cases under the Land Revenue Act and some other miscellaneous Revenue Acts.

The taking away of the case work from the District Officer has been a great blow to his position in the sense that now he does not know what is happening in a most important field of administration. He does not come to know how the Courts administering justice between parties are functioning, whether records are being promptly sent to courts, whether witnesses are produced and examined on days fixed and whether effect to decisions is given in records quickly. Administration of justice has a great impact on public life and by doing cases the Collector came to know many things concerning the life of the people and also the work and worth of the subordinate judicial officials. He is now deprived of this experience. The junior magistrate of the I.A.S. and P.C.S. have greatly suffered from this development. Particularly in the old days the junior officers of the All-India Service during their first five years did a lot of revenue and criminal case work, which gave them a very good training in the matter of weighing evidence and giving decisions; it gave them a good insight into the life of the people; it improved their personality, made their minds sharp and alert, engendered a spirit of listening to and following arguments; their minds were sharpened by the impact of facts and laws and they acquired a habit of hard work. All this training is gone. Dealing with cases and applications under the Land Revenue Act and miscellaneous Criminal cases is no substitute for the old training.

In the changed circumstances the Collectors occupy themselves less with Municipal Boards and Notified Areas, etc. than they did in the past.

To come to the second point of staffing. Here John Simple would see a tremendous change. Let us take two districts, Kanpur and Fatehpur. The position regarding the strength of officers (including Judicial Officers) on the staff of the Collector at Kanpur and at Fatehpur is as follows :

<i>Kanpur</i>		<i>Fatehpur</i>		
	<i>Joint Magistrates &amp; Deputy Collectors</i>	<i>Judicial Officers</i>	<i>Deputy Collectors</i>	<i>Judicial Officers</i>
1965	19	11	7	3
1935	12	x	7	x
1925	11	x	7	x
1915	11	x	4	x
1905	6	x	3	x

The table above will show the tremendous increase in the district staff that has taken place recently. This has necessarily the effect of changing methods of work on the part of the Collector. He does less original work now than before. He more and more concentrates on making others work and on guiding and supervising them. The clerical staff of his office has also increased and the number of officials in the Tahsils has increased greatly, partly because of the method of direct collection of land revenue. The Collector in the Sixties cannot, therefore, minutely go into the inspection notes of the Supervison Kanungos or examine the Patwari records and Jinswars as meticulously as his forebears did thirty years ago; nor does he find time to devote enough attention to the scrutiny of statements showing disposal of cases by various courts. This used to be one of the big pre-occupations of his forebears thirty years ago. He also cannot find time to scrutinize in detail the various annual reports and other statements. He cannot go through many items of work as thoroughly as he would like and has necessarily to leave the administration of many matters to his subordinates. He cannot even find time to follow up the progress of various matters entrusted to the care of his subordinates.

It might be true in a sense to say that the District Officer in the Sixties tends to do less of original work and pays less attention to details of administration and to inspections but spends more of his time on making a large number of subordinates work, supervising their work in a general way, co-ordinating and integrating it, building up personnel at various levels, deciding plans and policies, smoothing up difficulties, seeking co-operation and participation of the people in various schemes in which this is very necessary, keeping up constant relationship with the public and looking to those aspects of the administration which brook no delay and which for some reason or the other must be dealt with at

his level. Owing to force of changed circumstances sometimes he has to deal with certain matters of comparative unimportance at his level and leave other matters of basic importance to his subordinates. Today if he has to succeed, he must be a hard task master and must be a good leader of a large number of officials on his staff and a larger number of officials indirectly associated with him. He has also to be a leader, to some extent, of the non-officials, particularly public workers and public representatives. He has to draw upon their energies, interest and resources not only to make developmental schemes successful but also to make administrative decisions acceptable to the people at large. The increase in the work of the District Officer is partly due to the fact that he has now to function under parliamentary system of Government where there is rigorous public accountability for everything done. But apart from this, administrative decisions have to be explained at various levels not only to the representatives of the people and their organizations but also to the individuals. Thus the face of the District Magistrate is not the same as in the Thirties though the face is of the same man.

The size of a district makes no difference to the functions, duties and role of the Collector. Mirzapur district has the biggest area of 4,263.4 sq. miles with a population of 12,49,653 (1961 Census) and Meerut district has the largest population of 27,12,960 with an area of 2,322.9 sq. miles. Rampur district has the smallest area of 916.7 sq. miles with a population of 7,01,537 and Uttar Kashi has the smallest population of 1,22,836 (1961 Census). But these figures do not indicate much because a large area of a district may be uncultivated or under forest and mere population need not indicate the complexities or difficulties of administration. Some districts are difficult because of problems connected with natural calamities, floods, draught, and famine which are their regular features; other districts are difficult because of political reasons; some other districts have special problems of labour or ordinary crime and yet other districts have special schemes which require special attention. The nature of the work in a district remains basically the same and bigger the district bigger the staff. The Collector's position, however, is the same in every district. Thus a picture of the District Collector of a U.P. district in the Nineteen Sixties emerges somewhat as follows: His basic functions remain all the same, indeed in some ways they have become bigger and more complex. Thus John Simple would see that it is not only the label on the bottle which remains the same but much of the wine inside remains the same as in his days. The quality and the flavour have changed only slightly with the passage of time. But on these basic duties are super-imposed several other duties which result from the assumption by Government of many new

functions, secondly, from a parliamentary system of Government, thirdly, from a greater association of the public with administration at the district level and, fourthly, from the adoption of the scheme of planned development. The Collector still remains in the centre of things at the district level, wielding considerable powers and influence. Generalizations are misleading but it might be stated that as compared to a Collector in the Thirties the Collector in the Sixties has more powers, though less prestige. The Collector in the Thirties had less legal powers but more prestige. The Collector in the Sixties does not possess "iqbal" as he is not an agent of an Imperial Ruling Power but he possesses something else which can be more potent weapon in his hand. He has power to influence people in his district and, therefore, he gathers considerable authority to carry through various schemes. The Collector remains the kingpin of district administration today as in the past and indeed as in the past so at present no civil servant has so many opportunities over such a wide field as the Collector of a district has to serve the people in his charge. And John Simple would find another thing in common, that is the Collector neither gets nor expects any reward or decoration. As in the days of John Simple so today, the greatest reward of the Collector is when people in his district identify themselves and their interests with him and call him "Hamara Collector".

## V

The Collector of a district was firmly established for a long time as the chief administrator of a district but immediately after 1947 his position became somewhat difficult. There was a feeling that in the past the Collector had been unresponsive to public feelings and views, that he did not maintain contacts with people and that all that he was doing was sitting away and giving decisions in a detached and impartial manner. He was not emotionally involved with the hopes of the people and that the Collector should be associated with a number of bodies set up at the district level and consisting of the representatives of the people. These bodies should advise the Collector how to exercise his functions in certain fields. While much valuable advice and assistance came, at times the Collector was torn between factions. His functions increased and impinged on public life more and more including trade and commerce. With this, complaints of corruption grew and this made the administration more vulnerable to public criticism and a demand that there should be even more association with public bodies. At this very time the Divisional Commissioners, who had been friends, philosophers and guides of their Collectors and to whom the Collector had turned in difficulties and who had eased out pressures

both at the public and governmental levels and re-inforced the views of the Collector with the Government, were reduced in number and divested of administrative powers. The small number of Divisional Commissioners that remained were virtually judicial officers and no more. This period did not last very long and while advisory committees remained and the emphasis on the Collector and the district administration being responsive to public opinion was maintained, the Collector was given more and more effective powers and many of the local bodies became merely advisory. In the Nineteen Sixties the Collector's position in his district is pretty strong and while he consults the people and various committees, the prevailing picture is that responsibility for taking action rests on him. The Divisional Commissioners have also come back into their old form and from them he seeks guidance and with them he discusses his difficulties. As a matter of fact, the relations of the District Collector with his Divisional Commissioner are today closer than at any time in the past. The Commissioner of the Division co-ordinates and pushes forward all developmental work at the divisional level, and all his authority and powers in this connection are available to his Collectors. He also visits the districts more frequently than he did thirty years ago and the opportunities which offer to the Collector to seek his advice and assistance are many more now than in the past.

The interesting question that arises in this connection is whether the District Collector is to be a permanent feature of the Indian administration or he should fade out in due course, yielding place to a network of representative bodies of the people who would effectively and impartially discharge various administrative functions and public business which today are the concern of the District Collector. Everyone would wish that some time or the other the people should manage their own affairs and these be not left to a single officer of the type of the District Officer. If the Panchayati Raj becomes a success, it should logically lead to the gradual fading away of the District Officer. As people's representatives gather experience in the art of administration, they would displace the District Collector, who however efficient and impartial is not an elected person, even though he may be responsible to a higher elected body, namely, the State Government. If the democratic set-up is to enlarge itself in order to comprehend the various levels of administration, then the Collector must go. On the other hand, if the Panchayati Raj fails and the people responsible for running it prove inadequate to discharge the duties and responsibilities entrusted to them, then it is likely that the District Collector will remain firm in his position, for stability and effectiveness are the indispensable needs of any administration. Let us hope then that the Collector of a U.P. district

in the Sixties is functioning only to efface himself in due course, yielding place to an elected council. But in the meantime let him function well. He is an instrument which has been found suitable for administration whether the instrument is wielded by an Empire or a Republic. In fact he is something more. The Collector is not an individual officer. He is an institution.



“A collector should be to his district what a captain is to a ship: he should possess qualifications of command, control, personal influence, and acquirements of science. If one is fully acquainted with the duties of the ship, from the sweeper to the astronomical calculations of the pilot who directs the course, the other should be equally intimate with the dealings of the lowest ryot and the whole internal management of the village, of the effects likely to be produced upon it by any measure of political economy directed by government. If the ship is safely conducted or the district selentifically ruled, the means or application of labour is scarcely a subject of legislative enactment.”

—*Board of Commissioners for  
Bihar and Benares, 1822.*

## WEST BENGAL

*"Everywhere the same complaint was heard—in the Punjab and the N.W. provinces, as in Madras and Bombay—that the District Officers were not what they were, that their power and their influence have gone from them."*

THE above remark was made by Sir George Campbell who was the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal between 1871 and 1874. He was of the opinion that the District Officers were at that time more the drudges than the masters of the various departments functioning in the district, and he took determined measures to make the Magistrate-Collector, of a Bengal district, the real executive chief and administrator of the tract of country committed to him and supreme over every one and everything except the proceedings of the courts of justice. Nearly a hundred years have elapsed since Sir George Campbell was the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and a fresh appraisal of the position of the District Officer has become necessary. The subject has assumed importance with the establishment of a democratic system of Government having as its aims, justice, liberty, equality of status and opportunity and fraternity for all the citizens of the country.

The office of the Magistrate-Collector in a Bengal district was the result of a process of evolution. As is well known, the association of the British with India had its origin in the dealings of the East India Company with the Mughal government. In 1760, the East India Company obtained the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong from Nawab Mir Kashim in satisfaction of certain sums due to the Company and the remaining portion of the Subah of Bengal came under their control with the acquisition of the Dewani in 1765. In the initial stages, the Company was content with the surplus revenue of Bengal after meeting their obligations to the Nawab and the Emperor Shah Alam. It was only in 1770 that the servants of the East India Company designated as Supervisors were appointed in the districts not only to supervise the collection of revenue but to gather detailed information about the districts. In 1772, the designation Supervisor was changed to that of Collector. In the following year, the Collectors were withdrawn from the districts, their place being taken by Indian officers named Diwan or Amil. In 1781, the Collectors were re-posted to the districts.

Meanwhile, Diwani Adalats had been established in 1780 and judges had been placed over them. In 1781, the judges of Mofussil Diwani Adalats were also appointed as magistrates. There were in the district two officers, namely, Collector and the Judge-Magistrate at that time. Some years later, the offices of the Judge-Magistrate and the Collector were combined in one person. In 1793, Lord Cornwallis again separated the offices. The Collector was divested of all judicial and magisterial powers and he was made responsible for the collection of revenue alone. A new post of Judge and Magistrate was created. This arrangement continued till 1829 in which year it was decided to appoint Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit. Each Commissioner was placed in charge of a Division consisting of several districts. He superintended the work of the Collector and the Judge-Magistrate. The Commissioner was also the Sessions Judge in respect of all the districts of his Division. It may be mentioned that the Judge-Magistrate disposed of civil cases only in his capacity of Judge. In 1831, Sessions work was transferred from the Commissioners to the District Judges who made over their magisterial duties to the Collectors. But in 1837 it was decided once more to divide the function of Collectors and the district administration was carried on by a Civil and Sessions Judge, a Collector and a Magistrate. Halliday, who was the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, suggested the combination of the offices of the Magistrate and the Collector and after the suggestion was endorsed by the Secretary of State in 1859, the post of Magistrate and Collector was again revived. The Magistrate-Collectors of the present day can therefore be said to be holding charge of an office which has been in existence for more than a hundred years.

It would thus be seen that the post of Magistrate-Collector was brought into existence by the British Government as a means of efficiently conducting the Government of this country, immediately after the assumption of the responsibility for its governance by the British Crown. The change over from the East India Company to the British Crown meant the taking of more active interest by the rulers in the welfare of the subjects than previously. The aim was to govern more effectively and it was necessary to have an officer in each district who would execute the policies of the Government in all the branches effectively. It was felt that "the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive, and to stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good Government which are apt to spring up where two co-ordinate officers divide the authority". The position of the Magistrate-Collector, as the chief representative of the Government in the district, continued till the end of the British rule.

## II

With the attainment of Independence, no immediate changes were effected in the powers and duties of the Magistrate-Collector. It is to be remembered that the Constitution of India was not enacted till 1950, and hence, there could not have been any question of re-defining the sphere of activity of the Magistrate-Collector immediately after Independence.

The years that followed the enactment of the Constitution did not witness any significant curtailment of the powers so long enjoyed by the Magistrate-Collector. Thus the only curtailment of his powers as a magistrate which is worth mentioning is that he is no longer empowered to hear appeals against the judgments passed by the Magistrate of the Third Class. As the judiciary has not been separated from the executive in West Bengal he still retains complete control over other Magistrates stationed in the district, in terms of the powers vested in him under the Criminal Procedure Code as the District Magistrate. It is he who appoints Prosecutors to conduct important State cases and in cases triable by the Court of Sessions. In terms of the Police Regulation of Bengal, 1943, the District Magistrate is in overall control of the Criminal administration of the district. He still writes the confidential character rolls of not only the Superintendent of Police but also the Additional Superintendent of Police, Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Police and all the Inspectors. As District Magistrate, the Magistrate-Collector administers quite a number of special laws, such as, the Arms Act, etc. He is assisted in the discharge of his duties, at headquarters, by one or more Additional District Magistrates and a number of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates. A district in West Bengal is usually divided into sub-divisions which are placed in charge of Sub-divisional Magistrates who are also styled as Sub-divisional Officers. The Sub-divisional Officers reside at the headquarters stations of the respective sub-divisions and act as representative of the District Magistrate. A Sub-divisional Magistrate and Sub-divisional Officer in his turn is assisted by a number of Gazetted Officers belonging to the State Civil Services. A Sub-division is divided into a number of National Extension Service blocks.

Theoretically, the Collector is still the Chief Revenue Officer of the district but he is assisted in the discharge of his duties as Chief Revenue Officer by one or more Additional District Magistrates, depending on the size of district. These posts of Additional District Magistrates were created consequent on the enactment of the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act, 1953. Previously the Collector did not have anything to do with the actual tillers of the soil in the matter of collection of

revenue, the revenue being paid by landlords or zamindars. With the abolition of all intermediary rights in land, the management of land and the collection of land revenue assumed new complexities and it was naturally not possible for the Collector to attend to the work relating to the management of land and collection of revenue personally. The Additional District Magistrates, who attend to this work, are under the control of the Board of Revenue. Theoretically, the Collector is still responsible for the management of land and the collection of revenue but actually orders are issued to the Additional District Magistrates by the Board of Revenue direct, under the intimation to the Collector.

In regard to land acquisition matters, the Collector, is assisted by an officer of the State Civil Service who is designated as the Special Land Acquisition Officer. Detailed work in relation to land acquisition is done by that officer subject to the supervision of the Collector or an Additional District Magistrate.

The powers of the Collector in regard to municipalities have also not changed in any way since Independence. But it should be borne in mind that municipalities are self-governing bodies and under the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, the District Magistrate does not have too much power to interfere with their working. Communications to and from municipalities are, however, routed through the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate is, of course, empowered to inspect the office of the Commissioners of a municipality, to suspend the execution of the resolutions of the Commissioners in certain cases and to recommend the supersession of the Commissioners if they are found to be incompetent to discharge the duties laid upon them under the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932.

### III

Until lately, the District Magistrate and Collector was also the Chairman of the District Development Council and the District Health Committee. As Chairman of the District Development Council, he used to help in the formulation of the plans for the development of the district in all its aspects. Members of the Legislature, State as well as Central, whose constituencies are situated within the district, were members of this District Development Council, along with some others. With the establishment of the Zilla Parishad, the District Development Council has been abolished.

As the Chairman of the District Health Committee, the District Magistrate was concerned with the submission of proposals to the Government for the establishment of the Health Centres and the sinking of masonry wells and tubewells for ensuring the supply of

drinking water in the rural areas of the district. This Committee has recently been abolished and the work relating to the Rural Water Supply has been entrusted to the Zilla Parishad.

In regard to the Community Development programme also a similar change has taken place in regard to powers and duties of the District Magistrate and Collector. Till the latter part of 1956 the Community Development programme used to be implemented in a number of selected blocks, through the Project Executive Officers and Block Development Officers, directly by the Development Department functioning from Calcutta. It was from the latter part of 1956, after a seminar in Kalyani which was presided over by the late Dr. B. C. Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal and was attended by Shri S. K. Dey, Minister of Community Development, Government of India, that it was decided to delegate the duties of implementing the Community Development programme in the district to the District Magistrate. The control of the District Magistrate over the Block Development Officers increased gradually after that, the culmination being reached when the District Magistrate was empowered to re-appropriate funds from one block to another and from one sub-head of the schematic budget to another within the same block. This financial power still exists but now it is not the block Development Officer but the Anchalik Parishad which is expected to execute the schemes under the schematic budget of the block. It has, however, not yet been possible for the Government to modify the existing financial rules suitably in respect of all the schemes that are executed under the schematic budget of a National Extension Service block, so as to permit the placing of funds for such schemes with the Anchalik Parishad. As a consequence the Anchalik Parishads are now executing only some and not all of the schemes under the schematic budget of a block.

Schemes relating to the training-cum-production centres, small workshops etc. are still being implemented by the Block Development Officers under the direct control of the District Magistrate.

#### IV

The Panchayati Raj system in West Bengal is a four-tier system. At the lowest level are the Gram Panchayats, the jurisdiction of each of which extends over a few villages. Over the Gram Panchayats are the Anchal Panchayats. The territorial jurisdiction of an Anchal Panchayat coincides more or less with the territorial jurisdiction of former Union Board. A number of contiguous Gram Sabhas grouped together is constituted into an Anchal Panchayat by the State Government, by a notification. The Anchalik Parishad is coterminous with

National Extension Service block. As a consequence, it contains a number of Anchal Panchayats. The Block Development Officer is an Associate member of the Anchalik Parishad, without a vote. Under the West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963, the Block Development Officer is the Chief Executive Officer of the Anchalik Parishad and he with the members of his staff including subject matter specialists, is expected to implement all the schemes which might be drawn up by the Anchalik Parishad in respect of that Anchal. Within the framework of the West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, the Anchalik Parishads are at liberty to draw up and execute schemes in respect of the National Extension Service blocks, without interference from any official agency.

For each district, a Zilla Parishad has been established in place of the previous District Board. The Subdivisional Magistrates of the various subdivisions of the district and the District Panchayat Officer are Associate members of the Zilla Parishad without voting rights.

The Zilla Parishad, after it has started functioning properly, is intended to—(a) undertake schemes or adopt measures, including the giving of financial assistance, relating to the development of agriculture, livestock, industries, co-operative movement, rural credit, water-supply, irrigation, public health and sanitation including establishment of dispensaries and hospitals, communications, primary or adult education including welfare of students, social welfare and other objects of general public utility; (b) manage or maintain any work of public utility or any institution vested in it or under its control and management; (c) make grants in aid of any school, public library, public institution or public welfare organization within the district; (d) make grants to the Anchalik Parishads; (e) examine and sanction the budget estimates of Anchalik Parishads in the district; (f) contribute, with the approval of the State Government such sum or sums as it may decide, towards the cost of water-supply or anti-epidemic measures undertaken by the Commissioners of a municipality within the district; (g) adopt measures for the relief of distress; and (h) co-ordinate and integrate the development plans and schemes prepared by Anchalik Parishads in the district.

Normally, the District Magistrate is not expected to interfere with the day-to-day working of the Zilla Parishad or any of the other Panchayati Raj bodies but he has been given some powers of control over them in the West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963, and the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957 and the Rules framed thereunder. Thus the District Magistrate is empowered to—

- (a) Call for and inspect any document which may be in the possession of the Zilla Parishad;

- (b) Require the Zilla Parishad to furnish such information as he may think necessary;
- (c) Inspect the office of the Zilla Parishad or any institution maintained by or under the control of the Zilla Parishad.

The Collector possesses a like power in respect of Anchalik Parishads. He has a further means of controlling the activities of the Anchalik Parishads through the Block Development Officers who continue to remain, atleast partially, under his administrative control. Similar powers may also be exercised by him in respect of Gram Panchayats and Anchal Panchayats. Furthermore, he has the power to remove Adhyakshas, Upadhyakshas and the members of Gram Panchayats and Pradhans and Upapradhans and members of Anchal Panchayats and also to recommend the supersession or reconstitution of Anchal Panchayats or Gram Panchayats if he is of the opinion that the Anchal Panchayat or Gram Panchayat is not competent to perform or is persistently making default in performing the duties imposed on it by or under any law or has been exceeding or abusing its powers.


A serious responsibility has, therefore, been cast on the District Magistrate in regard to the Panchayati Raj institutions because he is expected to guide them along proper lines so that the object of democratic decentralization of development functions is ultimately achieved. In discharging this responsibility he will naturally have to act with the greatest restraint.

## V

The Collector is directly under the administrative control of the Divisional Commissioner in all revenue matters including land acquisition proceedings. By a circular issued by the Chief Secretary in the year 1948, the Collector is not expected to enter into direct correspondence in other matters also with the Secretariat. He is expected to address all his correspondence to the Secretariat through the Divisional Commissioner. On occasions, it, however, becomes necessary to correspond directly with the Government on urgent matters. There is, however, no bar to the Collector writing D.O. letters to the Secretaries of the Government including the Chief Secretary and the Member, Board of Revenue. He has the right of direct access to the Chief Secretary, the Member, Board of Revenue and all departmental Secretaries. He has generally no occasion to come in direct contact with the Cabinet or with Ministers individually in the discharge of his duties.

Theoretically, even at the present day, the Magistrate-Collector of a district in West Bengal is still the chief representative of the Government in the district but of late, a tendency is becoming noticeable on the part of the Secretariat to initiate schemes in the district without the knowledge of the Magistrate-Collector. Sometimes due weight is also not attached to the opinion of the Collector on matters affecting his district. These practices, if not checked in time, will seriously impair administrative efficiency.

The Magistrate-Collector of Sir George Campbell's time ruled more by prestige than by the exercise of powers vested in him by law and it is in this sphere that a great change has taken place in regard to the office of the Magistrate-Collector. The Magistrate-Collector of the present day does not any longer possess the same degree of prestige which a Magistrate-Collector of pre-Independence days used to have. To this extent, he has become ineffective in securing the well-being of the people at large, because there are many spheres of human activity where it is not possible to right the wrongs by the exercise of legal powers alone and in such cases, the Collector has now to remain a helpless spectator. Such a diminution of prestige, is perhaps inevitable in a democratic society but is, nonetheless, to be deplored, because it is society that ultimately suffers by the change.



## THE COLLECTOR AS A LEADER

V. Nath

THE institution of the Collector evolved in the hey-day of general administration in the Nineteenth Century. It was found extremely useful by a colonial power which was governing a predominantly agricultural and rural country, in which it was not interested in forcing the pace of change. The Collector's primary responsibilities were collection of revenues, maintenance of law and order and general administration. But he was the representative of the government in the district, and besides his specific duties, was expected to oversee progress of various other activities of the Government. His role has been summed up admirably by O' Malley:

"The District Officer was the pivot of the administration combining revenue, magisterial and general administrative duties...He also did much that is now done by local bodies in connection with maintenance of roads, the promotion of education, medical relief and measures of public health....The arrangement by which local executive authority is concentrated in one man has worked well.... It is his power to give orders that make the District Officer what he is for it is his function not to do everything himself but to direct and control the work of his staff and to coordinate the different departments of the local administration."<sup>1</sup>

In the years after Independence, the institution has had to adapt to very different conditions and to meet new challenges. The Collectors now work within the framework of a parliamentary democracy. Primary emphasis in administration is on development and the most important movement in the country is social and economic change, directed to part by government. Democratic institutions—Panchayati Raj institutions, co-operatives and others—have been established for local government and development activities. The scope and range of activities undertaken by Government has increased so much and each activity is becoming so specialized that it is becoming difficult for any single officer to keep in touch with all activities in a district, much less comprehend their details or give sensible directions in respect of them. These institutional changes and development activities are essential steps in the transformation of the Indian society, especially Indian rural

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<sup>1</sup> L.S.S. O' Malley, *The Indian Civil Service: 1601-1930*, London, 1963, pp. 68-70.

society, from a static, tradition-oriented, status-dominated, predominantly agricultural and poor society to a dynamic, progressive and relatively affluent, modern agro-industrial society. This transformation is the central goal of Indian planning.

In this radically changed situation, the institution of the Collector has been found useful enough to be given new role and responsibilities. This paper describes the new role of the Collector in the field of development. His other roles are undoubtedly important: preservation of law and order for instance is the first requisite of orderly functioning of any civilized community. But development has been selected for detailed analysis here because the new role of the Collector as leader is best seen in this field.

#### THE COLLECTOR AS DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT OFFICER

The Collector in his capacity as revenue officer and general administrative officer always had a good deal to do with whatever "development" activity was carried out in the district. Works like repair and construction of small irrigation sources were undertaken by the Revenue Department. In times of famine or scarcity, various relief works including construction and repair of roads, wells and tanks, were undertaken by the Collector. He was also associated with local government institutions—the district boards and the municipalities. He was expected to supervise the work of the District Officers of education, health and other welfare departments. During the inter-War years, as agriculture, co-operation, and other rural development activities began to receive greater attention, he was expected to look after them also. It is this association of the Collector with development activities which accounts for an officer like F. L. Brayne, in Punjab, throwing himself whole-heartedly into rural development work and initiating one of the notable experiments in community development in the country.

But the relation of the Collector with development activities has been greatly strengthened with the inception of the Community Development programme. He has been made the leader of the team of District Level Officers of the departments concerned with the programme—agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, minor irrigation, panchayats, small-scale and cottage industries, education, health, social welfare, communications and others. Some departments like Panchayats may be under his direct control, but for most his role is that of a co-ordinator and guide. The District Level Officers work under their departmental superiors; the Collector gives general guidance, oversees progress and ensures that obstacles and difficulties in

implementation of their programmes are removed. In most States, the Collector has been designated as District Development Officer. Since the establishment of Panchayati Raj institutions, he is expected to serve also as the link between the District Level Officers and the institutions, and the latter and the State Government. These roles may have been given to the Collector partly, because of his traditional links with development activities, and the traditional prestige and status of his post: these things are considered in giving new roles to officials. But the step reflects also the judgment that the Collector is best qualified to fulfil them. In the following paragraphs we shall examine the content of these roles, and some requisites of their successful fulfilment.

### *Co-ordination of Development Programmes*

The Collector has been made leader of the district development team, because of the need for co-ordination of different development activities at the level of the district and the Community Development block. The need for co-ordination of rural development programmes was emphasized by the Grow-More-Food Enquiry Committee which recommended the constitution of a (Community Development and) National Extension Service for the country.

"The lesson to be derived from the working of the GMF programmes thus confirms the experience of State and private agencies engaged in village development. It is that all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation... For many years there have been fairly well organised development departments—agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation—in the larger States. These however work independently of one another, following their own programmes and without a sense of common objectives... What we have said points inevitably to the need of an organisation for intensive rural work which would reach every farmer and assist in the coordinated development of rural life as a whole."<sup>2</sup>

The administrative structure of the Community Development block with a Block Development Officer leading a team of specialist officers and Village Level Workers having responsibility for rendering a variety of services to the rural people was based on the concept of closely co-ordinated development. At the district level, co-ordination was sought to be achieved by setting up a District Development Committee which had on it all officers concerned with Community Development

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<sup>2</sup> India, Report of the Grow-More-Food Enquiry Committee, Government of India, Ministry of Food & Agriculture, 1952, pp. 50 and 53.

and related programmes. The Collector was made the Chairman of the Committee. In most States, he was given an assistant called District Planning Officer, or Deputy District Development Officer, who maintained closer touch with the Community Development programme.

The arrangements for co-ordination of development activities at block and district levels have been strengthened further with the setting up of Panchayati Raj institutions. The functions of the block level institution, the Panchayat Samiti, are broadly similar to those of the C.D. Block organization. But the district level institution, the Zilla Parishad, has in some States such as Maharashtra and Gujarat, operational responsibility also for a number of other activities—public works, secondary education, advanced medical care—which were formerly the responsibility of State Departments. In these States, the Zilla Parishad and the Panchayat Samiti together are responsible for execution of almost all development activities; only major irrigation, power, industrial or other large projects are outside their scope.

The trend towards co-ordination is being strengthened further with the growing emphasis on drawing up district plans. These plans have been drawn up from the time of the Second Five Year Plan, but they are being given much greater importance now. The district plan covers a much wider field than that represented by the Community Development programmes: it includes all development activities undertaken by the State. Its formulation involves evolving the strategy of development for the district—on the basis of local resources, needs and aspirations, but within the framework of national and State priorities. It involves further, providing appropriate interrelationships between different sectors of development, between major projects and local development activities, and between rural and urban development.<sup>3</sup> *As the process of formulation of the district plan becomes established, the district will become an important planning unit in addition to the State and nation.*

This movement towards co-ordination in planning and development at the district level reflects recognition of the fact that there are such large differences in physical, economic and social conditions within the area of each State that decentralization of decision making below the State level is essential. The district, a unit with a population of one to two million (the population of most districts is within this range) is considered suitable for this purpose because it is small enough for local problems and conditions to be kept constantly in view, and yet large enough for building an adequate planning and development

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<sup>3</sup> See V. Nath, "Area Development, Planning at District and Block Levels", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, April-June, 1965.

organization. Moreover, as most States have a limited number of districts, adequate contact can be maintained between the State and the district level. The very considerations, which led to adoption of the district as the primary unit of administration in the last century have now led to its selection as the primary unit of local planning and development.

### *Collector and Panchayati Raj Institutions*

The functions of co-ordination mentioned above have to be exercised by the Collector and the Zilla Parishad: the precise apportionment of functions between the two varies in different States depending upon the character of the Zilla Parishad. In most States where the Zilla Parishad is essentially a non-executive institution, the Collector's role is rather more important. He co-ordinates the work of the District Level Officers and acts as a link between them and the Panchayati Raj institutions, especially the Panchayat Samitis, which have responsibility for execution of the development programmes at the block level. He must ensure that the Panchayat Samitis get the requisite guidance from the District Level Officers, and that the activities of the Extension Officers attached to them are effectively supervised. At the same time he must see that the District Level Officers are given adequate facilities by the Panchayat Samitis for supervision of work of their staff and that their advice is followed by the Samitis. The Zilla Parishad in these States has a limited role in execution of programme: it keeps itself informed about progress and gives general directions from time to time. The District Level Officers, led by the Collector, assist in this task. But the Zilla Parishad has a more important role in planning—the district plan is approved by it. The plan is prepared under the direction of the Collector and he can make an important contribution to it by advising on priorities, targets, inter-sectoral balances, etc.

The Collector is also an important link between the Panchayati Raj institutions and the State Government. He has to bring to the notice of the Government the needs and aspirations of the people, as articulated by the members of the institutions. He must attempt to ensure that these needs and aspirations are given due attention by various departments of the State Government and are reflected in the State. At the same time, he has to see that the priorities and targets laid down by the State Government are adhered to by the institutions and the latter play their full role in obtaining people's participation in development activities. In this process, the Collector has to do much explaining to the State Government and to the Panchayati Raj institutions. He has often to play the same role between the District Level Officers and their own heads of departments. This may sound surprising; but is very

often the case. The State Level Officers do not often appreciate sufficiently the difficulties of their local officers—in not giving adequate emphasis to particular activities or asking for greater attention (higher priority, larger funds) for other activities. The local officers have particular difficulty in convincing their superiors, when they have low status. But their point of view is likely to be appreciated better when it is reinforced by the views of the Collector who has higher status, has an overall view of the needs of the district, and knows the views of the popular representatives.

In States like Gujarat and Maharashtra where the Zilla Parishad is an executive institution and the District Level Officers are attached to it, the Collector's role as a co-ordinator is a limited one, because most of his functions *vis-a-vis* the District Level Officers and the Panchayat Samitis are performed by the Secretary of the Zilla Parishad. The district plan is also prepared by the Zilla Parishad. But his role as a link between the local institutions, especially the Zilla Parishad, and the State Government is even more important in these States. The responsibility of communicating to the Zilla Parishad the views of the State Government, and *vice versa*, rests primarily on him, because he is the principal representative of the State Government in the district. And, this function has to be exercised by him for practically the entire development programme in the district, because of the wider scope of activities of the Zilla Parishad.

The system of Panchayati Raj institutions provides for direct communication between the local institutions and the State Government. Besides, various individuals—the M.L.A.s, influential members of the institutions and other local leaders, act as communicators between the two. But the Collector is the most important link between them, because the State Government must depend upon him for authoritative appreciation of the local situation and must convey its decisions and wishes through him. The importance of effective communication between the State Government and local institutions can hardly be over-emphasized: *it is the medium through which national objectives, policies and priorities on the one hand and local aspirations and felt needs on the other are brought together in the planning process and local participation in planning and execution of development programmes, is secured.* Its importance will increase progressively as local leaders have better understanding of their problems and needs and display greater initiative in mobilizing local resources for implementation of programmes. Taylor and others consider inadequate communication between State and local levels as the major weakness of rural development programmes in India, and have made a powerful plea for

strengthening it.<sup>4</sup> There need hardly be any doubt that in the process of strengthening of communications, the Collectors' role as a link between the State and local levels will become more important.

### *Educator and Guide of Panchayati Raj Institutions*

In relation to the Panchayati Raj institutions, the Collector has another and even more important role—that of an educator and guide. The importance of this role is better appreciated when one keeps in view the role of these institutions in the process of social change in rural India. The institutions have development as their primary responsibility, of course. But they are also training grounds for democratic action. They are throwing up a new leadership which is different in many respects from the older leadership in rural India. It is different to an extent in its social and economic make-up: it is different even more in its aspirations and objectives. The new leaders, and through them the village people, are learning the ways of group politics for control of institutions, the methods of getting things done to benefit particular areas, groups or individuals, and the techniques of focussing attention of higher authorities on their difficulties and problems. There are in many of these institutions, conflicts between groups and individuals, subordination of larger interests of the community to narrow group, caste or even personal interests, complaints, charges and counter-charges. Social scientists are concerned about the influence of caste in these institutions. The working of the institutions and their impact on rural economic development and social change are being studied in a number of places. (The Indian Institute of Public Administration is one of these). But the point to emphasize is that the institutions, such as they are, are training grounds in democratic action through which the rural people are learning to make the change from traditional attitudes, socio-economic relations and methods of functioning to new attitudes and practices based on the concepts of social and political equality and economic progress. In this situation, district and block level officers have an important role to play as educators, moderators and guides of the popular leaders. They must acquaint the latter with Government rules and procedures and the details of various programmes and schemes. They must assist them in obtaining the benefits of particular schemes for their village or group. But, at times they have to advise them to modify, scale down or even give up some aspirations. In doing the latter the Collector's role is particularly important. He may have to explain to an aggrieved leader, that a particular officer, when he does not

<sup>4</sup> Carl C. Taylor, Douglas Ensminger, Helen Johnson and Jean Joyce, *India's Roots of Democracy*, Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1965, Chapter 22.

agree to his demand, is not being obstructive; but is only following Government rules or is doing what he sees as the best way of execution of the programme of his department. He may have to go further and tell a powerful local leader or dominant group in an institution that a particular course of action, while technically correct and permissible under the rules, would not be in the best interest of the community. Often when the decision lies with himself, he may have to say "no".

This role cannot but cause difficulties, occasional unpleasantness and misunderstanding. All of us who have been Collectors in recent years, know of occasions when our actions or motives have been misunderstood. But this is a role which has to be played in the interest of healthy growth of democratic institutions—of ensuring that the community accepts democratic processes, and sees them as being in the best interest of all, instead of being subservient to narrow group interests. The Collector has to play this role more than any other official precisely because he is the leader of the District Level Officers. One can even say that large numbers of people in the district expect him to play this role. He is considered to be an expert in law and procedure, and his advice is expected to be impartial and in the best interests of the community.

So far we have mentioned only the negative aspect of this role. But there is also a positive aspect. The Collector has many opportunities of giving advice to popular leaders, which will be useful to them in getting things done for their area or group. With his knowledge of State policies and his contacts at the State level, he can help them take advantage of particular schemes at the appropriate time; he can ask the officers concerned to draw up schemes in a form in which they will be readily accepted. Inadequate knowledge of programmes or failure to present local aspirations in the form of properly worked out schemes often results in popular leaders not succeeding in obtaining the benefits which they want and could get. The Collector's advice and assistance can be invaluable to them.

#### SOME REQUISITES OF SUCCESS

The role of the Collector in relation to planning and developments is not easy and, as explained above, playing it holds many possibilities of being misunderstood or disappointed. We shall conclude by referring to some requisites of successful accomplishment of the role. The first and perhaps the most important requisite is adequate recognition among all concerned—the national and State Governments, the local people and their leaders—of the new role and emergence of a new image of the Collector. The old image of the Collector as the ruler

of the district no longer prevails: but a new image based on a realistic appreciation of his new role has yet to emerge. Once this new image emerges, various policy and administrative decisions will be taken which will help him in playing the role successfully. The most important of these decisions would relate to selection of persons for the post, their posting and transfer, incentives and methods of work. Selection of suitable persons is of crucial importance because the most important requisites of success in the new role of the Collector are personal qualities like knowledge, understanding and integrity. A Collector can play his leadership role in planning and development and fulfil his function of an educator and guide of popular leaders only if he knows the district and its people well. His knowledge must not be based merely on perusal of reports and papers or be acquired by a quick, jeep-eye view. It must be detailed, intimate, personal knowledge, based on extensive touring, meeting people, and participation with them in various activities. Such knowledge can only be acquired over a period of time, and we would agree with the view that no Collector begins to know his district unless he has been in it for about six months. We would go further and say that a Collector begins to make his most useful contribution in planning and development, after he has been in a district for about a year. The Collector should, therefore, be allowed to remain in a district for a sufficient length of time. The old three-year rule may not be practicable now a days; but the practice, all too common, of making frequent transfers of Collectors must be ended.

Secondly, the Collector should have at his disposal up-to-date and detailed data about the district. In the British days, when primary emphasis was on maintenance of law and order and political stability, the Collector had at his disposal an efficient system of political intelligence. Today, when the emphasis has shifted to development he must be assisted by an efficient system of economic and social intelligence. There has undoubtedly been some improvement in recent years in the methods of data collection at the district level, and the statistical agencies have been strengthened to some extent. But there are still critical deficiencies, the most important being in the agency which works under the Collector himself—the land records agency. This agency is still using methods which are antiquated and extremely inefficient. It is unbelievable but true, that in this age of electronic computers the entire work relating to preparation of land records and collection of agricultural statistics in an average district is done by hand and all the calculations are done mentally by the *patwaris* and the *qanungos*. Typewriters and calculating machines are conspicuous by their absence from land records offices. These offices leave one

with the impression that they have not seen any change in the last 100 years or more. If the land records system is to play its due role in programmes of economic development and social change—its role in evaluation of our efforts to increase agricultural production and in implementation of programmes of land reforms is self-evident—it needs to be modernized quickly. Again, lack of appreciation of the need for up-to-date economic and social intelligence is evident from the fact that the results of most of the economic or statistical enquiries conducted in the districts are either not available to the Collectors or become available to them only after long periods. In some cases, the Collectors are not even aware of the existence of the enquiries. Lack of interest among the Collectors themselves is partly responsible for this failure; but here is an area in which immediate change is needed.

Understanding must be mentioned separately from knowledge because it requires, besides knowledge, a certain maturity. The Collector's role in relation to other development officers and popular leaders is very often that of a guide and an adviser. He can be effective only if he is accepted by them in this role. And acceptance requires among other things maturity in the person posted as Collector. Judged purely from this standpoint, the old practice of posting as a Collector, an officer who had been in the Service for 8 to 10 years was better than the present practice of posting very young officers.

The third important requisite is integrity, not merely financial but also intellectual and moral. Such integrity is essential for success in any administrative job; it becomes more important in a job like that of the Collector in which contact with people, groups and situations is face to face, and the effects of decisions taken (or avoided) are immediately visible. A man is tested in such a job in a way that is scarcely possible in a secretariat.

Ensuring that officers with the requisite knowledge, understanding and integrity are available for the Collector's posts, requires a number of decisions by the State Governments. Collectors will have to be selected for their personal qualities and the notion that any body can be a Collector, will have to be given up. Selection may have to be confined to officers of a minimum seniority. In the more important districts, such as those with large cities in them, very senior officers may have to be posted as Collectors. The incentives of pay, recognition, etc., will have to be suitably adjusted to make the posts attractive enough for senior officers.

It will also be necessary for the State Governments to give the Collectors the support they need for efficient and effective discharge of their duties. Heads of technical departments must recognize the value of

the Collector's advice and give adequate consideration to it, even when it goes counter to their policies or requires modification of their programmes. The Collector must be supported by the State Government when he takes a decision which proves to be locally unpopular. He can do this best only when he is sure of such support. This is a difficult area of action in a young democracy, but it is an area in which healthy conventions have to be established, if the system of political leadership and permanent non-political services is to yield the best results in the districts.

Finally, it is necessary to re-evaluate the importance of the post of the Collector in the Indian Administrative Service. The institution of the Collector evolved in the colonial period. At that time the Collector's was the key post in the Indian Civil Service. But in the post-Independence years, other administrative and policy-making tasks have been assuming greater importance. Service officers along with others, have found challenging and rewarding jobs in these. Such opportunities will grow in future and with them the character of the Indian Administrative Service will change. The majority of the members of the I.A.S. are perhaps already doing jobs of economic or social policy-making or of management of various state enterprises, and the proportion in such jobs will increase in future. The question of the relative importance of the post of Collector must therefore be asked from time to time and must be answered without sentiment or nostalgia. In answering it, it would be useful to remember that by the latter part of the British period, in the Nineteen Twenties and the Nineteen Thirties, the Collector's post was not considered as important as it had been considered earlier. The best men in the Indian Civil Service moved to policy-making jobs in the Secretariats, or to other, more glamorous posts, after a period of stay in the districts. Those who stayed in the districts too long, as Collectors or Commissioners, were considered less than the best. Woodruff calls them "clod-hopping Collectors".<sup>5</sup> One should not therefore be carried away by sentiment. But at the same time one must give adequate recognition to the role of the Collector in planning and development and the growth of local democratic institutions. Rural economic growth and social transformation are most important aspects of national planning—their importance is underlined by the way in which insufficient increase in agriculture output has held back the growth of the rest of the economy in recent years. The Collector occupies a pivotal position of leadership in the field and his performance, especially the quality of leadership that he provides, has a vital bearing on the speed and efficiency of execution of development programme and growth of healthy democratic practices. The vital need for speed and efficiency

<sup>5</sup> Philip Woodruff, *The Men who Ruled India, Vol. II. The Guardians*, London, 1954.

in execution of programmes is recognized at policy making levels, where the relationship between the programmes (such as those of agricultural improvement) and economic growth is clearly recognized. What is not recognized adequately is the enormous managerial task involved in securing these and the qualities of leadership that it requires. It is not sufficiently recognized also, that until democratic action itself becomes a powerful impetus for securing speed and efficiency—through popular leaders recognizing the importance of the programmes and putting their support behind them—much of the impetus has to be provided by officials in leadership positions, among whom the Collector is the first in the district. Similarly, the guidance provided by the Collector in the initial stages of development of new democratic institutions can influence very materially their growth and their acceptance by the community. Civil servants in developing societies, which are making the change from the traditional to the modern, and from the static to dynamic and growth oriented, have the unique privilege of acting as catalytic agents of change. And among the men in this position in rural India, the Collector is the foremost.



“While he (the Collector) is riding through the fields, halting in the villages, shooting by the way, lounging after a march in the shaded ante room of his tent under the spreading boughs of trees, or warming himself by the bonfire outside his tent door on cold frosty nights, he is on much more easy and familiar terms with the Natives than he could possibly be at his headquarters, when he is surrounded more or less with his staff and subordinates.”

—RICHARD TEMPLE  
(in *India* in 1880)

## LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE COLLECTOR

P. R. Dubhashi

PERHAPS no other institution in India is as much shrouded in the mystery and magic of majestic epithets as the Collector. He has been variously described as "Annadata", "Maabap", "representative and agent of Government", "general manager of all Government activities", "eyes and ears (and some times arm) of Government", "the kingpin of administration", "the key-stone of the arch of District administration", "the Captain (sometime non-playing) of the team", "the man on the spot", "the area specialist", "*primus inter pares*", "the first citizen in the district", "the supreme head of the district administration", and more recently in more benevolent terms, like "friend, philosopher and guide", "adviser, educator and helper", "the fulcrum of grassroot democracy", "the main-spring of development" and "the director of the Rath of Lord Jagannath (the Rath of Panchayati Raj)".<sup>1</sup> Many of these are attributes of a bygone age; others are a hang-over of the past, and quite a few are already getting eroded by the wind of change. And yet, the undefinable charismatic aura continues to linger.

Many factors have gone to contribute to the pre-eminent position of the Collector as the natural leader of the district. On one hand was the trust and confidence reposed by the Government in his judgment and decision-making; on the other, was the faith and belief of the people in his ability to redress the grievances (may them be as personal as marrying a grown-up daughter) or render impartial justice. Both these in turn derived from the close contact with the people in the district which the Collectors established through constant tours extending over days in a leisurely manner and also through constant stream of interviews with visitors of all kinds. This was reinforced by an extraordinarily formidable combination of functions, concentration of executive powers and integration of activities. All the threads of administration of the district were in the Collector's hands. The totality of functions, the closeness of the contact with the people, and the personification of Government were all heightened by an

<sup>1</sup> These and other epithets indicative of the role of the Collector have been used, explained and illustrated in the admirable collection of essays and discussions by a group of functioning and ex-collectors, brought out by the Indian Institute of Public Administration—"The Changing Role of the District Collector", Proceedings of a Conference, Hyderabad—December 16 and 17, 1961. Also see M.V. Pai, "The emerging role of the Collector" and B. Sivaraman, "The Collector and Panchayati Raj" in the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Oct.-Dec. 1962, Vol. VIII, No. 4.

unmistakable superiority in recruitment, training and material compensation which placed him head and shoulders above all other Government officers in the district.

## II

What has been the nature of "leadership" exercised by the Collector? It has been essentially an "administrative leadership", a little wider than purely "executive or managerial leadership", but very different indeed from "political leadership". The term leadership is normally associated with politics and political parties. It connotes the capacity to command the loyalty of masses; an ability to enlist the allegiance of the echelons of a party. The task of such leadership in the past has been to mobilize the masses to win political freedom; today it is to lead a party to victory in elections; when in power, to mobilize energies of the nation towards certain objectives. Such leadership is not necessarily exercised by virtue of a formal position in Government. Sometimes a formal position even in a party system is unnecessary (as shown by Gandhiji) though authority derived from such position can contribute to leadership. The media for the exercise of such leadership may include speeches, writings in newspapers and many other public actions. The leadership exercised by the Collector is, of course, an entirely of different kind. It has been essentially of a functional character and related to the position held by him and the tasks and assignments attached to that position. It is, of course, true that occupation of a position does not in itself confer upon any individual the qualities of leadership but a successful discharge of the responsibilities attached to the position of the Collector demands their possession and exercise. Notwithstanding the vast difference between political and administrative leadership, both call for certain common qualities—ability to take initiative, to weld people into a team working for a common purpose, and to sustain the vitality of an organization.<sup>2</sup>

The scope of the Collector's leadership is not confined only to his office and his staff. It cannot be exercised in the strict anonymity of a secretariat functionary. Within the district, a Collector cannot be anonymous. Indeed the glow of his personality has to be felt throughout the nook and corner of the district. Though it may not be true in all instances, one would expect at any rate in an ideal situation that throughout the district, "there is not a single village—there is not a single hut in which difference between a good and bad Collector may not make the difference between happiness and misery."

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<sup>2</sup> General Dwight Eisenhower mentions the following qualities at heart and mind in the outstanding leaders he has known—selfless dedication, fortitude in the face of defeat, humility, thorough home-work and power of persuasion. See, "What is leadership?" in *Reader's Digest*, August 1965.

The functions attached to the position of the Collector made demands on his qualities of leadership. The significance of the land revenue functions extended far beyond the physical fact of collection of some amount of money for the public exchequer. The incidence of land revenue was almost universal on the people in the rural areas of the district. It established a bond between the governor and the governed and it provided a starting point of enquiry into the fortunes of the farming families in the district. The Collector could well use the "Socratic method" for his "Jamabandi" and enquire into conditions of crops, the returns from agriculture, the position of indebtedness, expenditure on marriage and social functions, investment in land, use of the Persian wheel and digging of wells, availability of good animals in the cattle fair, increase in the number of holdings and the pressure of population, village feuds and the decisions of the caste panchayats, census of land holdings and cattle, etc. Mutation of land rights and acquisition and disposal of land brought him in touch with the vital problems of the people principally depending on land.

Emergency situations specially called for the exercise of leadership. In situations like accidental fire, scarcity and famine, riots and insecurity, the depredation of wild animals, and floods and earthquakes, the people of the district looked to the Collector for organization of the relief measures. Failure to rise to the occasion would expose him to serious ignominy and reproach.

A leader has to be the court of the last resort. The residuary powers of the Collector enabled the Collector to play this role. Their reserve strength was considered to be of an immeasurable depth. The Collector could draw on them to meet any situation. Logic of a rational administrative organization or unmanageable burden of work did not prevent a constant process of attachment of additional functions and duties to the post of the Collector as required by the exigencies of the situations.

It is this undefined sweep of functions that enabled the Collector to play the role of an intermediary between the people and the Government, between one department and another, between voluntary organizations and the machinery of Government. The Collector had to encourage every worthwhile effort in the district. He had to be head of the Red Cross Organization; the District Soldiers', Sailors', Airmen's Boards; the Management Committee of the district school; the local rifle club and till recently Chairman of the District Co-operative Bank, and the regulated market. He had to feel the pulse of the public opinion and he had to interpret the programmes and policies of the Government to the local people. He had to foster public leadership and get

the co-operation of the public for enforcement of measures required for the implementation of the Government's policies. He had to get things done by all the other departmental heads in the district.

With the attainment of Independence, adoption of the Constitution of a democratic State, the broadening of the principles of democracy to the grassroots, the approach to development from below and the introduction of the methods and machinery of democratic planning, the milieu in which the Collector has to function has undergone a radical change. Several new dimensions have been added to his leadership role. Nation building has replaced land revenue collection and maintenance of law and order as the primary focus of the district administration. The task of nation building has to be attempted through planning. A large sector of the national plan reaches the people through the machinery of district administration. Moreover, it is at a district level that the ideals, objectives and targets take the shape of projects, action and impact. In this process Collector has to play a crucial role. Within the framework of the national plan, a blue print of the district plan has to be drawn. Tasks have to be assigned, time limits have to be laid down, co-ordination has to be secured<sup>3</sup>, bottlenecks have to be broken, loose bolts and nuts have to be tightened, the shirker has to be activated, a sense of urgency and vitality has to be imparted, and "a stream of tendency" has to be driven through the efforts of all towards the basic objectives of the plan. Whenever tendencies of a slowing down of the tempo of work appear, a new impetus has to be given and a fresh drive provided. Overlapping and working at cross-purposes has to be avoided. Hiatus over time and space has to be eliminated. Optimum combination of potentially conflicting energies has to be effected for an overriding common purpose. Progress has to be constantly reviewed and in the light of evaluation, fresh measures have to be taken. The technical and administrative support of various State agencies has to be secured. It is not enough to create merely a favourable climate of public opinion or getting assurances of co-operation from a few leading men in the public. What is necessary is to kindle public enthusiasm which in the words of Prof. W. Arthur Lewis is "the petrol of economic development and the lubricating oil of planning". In this new situation, where projects reflect the felt needs of the people, where popular participation is the condition of success, the Collector has to lead leadership, organize organizations and guide the newly formed Panchayati Raj institutions.

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<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of the problems of co-ordination at the field level in the area of development administration, See an article by the author, "Further thoughts on Co-ordination", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Jan.-March 1957, Vol. III, No. 1.

## III

The structure of the district administration has undergone a kaleidoscopic change in recent years. This has been described in various ways. But its rational analysis in precise terms could be stated in two propositions: the supersession of the "field service agencies" by the "general governmental authorities" and of "area specialization" by "functional specialization". To take the second point first, development is no longer an omnibus function, forming part of a still more omnibus function of "general administration". With the expansion of the scope of governmental activities, functional specialization and division of labour in the field of development have proliferated. Function and area are the two basic elements in administration.<sup>4</sup> The Collector was the vindication or the apotheosis of "area specialization". With area specialization went "functional generalization". The Collector, responsible for general administration, could take "development" in his strides. The situation is increasingly getting incompatible with the growth of functional specialization. Departments like Labour, Industry and Animal Husbandry which never had a hierarchy below the district level are acquiring new ranks at the lower levels. Established departments like Agriculture and Co-operation are not only filling up their ranks at all levels but are having new specialized personnel in plant protection, soil conservation, credit, marketing, banking, etc. Non-governmental structures like co-operative institutions or Khadi & Village Industries Commission are developing a parallel machinery of their own. The administrative necessity of a functional specialization is at the same time accompanied by the demand of democracy at the grassroot level that the field services be brought under the general governmental authorities of a compendious character. In India these have been the "Panchayati Raj institutions" composed of the elected representatives of the people. In the interest of the paramount importance of economy and the streamlining of the administrative machinery, it has been decided that there could not be overlapping field services of the federal and State Governments co-existing with the local governmental authorities. The same administrative machinery has, therefore, to serve the local, State level and federal governmental authorities.

These two trends, of functional specialization and the emergence of the local Government authorities have made the problem of co-ordination of crucial significance. With the proliferation of functional

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<sup>4</sup> For a penetrating analysis of the dynamic interaction between area and function in administration see James Fesler, "*Area and Administration*", University of Alabama Press 1949. The terms "general governmental authorities", "field-service agencies", "area specialisation", and "functional generalisation" used here are Prof. Fesler's vocabulary.

specialization, co-ordination of the specialized functions has emerged as the key role of the general administrator. On the other hand the emergence of the general governmental authorities has underlined the need of the co-ordination of their activities with the programmes coming down from the State and the federal level. It is in this context that the leadership role of the Collector needs to be reassessed.

#### IV

The position of the Collector is under strain. According to some observers symptoms of a general weakening of the district administration have appeared. Functional specialization in the wake of new planned programmes has naturally increased the burden of work. On the other hand, the emergence of the general governmental authorities at the local level has made breaches in what was traditionally an impregnable authority of the District Officer. A simple "unity of command" no longer obtains. Apart from the vertical commands of the technical hierarchy, there are now the cross-commands of the elected representatives. The local pressure groups have grown in strength. The easy accessibility to the policy maker at the State headquarters has eroded the finality of the decision of the officer on the spot. It is feared by many that some times even in small matters the Collector has no say. For redressal of grievances, genuine or imaginary, direct approach to the State Government through local political leaders has become easy. Thus while the responsibilities have grown, the prestige of the District Collector has declined, and function without power has become the privilege of the District Collector.

It is in this context that the question of the precise position of the Collector in the structure of the Panchayati Raj institutions has assumed great importance. The question has proved baffling and a satisfactory solution is yet to emerge. The same fluid situation which prevailed in 1961, when the question was considered by the Annual Conference of Development Commissioners, obtains even today. Different systems prevail in different parts of the country. In some States the Collector is within the fold of Panchayati Raj institutions and in other places he is without. Where he is within, he is either a voting member, a non-voting member, Chairman of the Standing Committees or Chairman of the whole body. Where he is without, he has either some formal powers of supervision or none whatsoever. The formal powers, in turn, are at some places regular and at others of an emergency nature. An optimum position is still to emerge out of the crucible of experience. But certain logical possibilities about the outcome could be analysed. Where the Collector is Chairman of the Zilla Parishad, the latter could never grow into a full-fledged autonomous institution and the

democratic principle will suffer. Where the Collector is the Chairman of the Standing Committees, sooner or later a clash is likely to develop between the Collector and the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad. In this clash, if the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad prevails, the Collector would be ineffective. On the other hand should the Collector prevail, democracy will receive a set back. Where the Collector is a voting member, his undemocratic membership is bound to inhibit a free expression of his opinion and even compromise his freedom to take independent administrative action. Where he is a non-voting member, his presence will be a mere mockery.

There could be, however, one more alternative. The Collector could be the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad. In this role, he could undoubtedly play the leadership role of an executive nature within the limits and the scope allowed to him by the Zilla Parishad. In such a situation he will be the undoubted head of the team of District Development Officers. He would be the chief adviser to the Zilla Parishad. The advice of the technical heads of the district would be translated by him in terms of feasible administrative measures and presented to Zilla Parishad for their final decision. He could be the chief planner of the district. Scientific district planning is yet in an incipient stage. This would require the Collector's closest attention. He could arrange to gather techno-economic data, assess resources and evolve a coherent plan of action and place it for final approval of the Zilla Parishad. The question of reconciliation of national objectives with local needs would be a recurrent theme in the years to come. The Collector could interpret the federal and State policy in terms of local significance. At the same time, he could draw on the input of local thinking. He could use the local leadership of the Chairman and members of the Zilla Parishad for forming public opinion, developing a favourable climate, mobilizing local resources and generating wide-spread enthusiasm. Thus the Collector's position as the Chief Executive Officer avoids the difficulties of an illogical position where he is a mere voting or non-voting member of the Zilla Parishad or the Chairman of the Standing Committees. The leadership role of the Collector should not be inhibited by placing him in an untenable position.

In the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat where an officer of the rank of Collector has been placed as the Chief Executive Officer, the Collector's position is still retained as "the eyes and ears" of Government. There could be many objections to such an arrangement.<sup>5</sup> Surely the existence in a district of two officers on the senior scale of

<sup>5</sup> The author had posed the issue for the first time in "Whither District Administration?", *Kurukshetra*—Anniversary Issue, October, 1962.


the Indian Administrative Service cannot be commended as a measure of economy. Secondly, the nature of relationship between the two officers of the same rank could not be very different than that of "non-interference into each other's territory". There cannot be two swords in the same sheath. The Chief Executive Officer will be loath to take instructions from the Collector just because he is the officer of the State Government. Deprived of the day-to-day contact with the main stream of the development activity, and out of touch with the personnel in the district, the State Government would find, in the Collector, eyes which do not see and ears which do not hear. The Collector would not have even the authority to inspect the working of the Panchayati Raj institutions. What will be his residuary functions? Apart from the revenue and the law and order, it is said that he would be in charge of the State sector schemes to be implemented in the district. The local implementation of the State schemes has to be through a well-knit machinery and organization and the Collector would find, that with all the available machinery and organization in the district at the disposal of the Zilla Parishad and its Chief Executive Officer, he is helpless without the assistance of the Zilla Parishad and its staff. The Zilla Parishad, on the other hand, would legitimately claim to act as the agent of the Government in its own jurisdiction.

If in spite of these difficulties in the co-existence of the Collector and the Chief Executive Officer, the position is allowed to continue in the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat, it would appear that there are some deep-rooted factors underlying the retention of a separate Collector. The main factor would appear to be the desire on the part of the State Government to have an officer of their own, completely answerable to themselves and entirely non-political and non-partisan in approach. The Chief Executive Officer though of the rank of a Collector would not, as a subordinate to the Zilla Parishad, go beyond the limits of the 'political and partisan approach' decided upon by the Zilla Parishad after deliberations. There is also perhaps the unexpressed fear of the Government that in a situation of emergency, where quick local mobilization is required, the State cannot depend on the Zilla Parishad and its organization. One cannot but say that this belief on the dependability of the Collector is built on past experience; in the future it would be progressively realized that deprived of the support of the Zilla Parishad and its machinery, and shorn of his position and authority, the Collector is not in a position to deliver the goods. Some of the emergency functions as distribution of food and other essential articles in times of scarcity and emergency are bound to be entrusted for instance to a network of consumer's co-operatives and these can be far better organized by the Chief Executive Officer and the

staff of the co-operative department working under him, rather than by the Collector with the help of his revenue officers and perhaps the officers of the old Supply Department.

Maturity of experience, capacity for a balanced judgment, non-partisan attitude, etc., are not going to help the Collector to overcome the inherent limitations of his position. These qualities can come into their own only when a position is found out for the Collector where he can find a logically tenable place in the new structure of administration. It is clear that the trend towards a strong, real and substantial elected local governmental authority at the district level is irreversible. An elected district authority cannot function without an organization of District Officers supervised by Chief Executive Officer of senior administrative rank. If in such a situation, it is still desired that the Collector should continue as a State Officer, he could function only at a level above the district unit. It becomes necessary, therefore, for a Collector to be a State officer for an area comprising of about two to three districts. This jurisdiction may be smaller than the area of a region in charge of Commissioners of today. Indeed with the position of the Collector in charge of two to three districts there may not be any case for the retention of the Commissioners. Of course, some of the existing districts may have to be split up into new districts, with much more manageable area and population. In his new position the Collector would be the Inspector of local authorities at all the three tiers. He would be in charge of the execution of the State plan through the Zilla Parishad. He would act as an Ombudsman with the authority to hear grievances and take initiative in providing an impetus wherever the local administration shows signs of flagging energy and enthusiasm. In addition to the assistance of staff at his headquarters including a suitably constituted Inspectorate, he will have directly under him officers placed in charge of such residuary functions as are not within the ambit of the local authority, e.g., Police, Revenue, Excise and Labour Officers. He would also be the *primus inter pares* amongst the regional officers like Deputy Director (Agriculture) and Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

Thus the former leadership functions of the Collector would be divided between the new Collector and the Chief Executive Officer. The Chief Executive Officer would be the co-ordinator, the area specialist, and the captain of the team of development officers at the district level. The new Collector would be the "eyes and ears" of Government, and if not the "friend, philosopher and guide", at least a "corrector", "inspector" and "Ombudsman" of the Panchayati Raj institutions.



## THE COLLECTOR OF THE SEVENTIES

*B. Sivaraman*

THE neighbours heard a lot of shouting and cry in the house of the newly weds. People went in to enquire and intervene. The young wife was in tears and the husband was shouting. After pacification, the wife sobbed out that she was calling to her daughter, Laxmi, to come and help her in the kitchen, when her husband rushed in and brutally assaulted her. The husband shouted that there is no daughter, Laxmi, in the house but only their son, Ram, and his wife was having hallucinations. He has told her several times not to be silly but she persists in her folly. There was neither Ram nor Laxmi. It appeared that the lady had conceived and there was continuous bickering as to whether the future addition to the family was to be a son or a daughter. Each party was trying to wishfully hope that the future will be a solution to his or her problems. A girl is a solid support in household duties for the wife. A son is seen as a help to the husband in his field work and so the future hope of the family as an earner. The Collector of the Seventies is in the womb of time. There are two important parties who are vitally interested in the future. The permanent administration hopes that the future will give something which will stabilize the administration and help in the maintenance of the *status quo*. The other party—the Government in power—which at present is a democratic Government hopes for something which will help in the multitudinal problems of a welfare administration and which will be responsive to the aspirations of the people and which will help them in running the administration effectively. The Seventies are not very far away. It is said that science can forecast the sex of a child at a fairly advanced stage of pregnancy. It will be an interesting exercise to forecast the form of the Collector of the Seventies. A child's sex is fixed at conception, but an Administrator's form is a matter of continuous development. The exercise can also include the formulation of a development which will produce a result acceptable to both the administrator and the statesman.

### THE CONTESTANTS

The role of the Collector and the emphasis on the type of work he was to do at a certain period in history has changed from time to time. But all along, he has been the Head of the Administration in the district and he has been the representative of Government at that level. Is

this position to be maintained in the future? Decentralization of governmental activity for regional administration arises as soon as the area of operation of a Central Government becomes too large for handling the work from the Centre. Whether the Central Government is an autocracy or a monarchy or a communist State or a democracy, history has shown that this is an inevitable trend arising out of the limitations of human capacity, time and distance. Decentralization can be of a particular type of authority or a general transfer of the bulk of the controlling or guiding authority of the Centre. As long as a society is simple and the Centre's responsibilities are limited, partial decentralization of certain key roles like police authority or revenue collection may be sufficient. Such societies are long past. Compulsion of events is pushing States more and more into the welfare field. The State is getting increasingly involved with the every-day life of the citizen. The State has to interfere, order and organize in many fields of activity relating to the individual. In each sector, the line of authority and control has to be specific and well-defined. Between sectors there is need for co-ordination, so that a combined will towards an objective is developed. The State is always the co-ordinator of all sectors of authority and organization. The co-ordinating authority has to be decentralized at various levels to make the work smoother and impact on the area greater. At present the area for co-ordination of the various functions of Government has not gone below the district level, though in some functions the area is as small as a community development block or a panchayat. Though it is true that the problems of co-ordination are becoming substantial and more detailed, requiring decentralized decision-making, it is not expected that in the Seventies there will be any large requirements of decentralization of this function to a level below that of the district. In some areas the existing districts may have to be split into smaller districts; but even there, the problem will remain a district problem. The co-ordinator at the district level will, therefore, remain a felt-need in the Seventies.

Co-ordination can be by a Committee or an individual. The Committee or the consensus approach has found favour in thinking on administration. When policy decisions have to be taken, the theory of "Two heads are better than one" may be true. The limitation of this approach is that there is no single person responsible for taking a decision. As a result, when things move fast or substantial changes have to be made in a short time, the Committee approach has been found wanting. There may be communities in this world where the Committee or consensus approach may work because of the traditional social consciousness of the people; but in India, with its vast problems of the economic revolution and population explosion and the tradition

of individuality, the time has not come when a Committee approach will be sufficient. Government's representative at the district level has to be an individual who can take decisions and implement them quickly. The Seventies may not produce the social consciousness or the experience of working together which may necessitate a second look at the problem. The Committee approach has been tried out in India in the field of development with the introduction of Panchayati Raj. The Zilla Parishad, the top tier of the three-tier system, is a body of elected representatives and some administrators which is supposed to control the policy in development of the district. Except in Madras, where the Collector is the Leader of the Team, the Collector is only a member of the Zilla Parishad and should normally take only a minor part in the making of policy. Experience has made it clear that the Committee or consensus approach without fixing of responsibility on any individual for performance, has not made organization of development in the districts as easy task. With our genius for trying to eat the cake and have it too, the Collector has been made the Head of the Administrative Sub-Committee of the Zilla Parishad in several States and therefrom he is expected to put in the cohesion in the programmes of development which the parent body is in many cases unable to do. With this experience it is reasonable to forecast that in the Seventies the time will not yet be ripe to replace the individual by the Committee at the head of the district for the various sectors of responsibility of the Government. The present co-ordinator is the Collector and barring our finding a suitable alternative he will continue to be the co-ordinator in the Seventies.

After Independence there has been a tendency to expect the Collector to be a convenient Collector for political bosses. Occupying an important position in the district as head of several branches of administration which vitally affect the average citizen, the Collector is in a position to distribute patronage or restrain inconvenient people. In a democracy based on a party system, there is sometimes a tendency to short-circuit the democratic system by inducing those in power to support the party system. Such an arrangement is foreign to the British party system, in which the official is expected to be above party politics. Brought up in the British tradition, we are apt to frown on such a tendency. In this controversy it is not noticed that what is wrong with the approach is to expect a career administrator to act as an elected administrator. It has not been noticed that there is an alternative to the career administrator and that is the elected or party administrator. The district or area Head as a political boss is not such a strange idea as we may be inclined to imagine by the continuous exhortations in this country to keep officials off politics. In France, the official

equivalent to our Collector is elected. In communist countries the head of the district or area is a trusted member of the political party. In America, important administrative posts were spoils of the party system, though of late in the interest of the continuity of administration the tendency has been more towards administrative requirements. In important places there has been a lurking admiration for the elected Collector system and whenever it is felt that the bureaucracy is not efficient enough to meet the requirements of the situation, views have also been expressed in public that an elected Collector system may be a proper approach to a new horizon of a responsible administrator. The trained career administrator and the elected administrator are poles apart. They are not expected to and cannot attend to problems of administration in the same way. The situation will control the requirements. Whether the Collector of the Seventies will be a career administrator or an elected administrator will be decided by the requirements of the Seventies.

An elected administrator or an administrator in a Spoil system need not necessarily be a trained administrator. He will be a person believing in the party ideology with probably some background of managing people and his objective will be to push through the party ideologies as far as possible. In this country where a single party has held the reins of power at all levels for nearly two decades, we are apt to forget the implications of this system. During the present decade, we have seen in America with its two-party system and the cross currents of mediaevalism and modernism, the delaying of the majority will by local bosses. In Russia the career politician head is being replaced slowly by the technocrat. In our country, with the party system not yet fully developed and the elected system not yet throwing up a large number of people with reasonable administrative capacity at various levels, the danger is not only of party lines but a failure to meet the average needs of administration. The argument cannot be closed so easily. It is not the absolute value that ultimately decides the issue but the relative values of the two solutions. The Spoil system has seen America through a large part of its development phase. The party Leader has not done Russia badly in the early phases nor has the French Collector been found wanting. The dialogue has to be carried further to see whether under Indian conditions it is the career politician or the career administrator who will answer the requirements of the situation in the Seventies. What are the requirements of a Collector of the Seventies and how far can either of these solutions fill the requirement?

#### THE COLLECTOR'S WORK IN THE SEVENTIES

The Collector has always been the collector of land rent and revenues. In early days he was also collector of various taxes; but as the

taxes became larger in quantity and the laws became complicated, other specialized agencies were created to take over the responsibility. It may be argued that similarly there is no more any necessity that the Collector should have any revenue collection to do. There is another school of thought that land revenue and rent is no more relevant as a tax and it can well be given up and replaced by other taxes on agricultural commodities.

Land in India belongs to the State. Under various laws relating to land tenures, certain rights have been created on land in favour of certain occupiers of land and cultivators. Land rent or land revenue is the charge by the State for the occupation of the State Lands. The incidence of this tax per acre of land is only a few rupees. The rate varies from area to area and from one type of land to another. The rent or revenue has to be collected from a large number of small holders. It is generally the experience that the cost of collection of the tax is a large proportion of the tax itself. It varies from 25 to 80 per cent of the collections. This is one of the main reasons for arguing that this tax as a tax is not a suitable tax, as the cost of collection takes away the bulk of the tax and the Exchequer gets very little. This argument does not notice the fact that the rent and revenue collection staff is not a pure and simple collection staff but it is also the organization for maintenance of land records. Land records play an important part in the body politic. In a predominantly agricultural country, agricultural land has a significant emotional value. Holdings being small and pressure of population high, hunger for land and consequent urge for encroachment on others' properties becomes higher. Maintenance of land records to certain required standards becomes a State duty. Maintenance duty is not a full time job. It is against this background that the land rent and revenue collection staff has been made synonymous with the land records maintenance staff. Seen against this background, the contention that the staff is absorbing a large proportion of the tax collected, loses much of its significance. The staff has to be paid for maintenance of land records. The tax enables maintenance of the staff and gives a surplus to the State.

There is some toying with the idea that the tax itself may be given up as it is low, but the answer may be that the tax must have some relation to the usufruct from the land and if this is done, the tax will remain as an important levy at the State level. There is also a reluctance to absolve the large holders of land from the tax. In fact, the tendency is to surcharge them according to the extent of land they hold. It is also felt that the agricultural sector has to be taxed sufficiently in the national interest. Any tax on agriculture cannot avoid the basic tax on land. Whatever be the future of the tax on land, the need

for maintenance of land records is always there. It is reasonable to forecast that in the Seventies the land tax is likely to continue and the maintenance of land records will certainly continue.

The Collector is also the maintainer of the land records. In a country where agriculture is the main economy, any welfare is linked up with land. The Government also is certainly involved in land and its problems. The Head of the Administration at the district has, therefore, to be directly involved in land. It appears that the Collector as the collector of land revenue and rent and as the maintainer of the land records has to continue in the Seventies.

The Collector has been the head of the law and order organization in the district all through the British period and after Independence. Establishment of rule by law necessitates enforcement of the laws of the land and bringing the offenders against public safety and security to judgment. The police administration is the instrument for doing this work. Establishment of order requires preventive action where breach of the peace is apprehended. Though the Collector has other sources of information in this field, by and large, the police administration is the instrument for advising the Collector about the situation. The Collector has, therefore, been given the duty to see that the police investigation in his district is proceeding satisfactorily and breach of the peace is controlled effectively by the police system. Will there be a necessity for a law and order control at the district level in the Seventies? The last three decades have put a premium on callousness. Human values have reached new lows. Our country is no exception. In this atmosphere, growing disregard of law and order is a natural phenomenon. There is no reason to expect that the millennium will come before the Seventies. The organization for enforcing law and order will certainly continue at the district level and, if at all any change is required by increase in the load of work, it may lead to the splitting of a large district into smaller districts.

Has the Collector to be the head of the law and order organization in the Seventies. There is a school of thought that police administration is getting more and more technical and it is better to leave the responsibility for law and order with the policeman himself. Induction of the Collector as a supervisor and moderator puts a non-technical man over a technical field and is not desirable. It is also argued that with the separation of the judiciary and divesting the Collector of magisterial powers for trial of cases, there is no more a need for supervision of the investigation by a supervising authority. On the other side, it is pointed out that police administration has enormous powers. Power ultimately corrupts. There must be a supervisor and a moderator on behalf of the Government and the people, if power is not to

corrupt absolutely. An organization, given the duty of bringing law breakers to punishment, may, if not suitably supervised, enter into adjustments with the law breaking elements, either out of laziness or in some cases from other temptations. History of recent times, in many countries, has shown the danger of such a development. A supervisor is, therefore, essential. When the organization wields enormous powers over the life of a citizen and in the interest of the safety of the State more and more powers have to be given, unless there is a moderator, power may be used wilfully. For both these reasons, it is argued that there is need for a supervisor and a moderator.

The Collector has been the recorder of Government property in the district. Though the form is still there, the substance is no more as full as it should be. The Collector being the maintainer of land records was in the best position to know about the ownership of property. By maintaining a complete record of Government property he was in a position to ensure that in periodical revisions of the land records the land was not fraudulently recorded in private names. For the Collector to be effective, every department of Government whether in the State or at the Centre must promptly inform the Collector of changes in their property in the district. The establishment of a Welfare State has led to large-scale acquisition of properties and the building of property by various departments of the State and the Centre. Reporting has lagged far behind acquisition or building in most places. There is also an area of property where the Collector's records are rarely up to date. In Corporations, Municipalities and Notified Area Committees, the responsibility for getting their property records up to date is that of the local body. The Collector only gives them the service if requested. So in the urban areas there is a big blind spot. It is also in this area that most of the new acquisitions or build-ings have taken place. Urban areas have been increasing during the Sixties. The Collector of the Sixties is not in a position to discharge his functions effectively.

The Collector has been the watchdog of Government, at the district level, for litigation in which the Government is involved as a party. In Criminal Law where the public order is concerned, the State is a party to the litigation. The Collector has been given the duty of watching the progress of criminal litigation and advising Government when appeals or revision petitions have to be lodged in a higher Court. This requirement is expected to continue in the Seventies. In civil litigation where the State or a department is a party, the Collector has been keeping check over the progress of the litigation. Formerly when the bulk of the litigation was regarding land and property and in many

suits of a simple nature, the Collector could keep track over the litigation and could also usefully act as an adviser to Government in the pursuit of the litigation and the advisability of the litigation. Nowadays, litigation of a civil nature where Government is involved has proliferated in several fields. The laws involved are getting more and more complicated. No doubt the Collector has been advised all along in criminal matters by the Public Prosecutor and in civil matters by the Government Pleader of the district. The Public Prosecutor and the Government Pleader have generally been the leading lawyers in the District Court. On the presumption that the Collector's role will be only that of a common-sense approach to the problem, after the legal niceties have been disposed of by the legal expert, it may be argued that the Collector can possibly continue this role in the Seventies. There is a snag. As litigation becomes more complicated and laws of control and orders proliferate every day, the Public Prosecutor or the Government Pleader are no more able to give the detailed legal advice necessary in all cases. A situation has arisen similar to the one of the General Practitioner and the Specialist in medicine. If the State's interest has to be kept foremost in view, the need for specialization in the field of Civil and Criminal Law becomes mandatory. Each field of governmental activity may have to keep their own Legal Advisers and control the litigation in the Government interest. The Collector need remain responsible only for the limited fields of direct activity he controls. Even now in the Sixties the Collector is not able to discharge the duties expected of him in many parts of this field, but the gravity of the situation has not yet been fully realized. Its awareness has just started and it is reasonable to hope that the Collector of the Seventies will be absolved of a good part of this work.

Since the Second World War, control of essential commodities and food distribution has been an important item of work at the district level. The Collector has always been the Head of the supply organization. Whenever scarcities arise, it has been the Collector's job to see to the equitable distribution of scarce commodities. Food has been an important item of shortage over the last decade. Production of foodgrains is not keeping pace with the growing population and the increasing food needs. In many States the Collector's headache has been to organize the acquisition of surplus foodgrains and meet the deficits wherever they occur, helped by allocations of imported foodgrains and foodgrains arranged from other parts of the country. In spite of our best efforts, our foodgrains production in this country may be a little short of requirements at the beginning of the Seventies and a bad season may put us to great difficulties. Even self-sufficiency in foodgrains production does not mean that there is self-sufficiency in all pockets

of consumption. The need for rational distribution and the need to prevent hoarding and profiteering will continue. With a growing economy, needs are also increasing and diversifying. Production of various articles of consumption is not keeping pace with demand. Essentials like oil, pulses, milk, meat and fish may continue to be in short supply during the Seventies. As democracy is finding its voice more and more, the need for rational distribution will be impressed on the Government in power. The Collector having the closest contact with the agriculturists is in the best position to organize food supplies and food products. He is in a position not only to organize distribution but also the production. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that the Collector as the collector of essential commodities and the distributor of foodgrains will be a felt-need in the Seventies. Signs are that the responsibilities will increase rather than decrease.

#### QUALIFICATIONS OF THE COLLECTOR

For the Collector to be an effective maintainer of land records and a collector of land revenue, he must be well up in the revenue and land laws of the State and the procedures thereof. He must have a basic training in settlement law and procedure. Formerly, the first two years of a young administrator's training was in land laws and procedure and field supervision. Then, as a Sub-divisional Officer he had another two years at least of direct work as a Revenue Officer. Settlement training has been and even now is a part of the training, but the period of work as a Revenue Officer is very much curtailed. Nowadays a young administrator passes the stage of Sub-divisional Officer well within four years of active service. His training has a bulk of new subjects including training in Panchayati Raj. As a result, his grasp of revenue law and administration is not really comprehensive. As a Collector, nowadays, the Administrator does not deal directly with revenue law or procedure. The routine work is done by an Additional Collector who is generally a senior officer of the State Civil Service. The Collector is now more and more getting away from the field of revenue administration. Unless this trend is reversed and a Collector made to take a more active interest in land laws and procedure and tax collection, he will not be in a position to discharge the functions effectively in the Seventies. The elected administrator, not having even the rudimentary knowledge of this branch of administration which is technical, will not be able to meet the problem at all. If steps are taken to make the Collector of the Seventies more knowledgeable in this field by making him do the direct administration of the Revenue Branch for a part of his time or by making him handle this work as an Additional Collector in the early part of his

career, the career Administrator will still have an edge over the elected Administrator. Land being vital to the life of an average citizen this will be a definite point in favour of the career Administrator.

What will be the capacity of the Collector of the Seventies to supervise the police and act as the Moderator? After the separation of the judiciary, the Administrator has very little direct experience of administration of the Criminal Law. As a young administrator, the Collector of the Seventies is now getting a training as a magistrate for about 6 months at the most, after a theoretical training in Criminal Law and Procedure for some months in the Training School. After that he has very little to do with Criminal Law till he becomes a Collector or Additional District Magistrate in charge of the police portfolio in the district. Though theoretically the administrator is supposed to use the Preventive Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code to control disturbances of the peace, such occasions are few and far between. When an occasion arises, the Magistrate may be found wanting. This is not just a theory but a factual observation in the recent past. The police administrators are certainly experts in the Criminal Law. Fudging of investigation or any laxity in prosecution of the case before the Courts of Law will certainly not be immature work. Only a person well-up in Criminal Law and Procedure will be able to spot out the goat's feet. The role of the Moderator is still more difficult. Moderation if it is not to be arbitrary has to be based on a sound appreciation of the facts and the law involved. Commonsense may enable one to appreciate facts but an appreciation of the legal niceties involved requires a good background in Criminal Law and Procedural Law. The young administrator of today is not being equipped to discharge the function of a Supervisor of the police administration or Moderator of the laws of control. He may be able to discharge the functions of a keeper of order if he is given some special training and a number of refresher courses in administering the Preventive Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and in handling a Police contingent as a Magistrate. Without continuous handling of the Criminal Law which with the separation of the judiciary is no more possible without considerable and continuous inservice training, the Collector of the Seventies will not be able to act as a Supervisor and the Moderator. There may have to be a separation of the functions of the Keeper of the order and the Administrator of the law and the latter may have to be given to specialized functionaries well-versed in the Criminal Law. An elected administrator, with sufficient commonsense and given the basic training in the use of the Preventive Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and handling police contingents as a magistrate, can certainly fill the same role as the career administrator

and probably equally effectively. The function of the Collector in this field has perforce to be scaled down because of the compulsions of the separation of the judiciary. Once it is scaled down, there appears to be little to choose between a career administrator and an elected administrator.

The Collector as a recorder of Government property is ineffective in the Sixties. In view of the complexity of the work and the number of Departments of the State and the Centre involved, the possible tendency will be to make each department responsible for maintaining the records of its property and taking steps to assert the proprietorship on all occasions when it is contested. Barring the recording of the property controlled directly by the Collector as Head of the district, the Collector of the Seventies will not be expected to take responsibility for property of other departments. In this limited field any person with commonsense can discharge the duties.

The Collector as a watchdog of Government for litigation will have to be absolved of a substantial portion of his present responsibility by the time the Seventies arrive. He will be made responsible only for the litigation arising out of the direct activities he controls in the field. With the help of the Public Prosecutor or the Government Pleader, any person with commonsense and reasonable experience of land laws and the civil law should be able to discharge the duties expected of a Collector in the Seventies.

The Collector as a controller of essential commodities and as food distributor will be helped by an efficient control organization in the Seventies. Already there are signs that the bulk of the responsibility may be passed on to organizations like the Food Corporation of India and the Collector's part may be more of a friend, philosopher and guide. Any officer with commonsense and a reasonable experience of administration should be able to tackle this problem.

#### THE CHOICE

In the Seventies, the Welfare State will continue to be the pattern and planned economy the means. Without either, the betterment of the vast population of this sub-continent to a reasonable level of satisfaction is an impossibility. Co-ordination of development and co-ordination of other branches of activity of the Government towards the implementation of the development programmes will be the primary function of the district head of the Government. The requirements of such a Collector will be experience in the various branches of Government work and primarily a capacity to handle man and lead them in a concerted effort. He has

to be well-versed in the details of the administration in the several branches and he must have had experience in dealing with elected representatives and getting the co-operation of the people. All this is not learnt in a day. Is the career administrator being fitted for this work? The Collectors are drawn from the Indian Administrative Service. A large number of Collectors in the country are young men with a seniority of 5 to 10 years as an officer of the Service. An officer of the Indian Administrative Service may not do more than 2 or 3 years in his entire service. A look at the distribution of posts available to the Service in a State will show that Secretariat posts or posts where desk work is required rather than field work or public contacts, predominate to an alarming extent. As a result, a tendency has also sprung up for officers to avoid the field posts, if possible, and that too mainly in the districts. So more and more the period as a Collector may be looked upon as a necessary evil to be got through somehow. What we expect of a Collector is certainly much more than this. The situation can certainly be remedied. The Collector is a key man in the administration. A career administrator must be built up to this responsibility and he must have a chance of holding the post when he is sufficiently senior in service and then for a fairly long stretch.

If the career administrator is not being fitted to the post for any reason, there is a temptation to try out the idea of an alternative, like the elected administrator or a party nominee. The alternative will certainly not provide the experience and knowledge of co-ordination required of the Collector of the Seventies. Further when we talk of France or Russia or the United States, we should not forget the background in which the equivalents of the Collector work. In France, there is a strong bureaucracy which is disciplined and controlled by its own hierarchy and its own tribunals. The permanent service is not at the mercy of the elected Collector. In Russia the party nominee is backed by an efficient party organization with its hierarchy of support. In the United States we had an affluent society which could take risks. In the latter two cases we already notice a change to experience in the requirements of the job. Under Indian conditions, therefore, it is most unlikely that in the Seventies we shall find a suitable alternative to the career administrator. The career administrator with all his faults will still have an edge.

#### PROGNOSIS

The analysis of the problem gives a reasonably firm basis for attempting a forecast of the form of the Collector of the Seventies and the work he may be doing at that time. The Collector of the

Seventies will continue to be the Collector of land revenue and rent and the maintainer of the land records. He will certainly be the keeper of the order. He will be a controller of essential commodities. He will have minor responsibilities in regard to Government property and litigation. All these functions will be minor to the overall function of the co-ordinator on behalf of Government at the district level. This requirement will ultimately control the form of the Collector.

The Committee form as a co-ordinator will not work. In the selection of the individual, though the career administrator has his limitations, viewed in the relative capacity of the elected or the political administrator it is reasonable to say that the career administrator will continue to be the Collector in the Seventies.

The career administrator can be made more effective by steps taken in the Sixties to fit him better to the job he has to undertake in the Seventies. On the other hand, a *laissez-faire* policy may lead us to a situation where whoever is the administrator he will not be effective because he is neither trained for the job nor qualified for the job. We can accept a boy or a girl but, God forbid, it is a neuter.



## THE COLLECTOR AND PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS

*H. C. Pande*

New elements and environment, calling for the reappraisal and realignment of the roles of different individuals and agencies and their mutual relationship, have been introduced in the District Development Administration with the advent of the Panchayati Raj. Although the local boards, existed even before the introduction of Panchayati Raj, they were only minor organs within the framework of the district administration, with responsibilities of only limited nature and subordinate in many ways to the authority of the District Magistrate/Collector and other officers. On the other hand, Panchayati Raj institutions of today are increasingly regarded as units of local self-government of a compendious character with responsibilities which subsume the entire substance of local planning and development.

In most of the States, there has come into being an inter-connected structure of democratic statutory bodies linked, in many cases, organically with each other. The net-work of administrative and technical services at the block level been brought under the authority of the elected institutions. The emergence of these institutions has brought the politically elected members of these bodies in intimate contact with the services in the district of which the Collector has been the traditional head. Though the Balwantray Mehta Committee had recommended that the Collector should function as the chairman of the district level body, a different view gradually began to emerge which was opposed to the retention of the Collector in any dominant position in the Panchayati Raj set-up which, it was felt, would not to be in consonance with the spirit of decentralization. It was argued that the Collector would, due to his eminent position, status and prestige in the district, curb the efflorescence of the democratic spirit. Accordingly the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj legislation, which was first in the field, adopted a via media and made the Collector an associate member of the Zilla Parishad without any right to vote or hold office, whilst in Andhra Pradesh, Collector was made the Chairman of the Standing Committees. Meanwhile the Maharashtra Committee on Democratic Decentralization noted that "the Collector had hardly been able to supervise or guide the existing local bodies in respect of which he has considerable responsibility and authority". The Committee added that the appointment of the Collector as Chief Administrator of the district level body would make the position of former extremely difficult if there was a difference of opinion between the Government and the Zilla Parishad, and recommended that the Collector should be kept out. In an attempt to reconcile these conflicting views the Third Five Year Plan stressed that "the Collector of the District will continue to have a large share of responsibility in facilitating the success of Panchayati Raj institutions". It was also recognized that the Collector "has the duty of ensuring co-ordination at the district level between the Zilla Parishad and the technical officers in different fields, close contacts between the latter and the Panchayat Samitis and Extension Officers at the Block level, and a continuing flow of technical advice and guidance from Departments

at the State level". It was emphasized that "an important aspect of the Collector's work will be to assist the democratic institutions and the public services in developing the right conventions in day-to-day work and in administrative relationship based on recognition of their distinctive contribution in fulfilling common objectives".

A perusal of the State legislations relating to Panchayati Raj would show that the Collector, in view of his special position, has been given a distinctive role in the scheme of the Panchayati Raj. Apart from that, the Collector has been made, following the recommendation of the Working Group on Inter-Departmental and Institutional Co-ordination for Agricultural Production, the Chairman of the Agricultural Production Committee of the Zilla Parishad in six States, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, the Punjab and Rajasthan. The position of the Collector in relation to Panchayati Raj institutions varies from State to State. Broadly speaking, there have emerged four patterns of the role of Collector vis-a-vis Zilla Parishads. Some States, feeling that the Zilla Parishad needed the expert guidance of the Collector, who, with all his experience and authority could, as Chairman, give necessary fillip to the entire programme and promote the co-ordinated effort of the official and non-official agencies, have made him a member and Chairman of the Zilla Parishad. Taking a radically opposite view and arguing that the Collector "burdened with the multiplicity of functions and with physical limitations of time and energy" would be unable to do justice to the work of Zilla Parishad, certain State Governments have kept him out of the Zilla Parishad completely. Taking a middle view, a number of States have felt that though the Collector need not be made the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad, it would still be advantageous to keep him within the Panchayati Raj system, as he would always be in a position to make effective contribution in the deliberations of the Zilla Parishad. Accordingly, in certain States, Collector has been made a member of the Zilla Parishad and Chairman of the Standing Committees which are vested with considerable power and authority. Whilst in some other States, the Collector is a member of the Zilla Parishad without any right to vote or hold office. (The exact position in different States is given at the end.) More recently, the Committee on Panchayati Raj appointed by the Government of Himachal Pradesh, considering the role of Collector vis-a-vis Zilla Parishad, thought that there were certain obvious advantages in having Collector's association with the Zilla Parishad, as the significant position of the Collector should be utilized to the best possible advantage of securing the integrated and co-ordinated development of rural areas. The Committee felt that the Collector should be required to exercise some regulatory and controlling powers in respect of various Panchayati Raj institutions and be allowed to retain the powers which he exercised in respect of local bodies to meet an emergent situation. The present pattern of relationship between the Collector and the Panchayati Raj institutions can be conveniently studied under four heads, viz.

- (i) Control over the staff of the Panchayati Raj institutions;
- (ii) Powers to suspend the Resolutions of Panchayati Raj bodies;
- (iii) Powers to remove office-bearers; and
- (iv) Powers to suspend and dissolve the Panchayati Raj bodies themselves.

It may be advantageous to consider these items *ad seriatim* :

*(i) Control Over Staff*

With the transfer of a large staff to the Panchayati Raj institutions at various levels of seniority and responsibility, it is necessary to evolve the channels of control and procedures for enquiry against the officers and staff of these bodies in the event of their dereliction of their duties and also for enquiry against the individual members of the Panchayati Raj bodies when they misuse their discretionary or statutory powers. It may be mentioned that Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads have two categories of staff at their disposal. Firstly, they have the Chief Executive Officers and various Extension Officers whose services are placed at their disposal by the parent departments and, secondly, they have the members of the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishad service itself. The control and procedures for enquiry would necessarily be different in case of these two categories of staff. The question of control, in the present context, would relate only to the Executive Officers, as the control over the staff of Panchayati Raj bodies is generally exercised by their Chief Executive Officers or by the appropriate heads of the departments from which they are on deputation.

The disciplinary control over the Executive Officers of the Panchayati Raj bodies might take the form of (1) the writing of the confidential report, which, if adverse, may affect the Executive Officer, in various ways and (2) the authority to inflict various punishments. Various patterns exist regarding the writing of the confidential reports of the Executive Officers of the Panchayati Raj bodies. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh the confidential report is initiated by the President of the Panchayat Samiti or the Secretary of the Zilla Parishad and the Collector countersigns it, while in case of Madras, the Collector writes the confidential report on the basis of the comments received from Revenue Divisional Officer and Chairman of Panchayat Union Council. In the case of Orissa, the Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti records his remarks on the work of the Block Development Officer, in a form approved by the Government and sends it to the Collector and the Collector himself records his remarks in a separate form and the report of the Chairman is attached in original to this form along with the comments of the Collector. The comments of the District Level Officers, Sub-divisional Officers and Executive Officers are also incorporated in the confidential report of the Block Development Officer. In Rajasthan and Punjab, the confidential reports are initiated by the Collectors and sent to the Development Commissioner for counter signature whereas in the case of Rajasthan, the comments of the Pradhan are also obtained by the Collector and attached to the confidential report of the Block Development Officer.

As to the authority which has the power to inflict minor punishments on the Executive Officers of the Panchayat Samitis, in the case of Andhra Pradesh, it is the Collector whereas in Assam, Mysore, Orissa and Rajasthan, these powers are with the State Government. The powers are exercised by the Revenue Divisional Officer in Madras, the Divisional Commissioner in Maharashtra (in the case of the Zilla Parishad), by the Panchayat Samiti itself in Punjab, the Commissioner for Agricultural Production and Rural Development in Uttar Pradesh and the Development Commissioner in Himachal Pradesh. There is no uniformity in this system either.

The disciplinary control over the Executive Officers of the Zilla Parishad also takes the form of the authority of recording the confidential report, or inflicting minor punishments and, of administrative control by Chairman to a limited extent. In Andhra Pradesh, the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad writes the confidential report of Executive Officer and sends it through the Collector to the Government. In Orissa, the confidential report is written by the Chairman and forwarded to the Collector who prepares his own report in a separate form and sends the report along with the report of the Chairman in original to the Government. In Punjab, the report is written by the Chairman and sent to the Government. In Rajasthan, the District Development Officer (Collector) writes the report of the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad and sends it along with the comments of the Pramukh to the Government. In Uttar Pradesh, the confidential report is written by the State Government. There is, therefore, a wide variation in the authorities writing the confidential reports of the Executive Officers of the Zilla Parishad.

*(ii) Powers to Suspend the Resolutions of Panchayati Raj Bodies*

The powers to suspend the resolutions of a Panchayat vest in the Commissioner in Andhra Pradesh and in the Collector in Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab and Assam. In Punjab and Assam, these powers are concurrently exercised by the Sub-divisional Officers as well. These powers have been exclusively given to the Sub-divisional Officer in Bihar and Orissa, while they are exercised by the Zilla Parishad in Uttar Pradesh, by the officer in charge of Panchayats in Rajasthan, the Director of Panchayats in Kerala and the Taluk Development Board in Gujarat.

The powers to suspend the resolutions of the Panchayat Samiti are with the State Government in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, West Bengal and Rajasthan. The powers are also exercised by the Collector (Deputy Commissioner or District Magistrate) in Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. In Assam the powers of the Collector are concurrent with those of the sub-divisional Officer.

The powers to suspend a resolution of the Zilla Parishad vest in the State Government in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and West Bengal. They have been given to the Collector (Deputy Commissioner or District Magistrate in Assam) in Assam (concurrently with Sub-divisional Officer) and in Maharashtra. They vest in the Commissioner in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. No provision exists in Rajasthan, Madras, Kerala and Mysore.

It is thus clear that there is a general trend towards granting the powers of suspending a resolution of Panchayat or Panchayat Samiti to the Collector whereas the powers to suspend a resolution of the Zilla Parishad are generally given to the Commissioner or the State Governments.

*(iii) Powers to Remove Office-bearers of Panchayati Raj Bodies*

There is a provision for the removal of office bearers of the Panchayati Raj bodies in all the States. In case of Panchayats these powers are vested in the State Governments in Assam, Bihar, Kerala, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan (for Sarpanch and Upsarpanch only). These powers are exercised by the Commissioner in Andhra Pradesh, by the Collector in Mysore and Rajasthan (for Panchas only), by the Sub-divisional

Officer in Uttar Pradesh, by the Director of Panchayats in Punjab, by the Panchayat itself in Madras and by the Zilla Parishad in Maharashtra.

At the Panchayat Samiti level the powers of removal of the office bearers have been vested in the State Governments in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. They are with the Commissioner in U.P., with the Panchayat Union Council in Madras and with the "competent authority" in Gujarat. No provision exists in Kerala.

The powers to remove the office bearers of a Zilla Parishad have been vested in the State Governments in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, U.P., West Bengal, and Himachal Pradesh. They are exercised by the "competent authority" in Gujarat. No provision exists regarding the removal of the office bearers of a Zilla Parishad in Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Rajasthan and Madras.

From the foregoing it will be seen that in the matter of the removal of office bearers of the Panchayati Raj bodies the general tendency is towards giving these powers to the State Governments. This is a very desirable provision in the Panchayati Raj legislations of different States and should remain unchanged in the case of Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads. It may, however, be considered whether it is desirable that even the powers of the removal of the office bearers of the Panchayats should be given to the State Government because the number of Panchayats is very large and the State Government may be unnecessarily burdened by this task. The recent Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj has recommended that "the power of removal of members of Panchayats should vest in the Collector. The Collector should also exercise that authority in respect of Sarpanchas or members of Panchayat Samitis. The powers to remove the head of the Panchayat Samiti and members of the Zilla Parishad should vest in the Commissioner/Board of Revenue. The powers to remove the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad should vest in the State Government. Appeals against the orders of authorities below the State level should lie to the next higher authority".

*(iv) Powers to Suspend and Dissolve the Panchayati Raj Bodies*

We now come to the powers of suspension and dissolution of the Panchayati Raj bodies themselves. The decision to suspend a Panchayat Raj body has to be taken after great deliberation and serious thought. It is, therefore, natural that these powers should be vested at as high a level as possible. In the case of the Panchayats the powers to suspend or dissolve vest in the State Governments in Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, (for dissolution only) and in the Deputy Commissioner in Orissa.

In the case of a Panchayat Samiti, the State Government has the powers to dissolve it in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh (concurrently with the Commissioner), West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh.

The powers to dissolve a Zilla Parishad vest in the State Government, in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. No provision exists for the dissolution of a Zilla Parishad in Assam, Gujarat, Mysore, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala.

The consensus of opinion regarding the vesting of the powers of dissolution on suspension of the Panchayati Raj bodies is that they should remain with the State Governments. The dissolution of a Panchayat Samiti or Zilla Parishad is a major decision and it may be considered whether this power should be vested in the State Governments in all the States. As regards Panchayats, it might be possible to give such powers to the Zilla Parishad.

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Apart from the statutory supervision and control exercised by the Collector over the Panchayati Raj institutions, the problem of mutual adjustments and harmonious relations remains. No amount of statutory control can provide the harmony that is necessary between the Collector as the representative of the government on one hand and Panchayati Raj bodies as the popular representative institution on the other, to make the massive Plan effort a success. The development of harmonious relationship between the normal administration and the new democratic institutions has been watched with considerable interest over the last 5 years. Prior to the introduction of Panchayat Raj, there were considerable misgivings about this relationship. Broadly speaking, the Collectors have by now developed, by and large, a feeling of loyalty to these institutions. The non-officials have acquired more balanced outlook and a greater degree of tolerance than before and have tried to learn the intricacies of administrative pattern showing a willingness to abide by the rules and regulations and to work within the framework of legislation enacted for them. In cases of maladjustment, the officials are apt to complain that representatives of Panchayati Raj bodies, brought into office as a result of the support of certain groups, show a tendency to act in furtherance of the interests of these groups and, therefore, do not exhibit impartiality when decisions affecting the interest of these groups are taken by the Panchayati Raj bodies. The non-official, on the other hand, tend to feel that officials are generally not attuned to popular aspirations and shy away from tendering whole-hearted assistance to Panchayati Raj bodies. A recent study on "The Pattern of Rural Development in Rajasthan" has noted with satisfaction that "the Collectors displayed considerable tact and understanding in dealing with matters relating to the working of the Zilla Parishad. There was mutual regard and respect for each other in their dealings. The Pramukhs generally conducted themselves with dignity and poise".

Ensuring harmonious relationship between the non-officials and officials which would be absolutely free from rancour is a difficult and slow process, as a certain amount of friction is inevitable when persons with different background ideas and thinking come into constant touch with each other. It is also to be realized that it would not be possible to improve this relationship merely by framing rules and regulations, as a delimitation of duties and functions of the non-officials and officials would not result automatically in a harmonious synthesis between the thinking of these two limbs. The problem cannot be summed up any better than in the following words of the late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, "officials should bring the experience of training and disciplined services. The non-officials should represent and bring that popular urge and enthusiasm which gives life to the movement. Both have to think and act in a dynamic way and develop initiative. The official has to develop the qualities of popular leader, the people's representatives have to develop discipline and training of the officials, so that they approximate

to each other and both should be guided by the ideal of disciplined service in a common cause." On the whole, a synthesis of official expertise and popular enthusiasm is gradually emerging which would successfully meet the challenge arising out of the democratization and decentralization of administration.

POSITION OF COLLECTOR IN ZILLA PARISHAD

- |                       |    |    |   |
|-----------------------|----|----|---|
| (1) Andhra Pradesh    | .. | .. | The Collector is Member of the Zilla Parishad and Chairman of the its Standing Committees. Entitled to participate in meetings of Samitis and their Standing Committees.  |
| (2) Assam             | .. | .. | A member of the Mohkuma Parishad.   |
| (3) Bihar             | .. | .. | (i) Entitled to attend and participate in meetings of Samitis and Parishads and their Standing Committees, but cannot vote.<br>(ii) Exercises disciplinary control over all Government servants working under the the Parishad and the Samitis. |
| (4) Gujarat           | .. | .. | Associate member of Zilla Parishad, without any right to vote.  |
| (5) Madras            | .. | .. | Member and Chairman of the District Development Council.  |
| (6) Madhya Pradesh    | .. | .. | Outside the Zilla Parishad.   |
| (7) Maharashtra       | .. | .. | Outside the Zilla Parishad.   |
| (8) Mysore            | .. | .. | (i) Is the President of the District Development Council.<br>(ii) According to the new Bills, he will be outside the Zilla Parishad. However, an officer of Collector's status is proposed to be posted as Chief Executive Officer.             |
| (9) Orissa            | .. | .. | Is a member with no right to vote. Can attend and participate in meetings of Samitis and Standing Committees. He is the Chairman of Administrative Co-ordination Committee of the Parishad.   |
| (10) Punjab           | .. | .. | Is a member of the Zilla Parishad, without right to vote. (S.D.O. is a member of the Panchayat Samiti without right to vote).   |
| (11) Rajasthan        | .. | .. | Is a member of the Zilla Parishad with no right to vote.  |
| (12) Uttar Pradesh    | .. | .. | (i) Is not a member of the Zilla Parishad. May attend meetings of the Parishad, without right to vote.<br>(ii) May send communication to the Zilla Parishad for being read at its meetings and for discussion.                                  |
| (13) West Bengal      | .. | .. | Outside the Zilla Parishad.   |
| (14) Himachal Pradesh | .. | .. | Chairman.   |

## INSTITUTION OF THE DISTRICT COLLECTOR

Haridwar Rai

The institution of the District Collector is in tune with the time-honoured Indian system of territorial organization which entailed repeated sub-division of area with graded levels of administration, each entrusted to the charge of an official of the Central Government. The district which was in origin a land revenue division, became, over a period of years, the fundamental administrative units on whose framework were built civil, criminal, and police jurisdictions and also those of welfare and technical services provided by special departments of government. The District Collector was the nucleus of the system and the district its key-link and "the centre of life in the Indian empire".<sup>1</sup>

The rudiments of the system of territorial administration may be traced to the times of the Mauryan kings. In those days of slow and difficult communication, the collection of revenue and the enforcement of Imperial writs would not have been possible without splitting up an unwieldy empire into administrative units of convenient size placed in charge of agents of the Imperial authority.<sup>2</sup> The Imperial agent sufficiently important in the hierarchy who corresponded to the District Collector was the Rajuka appointed over "many hundred thousands men", having powers of "awarding rewards or punishment". Though essentially a revenue official, the Rajuka exercised judicial functions also. He collected land revenue, maintained roads in proper condition, promoted trade and industry and carried out public works like irrigation, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Similar territorial units of administration existed under the Guptas who followed the older models in building provincial and subordinate local administrations. The empire was divided into provinces, probably known as *desas*, the provinces into *bhuktis* which were about the size of the Commissioner's division of modern times, and *bhuktis* into *visayas*, roughly corresponding to a modern district. The *visaya* was presided over by an officer of the Central Government who was usually called *visayapati* and was responsible for maintaining law and order and collecting taxes and revenues.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "The District is a portion of the empire which every one can appreciate. .... It is in the district that we see the great machine of government at work, and by its results there can we, to a large extent, estimate its success. If the machine works well at this vital centre, the whole empire is probably well governed." See E. Lee-Warner, *The Citizen of India*, London, Macmillan, 1899, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. K. Mukherji, "Ashoka The Great.", *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed., R. C. Majumdar, vol. II, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1953, p. 79 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Delhi, Motilal Banarasisdass, 1958, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> See R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vakataks—Gupta Age*, Banaras, Motilal Banarasisdass, 1949, p. 261. See also *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, Bharatiya Bhavan, 1954, p. 344.

Under the Hindu system of administration, the village was the land-unit of revenue administration. Some one from the village took the lead as the representative of the village for supervising the collection of king's share in kind at the threshing floor. He subsequently came to be called the headman, becoming, in course of time, a governmental agent, an institution, and assuming an hereditary character. He is referred to in the early books as *patel*, *mandal*, *pradhan*, and later still, *muqaddam* and *lambardar*. The system of the village administration set the pattern for all the rest. "The village official personnel", remarks Baden-Powell, "was, for Government purposes, simply repeated in wider and wider circles, first over a smaller area, and then again, over a still larger area such as we call a district."<sup>5</sup> The most generally used and best known division was the one which comprised the charge of 100 to 80 villages or some similar group. The Hindu system of territorial organization was generally preserved by the Mughals.

## II

Muhammedan rulers also followed the system of territorial administration. Under the Delhi Sultanate, the empire was divided into a number of provinces and tributary states. With the growth of provincial administration, it was found necessary to divide the provinces into *ships* which were put under *shiqdars*. When the empire decayed and provincial dynasties were established, the *ships* emerged as *sarkars*.<sup>6</sup> But Sher Shah did not favour devolution of authority. Instead, he created a complete administrative organization directly subordinate to the ruler or the Central authority.<sup>7</sup> The system of provincial administration did not find a place in it, because it appeared to him to be disruptive of the unity and strength of the empire.<sup>8</sup> He divided the empire into *sarkars*, and *sarkars* into *parganas*. The latter became the basic unit of fiscal administration, and the former stood for an administrative unit of no real consequence.<sup>9</sup> The *pargana* was administered

<sup>5</sup> B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Land-Systems of British India*, vol. I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1892, p. 254. Even, from Manu's law book it is evident that a regular system of village administration prevailed in some parts of India many centuries before Christ. "There was first a supreme village—lord or governor who governed 1000 villages, subject to the king's suzerainty. Under him were the lords of 100 villages constituting a district now called a *pargana*, and under these again were the chiefs of each separate village—community." See M. Monier—Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, London, Kegan Paul, Irench. Trubner & Co., 1891, p. 40. See also George Campbell, *Modern India: A Sketch of the System of Civil Government*, London, J. Murray, 1852, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> I. H. Qureshi, "Islamic Political Theory, Administrative Organisation, Law and Legal Institutions", *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. IV, ed., R. C. Mazumdar, *op.cit.*, p. 453ff.

<sup>7</sup> S. M. Edwardes and H. L. O. Garrat, *Mughal Rule In India*, Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1959, p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1951, p. 251. "He thought" says N. C. Roy, "that the provincial governors with all the resources of outlying provinces at their command might become too strong for the integrity of the State." See *The Civil Service in India*, Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. Moreland maintains that under Sher Shah the *pargana* was the basic unit of revenue administration, whereas the *sarkar* denoted an administrative unit, i.e., an aggregate of *parganas*. Under Akbar, on the contrary, the *sarkar* was intended to be a revenue district. See *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Allahabad, Central Bank Depot, 1929, p. 76.

by an Amin, a revenue official, who was assisted by a fotadar, a treasurer, and a shiqdar who was a military officer. His administrative system served "as a model to Akbar's revenue minister, Raja Todar Mall, and may also be said to have formed the basis of the British system of revenue settlement"<sup>10</sup>.

The administrative system of the Mughals was based on delegation of power to the man on the spot, followed by a system of vertical control and one of internal checks and balances. The empire was divided into subas, subas into sarkars and sarkars into parganas. The sarkar was the counterpart of the present day district. The head of the sarkar was faujdar, who was a military officer. He was the emperor's direct representative in the area under his command, but working under the supervision and guidance of the subedar (governor). He maintained peace and order, kept his army well-equipped and in readiness for service, and assisted the amalguzar, the collector of revenue of the sarkar, in revenue collection. The amalguzar or amil, in addition to his revenue duties, was required to punish robbers and other miscreants in order to protect the peasantry. He was authorized to advance loans to the peasants, recover them gradually, to supervise the work of Khazandar, the treasurer, to send periodical reports of receipts and expenditure to the court and to remit regularly the revenue of the sarkar to the royal treasury.<sup>11</sup> His revenue functions were, in large measure, identical with those of the District Collector under the British, though, unlike the latter, he did not represent the might and majesty of government which, indeed, belonged to the faujdar.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the Mughal fiscal system adhered closely to "the old practice, procedure and even tradition of the country"<sup>13</sup> and may be traced back to the days of the Mauryan rulers in the same manner as the British gathered the Mughal administrative traditions and stamped them in their own image.

The principal object of all the kingdoms and principalities, both Hindu and Muhammedan, was the collection of land revenue. The essential feature of their territorial organization, devised mainly for the convenience of revenue collection, were the following:

- (1) The village with the headman and the accountant;
- (2) Very frequently there was an intermediate grouping of villages forming a "tappa", under a minor civil officer and staff; this was not always found;
- (3) A larger district forming a pargana or taluka, under a district headman (kardar, amil, chaudhari, karori, etc.), and aided by an accountant (Kanungo);
- (4) Several parganas united into a sarkar under a diwan, nazim, etc.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> S. M. Edwardes and H.L.O., *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>11</sup> See Sri Ram Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-45. See also A. L. Srivastava, *A Short History of Akbar the Great*, Agra, Shiva Lal Agarwal & Co., 1957, pp. 83-84.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. B. B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1959- p. 154.

<sup>13</sup> See Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Patna, Patna University, 1921, p. 9

<sup>14</sup> B. H. Baden-Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

## III

Under most of the earlier kingdoms, there was always some organization of territory especially adopted with a view to ensuring the realization of land revenue, revenue officials generally being invested with all those powers which were considered necessary for the purpose. This concentration of powers in the hands of local agents of government came to be regarded by the British as the "oriental" or indigenous form of government. The fundamental feature of the system lay in the repeated division of territory into smaller local areas, entrusting their administration to agents of Central authority with power to exercise the functions of government within their jurisdiction. It was a feudal form of territorial organization as against the bureaucratic subsequently set up by the British in India. The territorial gradation of administrative areas remained essentially the same, though infinite changes in detail occurred.<sup>15</sup>

In the process of the collapse of the Mughal Empire, the institutions of local administration, such as, amils, muqaddams, mandals, etc., gradually disappeared, and rural areas found themselves under the charge of zamindars and jagirdars who, consistent with existing customs and traditions of government, exercised governmental power within their jurisdiction. They collected land revenue, maintained law and order and exercised extensive judicial powers. The British spoke the basing their "first institutions" on what they regarded as "the model of the native governments" when they concentrated "the entire authority for the collection of the revenue, the administration of justice and the preserving of the public peace" in a single governmental functionary appointed to administer the area under his charge. "Asiatic government", observed the Fifth Report from the Select Committee, "inclined to the establishment of individual authorities in gradation from the sovereign downwards to the village mokadam or mondal".<sup>16</sup>

## IV

This "native" model appeared to be convenient to a foreign government in the realization of the two-fold objective it had set before itself, namely, the collection of revenue and the consolidation of its authority in an alien land. John Shore explained in a note that due to political and administrative considerations covenanted civilians should be employed in the management and control of the revenue and the administration of justice in all districts and that the two duties should be united in the same person. "It is the part of a wise government", he said "to provide against all contingencies. We ought not, therefore to, rely upon the peaceable disposition of the natives—but establish such a control in all parts of the country that in case of a foreign invasion—or in the event of a rebellion in any of our provinces the payment of our revenue may not be suspended, illicit correspondence or

<sup>15</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul*, Delhi, S. Chand, Indian Reprint, 1958, p. 270.

<sup>16</sup> F. D. Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report*, 1812, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917, p. 185-200. See also Nagendranath Ghose, *Comparative Administrative Law*, Tagore Law Lectures, 1918, Calcutta, Butterworth & Co., 1919, Lecture VII. He says that it was originally assumed by the British that "concentration of all authority, judicial, magisterial and fiscal—made the most successful administrator in the Mughal regime", p. 182.

dangerous confederacies may be checked and the contagion of rebellion may be stifled."<sup>17</sup>

Accordingly the British built on the old Indian System of territorial administration. They divided the country into convenient areal divisions called districts, placing each one of them under the charge of a centrally appointed official, namely, the District Collector, having the full trust of government and owing it undivided allegiance. Subsequently, there came into existence graded divisions of the entire country, each administered by an officer who was under the control of another of superior authority, and the whole structure looked like a pyramid with government at the apex. This signified a marriage between the Mughal and the bureaucratic administrative institutions. The Indian tradition of territorial organization and the concentration of powers in the hands of local agents was blended with the notion and practice of centrally appointed, professional, covenanted civilians. This resulted in the imposition of bureaucratic superstructure upon a monarchic foundation.

The British District Officer came as an agent of centralization armed with powers as extensive as those of his Mughal prototype. Indeed, he became 'the Anglo-Saxon reincarnation of *mansabdars*—the embodiment of an oriental principle of government that there should be one officer in each of administration who should represent the government in that area and who should be responsible for that area'.<sup>18</sup> This system, however, differed from its aristocratic counterpart then prevailing in Britain in one important respect. "The Indian system of public administration was of the monarchic variety much more than a blending of 'Somerset House and the old Bailey', and was perhaps, in its ultimate effects, closest to the French type."<sup>19</sup> Indeed, until he could be "regulated" out of recognition by the Bengal Code of 1793, the District Collector was, a sort of proconsul whose irregularities were exempt from the jurisdiction of "the ordinary tribunals, and who was accountable only to the Executive which he served".<sup>20</sup> His position was comparable to the intendant of the 18th Century France, who was an official appointed by, and responsible to, the Central authority, and was absolute in his own area.<sup>21</sup>

## V

The Collector system was analogous to the French system of intendants that worked from 1660 to 1789. During the period, the chief administrative district was the "generalite" which was governed by an intendant appointed

<sup>17</sup> *Bengal Revenue Consultations*, 18th May, 1785. Aspinall also remarks that "it was felt that not only would the work of revenue collection be facilitated by the presence of an expert official in the District, but also the sovereignty of the Company and the power of the Executive Government would be strengthened...." See *Cornwallis in Bengal*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1931, p. 83.

<sup>18</sup> Richard W. Gable, "District Administration : Its Development and Its Challenges", *District Administration in West Pakistan*, ed., Inayatullah, (Peshawar, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1964), p.3.

<sup>19</sup> K. J. Newman, "Basic Democracy as an Experiment", *Political Studies*, 10 : 1, 1962, p. 48.

<sup>20</sup> W. S. Seton-Karr, *The Marquess Cornwallis*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1890, p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. A. Aspinall, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

by the King and responsible to him alone.<sup>22</sup> The system was used by the French monarchy as an instrument of centralization and as a method to establish absolutism and liquidate local and corporate influences and pretensions. By 1670, the intendant had become a new type of permanent administrator, entrenched in every "generalite", holding a position which was not an office "in the old sense of vendible and hereditary commodity, but a power revocable at will; dependent on the King and his ministers; the skilled and subtle instrument of the absolutist state".<sup>23</sup> He exercised police and judicial powers, controlled finance, and was the local sovereign of municipalities. Indeed, the whole economy of the "generalite" came under his control and care. As the representative of the King, he secured the observation of the royal edicts, the administration of civil and criminal justice and all other things that concerned the prosperity and security of the subjects placed under his charge.<sup>24</sup> Though the system promoted centralization of power in the hands of the monarch in Paris, it resulted in "decentralisation of functions" on a regional basis.<sup>25</sup>

The system of local administration re-organized by Napoleon in 1800 retained the foundations of the pre-revolutionary French administration. In the new system, the Prefect, under absolute central control, became the modern equivalent of the intendant of the *ancien regime*, and the department became the "revolutionary" administrative area placed under his charge. The events in the wake of the Revolution had convinced the leadership of "the anarchy and chaos that might result from unbridled revolutionary activities in the provinces and communes". It was accordingly decided to defeat "the forces of federalism and local autonomy" by retaining the unified and unitary character of the French Government and the centralized feature of its administration.<sup>26</sup> The Prefect became the fulcrum of the system of local administration that persists, except for minor changes, to the present day. "It was orderly, symmetrical, and logical—the product of a great military mind operating in a civil framework. An unbroken chain of command functioned from the national government through departments and arrondissements down to the smallest commune."<sup>27</sup> France practised this pattern of local administration in her colonies in Asia and North Africa.

This system of local administration came to be followed by such countries as Spain, Belgium and Poland in their colonial possessions in parts of

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed study of the origin, evolution and effects of the system of Intendants, see H. Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, London, Methuen & Co., 1956, pp. 741-54.

<sup>23</sup> Ernest Barker, *The Development of Public Services in Western Europe*, London, Oxford University Press, 1945, p. 10.

"The country" says Finer "was in the grip of a rigid and deadening centralisation, one, indeed, which so worked upon the habits of men that the Revolution could not finish with it. . . ." See H. Finer, *op. cit.*, p. 747.

<sup>24</sup> See Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Alfred Diamant, "The French Administrative System", *Towards the Comparative Study of Public Administration*, ed., W. J. Siffin, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1959, p. 190.

<sup>26</sup> Harold F. Alderfer, *Local Government in Developing Countries*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5

Asia and Africa. Britain, too, had to adopt it for her colonies because she did not then possess a comparable system of local administration within her own borders. Reforms of her local government system could not be completed before the late years of the Nineteenth Century. At any rate, the nature and pattern of the English system of administration in the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries—the period during which the British were busy forging their administrative system in India—were hardly any guide to the British Indian administrators. England then was a state of legislators and, therefore, of amateurs. The administrative activity was largely concentrated in London, and local administration outside the central authority was a paradise, unlike the French administration, of anarchic autonomy. “The Napoleonic principle of ‘active administration’ was a thing which was almost unknown”.<sup>28</sup>

Allied to this was the aggressive and authoritarian attitude of Britain to her colonial possessions in the last years of the Eighteenth Century and the beginning of the Nineteenth. “Memories of the French Revolution had left an atmosphere favourable to advocates of authoritarian methods at home and overseas alike. In India, British authority was long majestically employed in applying the Virgilian maxim of *parcere subjectis et debellare superbis*.”<sup>29</sup> Obviously, the pattern of British administration was found inadequate for governing their colonial Indian empire—a “backward”, oriental society, and they “took over much of the centralized and hierarchical mechanics of French administration”.<sup>30</sup> The French system seemed to serve their purpose well. It had some similarities with the traditional Indian system of territorial organization and, when applied to the Indian situation, had the great advantage of dispensing with the need for drastic institutional innovation which would have involved great cost, labour and ingenuity and would have looked like disrespect to existing indigenous institutions and established administrative usages. This, however, neither implied British “attachment to institutional tolerance” nor their “belief in the natural organic growth of human institutions, including the institutions appropriate to government”.<sup>31</sup> Their subsequent administrative measures and governmental actions disprove this assertion.

## VI

The creation of the district as an areal unit of administration and the appointment of the District Collector therein served as a strong administrative chain with which the British held their Indian administration together under the umbrella of a foreign government. The system made it possible and convenient for a small number of foreigners to rule a vast, sprawling subcontinent. Under its impact, the old hierarchy of feeble local officials and institutions gave place to new administrative tools and practices and professional, careerist administrators. But the authoritarian and personal element in the administration remained basically unaffected. This pattern

<sup>28</sup> Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, p.33.

<sup>29</sup> E. W. Evans, “Principles and Methods of Administration in the British Colonial Empire” *Principles and Methods of Colonial Administration*, ed., C. M. MacInnes, London, Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1950, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> Harold F. Alderfer, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> E. W. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

of local administration acted as a model for the governance of colonies subsequently acquired by the British in other parts of Asia and Africa. It provided for a mechanism of deconcentration of governmental functions and also a means for personalizing government and making it intelligible to the ordinary village people. It made for decongestion at the top without, in any manner, weakening the power of control and direction of the central authority over field administration. It relied heavily for its effective operation on the personal qualities of the District Collector. The system has been thus described:

"It was a despotism tempered by the despot's liberal upbringing and by knowledge of Parliament's usually liberal attitude. But despotism it was all the same as any system must be in which people are given what is good for them instead of what they want."<sup>33</sup>

## VII

The grant of Diwani to the East India Company in 1765 marks the starting point of British revenue administration in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The old and time-worn Mohammedan system of administration was, however, allowed to continue with slight modifications, for it was most "politic" and expedient to do so, until 1769 when the Company launched upon its scheme of English supervision over the "native" collecting agency. The scheme, notwithstanding its shortcomings—it represented the system of indirect rule—formed the "nucleus" of the British system of administration and laid the groundwork for later administrative developments. This having failed, the East India Company stood forth in 1772 as Diwan and undertook the collection of revenue and the administration of the fiscal system itself. The existing system of collection underwent a basic change, involving as it did the appointment of the Company's officials as "Collectors" of revenue in the place of the former "Supervisors". Henceforward, the collection of revenue became the most important duty of the civil servants of the Company, and the District Collector became the fundamental feature of the British local administration in India. He was subsequently invested with civil and magisterial jurisdictions under the judicial plan of 1772. Thus, the district which was yet a geographical expression rather than a well-defined administrative area was placed for the first time under a European official. It became the common unit of revenue and judicial administration, and the Collector came to combine in his person the powers of a tax collector and those of a magistrate.

This arrangement, too, was short-lived and there soon followed a period of centralization of revenue administration. It was decided to manage the whole business of revenue at the Presidency. European Collectors were withdrawn and districts were again left in the hands of "native" Diwans. But the system of centralized revenue administration did not work satisfactorily, and in 1786, a new system, aiming at decentralization, was evolved. This involved the division of the province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa into small districts, each under the charge of a Collector who was also made Judge and Magistrate. This arrangement was intended to make for efficiency, simplicity, energy and justice and to strengthen the sovereignty

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<sup>33</sup> Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians*, London, J. Cape, 1953, p. 17.

of Government. The combination of revenue and judicial functions in the office of the Collector was supposed to conform to the traditional Indian system of Government. The system of territorial administration based on a series of districts, each controlled directly by a Collector who was responsible for the collection of revenue and the administration of criminal justice, remained the basis of subsequent administration.

The concentration of judicial and executive functions in the Collector of this period made him an immensely powerful local officer. He became the head of the district—the District Officer, as he subsequently came to be styled—being at once the judge, the magistrate, the collector of revenue and the general supervisor and controller of the entire area under his charge. All threads of control in the district passed through him. Due to vast distances between the seat of Government and the districts, he was, in fact, uncontrolled and uncontrollable. In the name of restoring the Mughal tradition of absolutism, all powers were centred in him, and he was made solely responsible for the general well-being of the hundreds of thousands of people in his charge. Indeed, his position was comparable to the Intendant of the Eighteenth Century France, who was an official appointed by, and responsible to, the central authority, and who was absolute in his own area.

But the combination of judicial and executive functions in one and the same functionary was not only unfamiliar to Lord Cornwallis but was also incompatible with his political conviction. He opposed the union of these functions in the District Collector on the ground that it implied a perpetuation of the personal, authoritarian, tradition of "oriental" Government and militated against his Whiggish philosophy of state action. To him, the essence of the problem lay in limiting governmental power and preventing its abuse. Accordingly, he separated, in 1793, the revenue and judicial functions and placed them in different hands. The former was assigned to the Collector, and the general administration, police, civil-judicial and criminal-judicial functions were vested in the Judge-Magistrate. Besides, the Collector, under the new arrangement, was made amenable for his acts to the court of judicature. He became a mere fiscal agent. This kept him tied to his office with neither authority nor opportunity to learn the conditions of the people. The Judge-Magistrate became the head of the district.

But, in contrast to this, there was the Munro school of district administration, perfected into a working system in the first decades of the Nineteenth Century, in such provinces as Madras, Bombay and North-Western Provinces under the influence of Munro, Elphinstone, Malcolm and Metcalfe. There is a unity of thought in this group of men which makes it possible to speak of them as founders of a school of district administration distinct from the Cornwallis school of district administration. They were pragmatists in politics and administration and were critical of "innovation" and fanciful theories founded on European models. They were, accordingly, opposed to upsetting the ancient custom and constitution of the country, as they saw them, under which the officer who was in charge of the land revenue administration was vested with extensive judicial authority as well. The visible achievement of this school was the *raiayatwari* system of land settlement and general administration under which the Collector combined both the judicial and executive powers. Consequently the major difference which assumed the colour of an ideological polemic between the two

systems of district administration hinged on the question of the union or separation of the judicial and executive powers.

Under the Munro system of district administration, the District Collector was, in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, the real head and also the effective ruler of his district and exercised wide discretionary power. He was responsible for the welfare of the people and the general administration of the district. This was the paternalistic or the patriarchal system of district administration under which the conception of the duties of the District Officer was comprehensive in character, requiring the constant exercise of his faculties and making him active, alert and dynamic. He was "practically a local governor, exercising a wide range of superintendence over his district and regarded by its people as their helper and ruler".

On the other hand, the province of Bengal, under the Cornwallis system of district administration, did not have such a representative of Government in its districts who could occupy a position of pre-eminence and primacy and watch over and promote the general welfare, from every point of view, of the people committed to his charge. Indeed, in a Bengal district, there were normally two heads of the administration, the Judge-Magistrate and the Collector, the former being responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice, and the latter in charge of the collection of revenue. None of these officers had the overall responsibility for the control of governmental business and policy within the district. This was an important point of weakness in the district administration of Bengal; and it is here that the Munro system demonstrated its superiority over the Bengal system.

Meanwhile, the Munro or the patriarchal conception of the office of the District Collector was being gradually appreciated by British authorities, both in India and England, because it was supposed to be most intelligible to the "oriental" people. But even more important than this was the realization that the patriarchal system made for the concentration of responsibility in the District Collector, stimulated his energy and precluded the possibility of obstructions to "good government" which could arise where authority was divided among a multiplicity of officers. The system embodied a simple but vigorous type of government, depending indeed for its virtues upon the qualities of the individual. In this respect, as well as in the union of powers, the District Collector in other provinces offered a complete contrast to the Bengal Collector who was not required to know anything about the interior of his district.

This weakness induced efforts to effect reforms in the Bengal system of district administration. In 1829, Bentinck attempted for a while to restore the vigour of the administration by creating Commissioners with general authority over both revenue and judicial functions in groups of districts and combining executive and judicial powers in District Collectors. Soon afterwards, experiments were made in the direction of creating separate magistrates so that for a while the normal district control was vested in a Judge exercising both civil and criminal jurisdictions, a Magistrate controlling the police, and a Collector collecting revenue. This meant adding some more leaven to the crucible of administrative experiments from which was to emerge a more permanent system of land revenue and judicial administration in the districts of the Bengal presidency.

A factor of great importance which gave a definite turn to the existing system of district administration in the Bengal presidency was the "Mutiny" of 1857, the immediate response to which resulted in bringing the paternal system to the height of favour in British estimation. The Punjab system which had been recently settled in a direct and personal manner, had shown a remarkable capacity in stemming the tide of revolt, whereas the suddenness of its outbreak in Bengal and Bihar suggested that British officials had been out of touch with the people of the districts in these areas. This further convinced the British of the effectiveness of the personal system in comparison to the Bengal system. Consequently, soon after the calm was restored, the two offices of Magistrate and Collector were re-united; the Collector-Magistrate became the head of the district in 1859. This conception of the office remained basically unaltered until "partial" separation was effected and other substantive changes took place after the attainment of Independence.

### VIII

After the revolt of 1857, the future seemed to portend an indefinite period of tutelage and trusteeship. The British came to cherish a notion that since they were put in charge of the trust, they alone were competent to judge the methods by which it was to be discharged. The District Collector became the embodiment of this patronistic authority in his area, combining its majesty, strength and benevolence in himself. Since the revolt, it became the settled policy of Government to build up a strong cadre of British officials, encouraging them to tour as much as possible. The decade following the revolt was the heyday of paternalism. It signified a victory of those key servants of the British Government in India who desired to build the Indian district administration on what they believed to be the "theory of oriental government". They held the view that what the Indian people understood and appreciated was a *hakim*, who could hear their complaints, give orders to the local staff and see that they were carried out. The District Collector became the "District Officer", his means of information greatly increased, so did his power of action. In this paternal system of administration, the personal element became the most important determinant, and success or failure depended very largely on personal equation.

The District Collector of this period became the symbol and mainstay of Imperial rule. The general ineffectiveness of the District Collector in Bihar and Bengal, meanwhile, was sought to be rectified and breaches in the system repaired by a paternalist like Campbell and a jurist of the classical school like Stephen. The former, in particular, disliked the practice of not making proper and full use of the potentiality of the office of the Collector. He wanted to govern actively through the instrumentality of this institution, and, accordingly, he sought to get more information about the land, life and other things of the people. His important official move to this end was to strengthen the position of the District Collector and make him the real "executive chief and administrator" of the district "supreme over everyone and everything, except the proceedings of the court of justice". Consequently, the District Collector became Government's man-on-the-spot, and its eyes and ears and tongue. The administration of the district was sought to be built up in the image of the patriarchal system, the essence of which lay in a series of one-man authorities, one subordinate to another, each responsible for the administration of the area in his charge. In this system of a real

administration, the District Collector wielded undisputed authority in the district and all powers were concentrated in him for many years. He moved among the people, personally heard their complaints and had few occasions to refer to his superiors. The absence of adequate means of communication left him unfettered in the exercise of his powers. Those were his golden days.

But with the passage of time, the hands of the District Collector became gradually tied up by laws, rules and regulations compiled by the intellectual experts in the Secretariat. A spate of legislative activity, in particular, curtailed the executive power and discretionary authority of the District Officer. Besides, the development of postal and telegraph system, the growing frequency of appeals to headquarters against local decisions and the practice to prepare handy manuals for his guidance, tended to diminish the role of personal element in the administration of the district and put a premium on uniformity. The elaboration of public business led to the division of governmental functions into a number of departments, usually of a highly specialized nature, tending to absorb part of the duties for which the District Collector had been exclusively responsible. The new activities demanded a technical knowledge which could be acquired only by special training, and the control which he had formerly exercised over them in the district was in part replaced by that of departmental chiefs represented in each district by their officials. Consequently, during the closing years of the Nineteenth Century, the District Collector had to spend more of his time at headquarters and less on tour. Thus, he found himself deprived of a large part of his former freedom, and was more and more bound down by rules and directions which the Local Government began to issue on the recommendation of its inspecting officers. This marked the decline of the personal and patriarchal system.

## IX

By the end of the last century, the executive authority and the wide discretionary powers of the District Collector had been materially reduced. Lord Curzon's efforts to increase the importance of "men in the districts" and the proposals of the Decentralization Commission (1907-1909) to make the District Collector pre-eminent in the district tended to boost up his declining authority temporarily. Even the reforms of 1909 did not affect his effectiveness to govern his district, though they increased his office work. He was still the supreme head of the district and the sole representative of Government in the field. He was the only channel of communication between the people and Government; and was more than a *primus inter pares* in respect of all other governmental functionaries working in the district. In fact, notwithstanding a set of developments tending to diminish his authority and affect his executive capacity, he still wielded great political, administrative, executive and judicial powers, and was identical with "the Government" itself. The latter in turn, had been one with the Indian Civil Service, which was not a civil service in the British sense of the term. His membership of that ruling guild made him at any rate, a part of Government which was indistinguishable from administration.

The reforms of 1919 introduced, for the first time, political elements in the administration. The emergence of elected politicians, though under restricted franchise, became part of the progress towards responsible Govern-

ment. The District Collector had to work in a climate of politics and elections to which he was not accustomed in the past. He was, moreover, to work in the context of a new power-structure—the Legislative Council. Its influence accentuated the tendency to make departmental activities independent of the District Officer, particularly, in the transferred departments, such as education, excise, agriculture, local self-government, etc. Dyarchy at the provincial headquarters made for dyarchy in district administration. Besides, whereas under the old set-up, the advice of the District Collector was sought on questions of policy and reliance was placed on the advice he gave, under the dyarchical set-up, though he was still consulted, the views of the Legislative Council and those of local politicians came to carry more weight, and the decisions on both questions of policy and matters of local importance came to be occasionally governed by considerations of political expediency. And, the establishment of local bodies, with powers to manage their own affairs generally independent of him, delivered a much greater blow to his executive authority than any other development.

An important result of the reforms was an increased demand for officials to work at headquarters with an inevitable consequence of diminution of district experience and of touch of village life. The probability that the ultimate destiny of the District Collector was to become a mere custodian of law and order and tax-gatherer must have weighed heavily on his mind. Besides, the fact that much of his time was spent on supplying materials from which answers were to be given in the legislature must have made him feel depressed and even sullen.

The inauguration of provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, dispensed with the dyarchical Government and also dyarchical administration. The Government under this Act, unlike the previous Government, was based on the principles of collective responsibility and was accountable to the legislature for the whole range of governmental business. The District Collector came to be the local agent of the Government and therefore, became responsible for the whole gamut of district administration. But he had now to work in the district alongside of politicians whose dislike for him bordered on hostility and contempt. The tendency in the last days of the freedom struggle was to damage his power and influence as the head of the district and as the one co-ordinating authority over all other district officers, each engaged in his own field of specialization.

## X

As the two-fold appellation, namely, Collector-Magistrate, indicates, the District Collector was both the chief revenue official and the head magistrate of the district. But his magisterial and revenue functions formed only a part of the sum-total of his work, for he had to discharge, as Government representative in his area, many miscellaneous executive duties, and anything which was nobody else's assigned job was cast upon him.

As Collector of the district, he was concerned, in the first place, with the collection of land revenue and the welfare, in particular, of those who depended on land for livelihood. He dealt with questions relating to the registration, alterations, relinquishment or partition of land-holdings, and managed large government estates and court of wards' estates for minors and other persons. He supervised the compilation of the periodical returns of

produce and prices and also acted as revenue judge in matters relating to rent and disputes between landlord and tenant. He made such grants as taccavi loans and agricultural improvement loans to the agriculturists and was responsible for the local administration of excise, stamp duty and other sources of revenue. The management of the treasury was his very important duty.

But the District Collector in Bihar, unlike that in other provinces, in the discharge of his duties, did not have much of a contact with the people of the countryside, except in a few *Khasmahals* or Government estates. Nor had he the advantage of a host of village revenue officers, perhaps, he did not even need them in a permanently settled area, who could act the transmission-belt between him and the people of the countryside, as was the case in the raiyatwari tracts of the country. Besides, he was more concerned with the collection of revenue of all kinds at all cost than with the improvement of the productive capacity of agriculturists. In the very nature of things, the revenue functions could be efficiently discharged when they were routinized and conformed to various codes and regulations made in their behalf. Obviously, there was not much scope for the fruition of the constructive genius of the District Collector or for the display of his dynamism. His revenue duties were accordingly characterized by this narrowness of outlook. This was as much attributable to the policy of Government as to the background, training and orientation of the District Collector. Besides, too much of his pre-occupation with the collection of all kinds of dues by the use of his coercive authority bred in him a habit of mind suited to a regulatory form of administration.

As District Magistrate, the District Collector was the head policeman, the head prosecutor and the chief of the district magistracy. As head policeman, he directed police enquiry and received police reports and formed opinion on them. As head prosecutor of the district, he appointed officers to conduct the prosecution in important cases, and in violation of all maxims of law and equity, he tried, as the chief magistrate, those very cases himself or had them tried by his subordinates. The nationalist opinion in India was highly critical of this system of criminal administration on the ground that as an executive officer, the District Collector contracted a habit of mind which made him unfit for the impartial discharge of magisterial duties. Though the opponents of the system admitted that the District Magistrate rarely tried cases himself, they regarded it as objectionable that an officer, who was the head of the police and responsible for the peace of the district, should also supervise the work of his subordinate magistrates, who depended for their professional advancement on his goodwill and were, therefore, necessarily influenced by their estimate of what his opinions regarding the suit were likely to be.

The bureaucracy in India was opposed to the separation of judicial and executive functions of the District Magistrate on the ground that "the oriental" people were accustomed to personal and patronistic form of Government and that they would be confused if the same man who put them under arrest did not try and send them to prison. They argued that the prestige of the District Magistrate would suffer and his authority would be weakened if the officer who controlled the police and was responsible for the peace of the district was deprived of control over the magistrates who tried police cases. But the most important considerations that weighed with the bureaucracy was their intention not to destroy the image of the "Bara Saheb", for

on that depended the strength and stability of British Empire. It was felt by a foreign Government that the supreme authority of the District Magistrates would make it possible for him to deal on his own with any extraordinary law and order situation even if he did not get timely assistance from the Government. Separation, they imagined, would cripple his striking power and would, therefore, be inimical to the security of their Empire.


As head of the district and local agent of the Government, the District Collector exercised miscellaneous residuary executive duties. He had to interest himself in all matters affecting the well-being of the people. He had to provide information to Government on all matters connected with local administration. He sent it a large number of reports and returns about the state of crops and weather, the general economic and political situation of the district and the health of its citizens. He was the administrative handy man of Government, and in a rather undefined way, he was also expected to guide and co-ordinate the activities of officers of special departments working in the district. The public also sought his intervention in matters which were not his direct concern. But his control over the officers of special department was more in the nature of influence based on the traditional primacy of his office than on the exercise of well-defined powers. He was regarded as responsible for stimulating the promoting the activities of these officers, but he had no formally defined powers of control over them. Their relation with him was one of informal co-operation, in which each department, for the most part, acted separately but was always expected to consider the views of the District Collector on matters of general administrative policy substantially affecting the welfare of the district.

The District Collector was also the supervisor and controller of local bodies in the district. Prior to the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, local bodies were just one of the many functions of the District Officer. He was the chairman of the district board and was also quite often the chairman of the headquarters municipality. He exercised financial and administrative controls of very stringent type over them. After the introduction of the reforms of 1919, the District Collector ceased to be chairman of the district board and municipality, but he retained the power of intervention in the name of preventing any action that was likely to lead to a breach of the peace or grave injustice to any section of the population. He was under an obligation to inspect the local bodies and report his views to the Government. But he was not so much interested in the successful working of local bodies as in the general efficiency of district administration. To him, the District Collector versus local bodies controversy was a meaningless nonsense inasmuch as without his help local authorities would fail to achieve any results in spite of their separate existence. To the nationalist politicians, the control of the District Collector over local bodies was antithetical to the ideals of local self-government. Indeed, the traditions of his service and training were such as to make the Collector look upon local authorities as interlopers in the field of activities which previously belonged to him. He continued to nurse this spirit of rivalry and even hostility towards these bodies. There was a virtual tussle between local self-government and local administration, the latter represented by the traditional authority of the District Collector, and, therefore, always having the upper hand.

Besides, the District Collector was almost all in all to the people of his district. He was the seat of power and authority and embodied Government as such. Viceroys, Governors and Commissioners were distant and

legendary figures to the people. The District Collector, though only slightly less awe-inspiring, was at least seen by the people; he moved and camped in their midst and occasionally heard their grievances. In fact, in the eyes of the simple rural people, he was omniscient and omnicompetent. It was this belief, more than anything else, which made the people look upon him as a giver of all favours and a dispenser of justice. In short, he was regarded as the guardian of all their interests.

But this image of the District Collector started undergoing a change after the introduction of the reforms of 1919. Under the new set-up, politicians were gradually to become the guardians of the public interest. The people were to learn to look to them for the redress of their grievances rather than to the District Collector. The latter was to be the executor of the policy decided in the legislature and was also expected to play the role of educator and guide in training the people for self-government. Thus, the reforms tended to undermine his former role as the sole guardian of the people and to weaken his authority as the "Bara saheb". But there were many impediments in the way of the intended transformation of his role. The change from the traditional habit of the people to look for help to the District Collector was necessarily slow and they took some time to recognize that part of his power of patronage and help had been transferred to the politicians who were to be their representatives. Besides, the training and traditions of the Indian Civil Service to which he belonged also came in the way. There always stood a psychological barrier between the people and the District Collector.



## THE ROLE OF DEPUTY COMMISSIONER IN EMERGENCY

*B. S. Ojha*

The hostilities which Pakistan forced on India by sending armed infiltrators in the State of Jammu & Kashmir in the first week of August, 1965, spread to the Punjab-Pakistan border on the 6th September. The border Districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur with an area of 7,185 sq. miles and population of 41,42,000 (1961 Census figures), were gravely affected by the fighting with Pakistan. Punjab's people and administration had to face an unprecedented situation created by Pakistan's aggression. Suddenly the whole atmosphere was electrified with patriotic zeal and fervour and the will to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of nation. From the outbreak of hostilities along the Punjab-Pakistan border till the occurrence of the cease-fire and a few days thereafter, Punjab's administration bore a tremendous strain, fulfilled new responsibilities and went through a new experience of orienting civil administration to the needs of war emergency. In the field, Deputy Commissioner became the chief promoter and mobilizer of the defence effort on the civil side in the district. His traditional role acquired a new emphasis and orientation. He had also to fulfil new tasks and responsibilities.

While Deputy Commissioners enjoyed full discretion to tackle any situation on the spot as it developed, they generally received guidance and instructions from the State headquarters where a special organizational set-up was evolved to tackle the problems and needs of the emergency. At the State headquarters the Emergency Sub-Committee of the Cabinet met at least twice a week or even more frequently to take decisions and review the action taken to promote war effort. A Standing Committee of the senior officers at the State headquarters met every day to process and consider the information received from the field through a chain of control centres linked with the Control Centre at the State level and the Central Police Control Room. A special Central Control Centre for Transport connected with the Sub-Control Centres at the headquarters of Regional Transport Authorities (which further maintained contact with the army authorities, field staff and district officers) was set up at the State headquarters. All the Control and Sub-Control Centres started working round the clock from the 6th September. To strengthen district administration Additional Deputy Commissioners were posted

in nine districts. An Additional Commissioner was posted each for Jullundur Division and Ambala Division. Two senior officers were posted as Liaison Officers with the army authorities. Different departments suitably strengthened their administrative set-up at the district level and below. For instance, the Health Department posted Additional Chief Medical Officers in each of the three border districts and ensured that all the hospitals and dispensaries in the border areas were fully staffed and adequately stocked with medicines, first-aid, equipment, etc. The Civil Defence Organization got geared to feverish activity round the clock, ensuring that all the departments and organizations enforced civil defence measures as already worked out, and solving problems which actually cropped up with the day-to-day developing situation. Home Guards were called out in the border, urban and rural areas for doing police jobs like guarding bridges, hydro-electric stations, railway tracks, vital installations, etc. and also doing civil jobs like assisting First-Aid Force Transit Camps, etc. N.C.C. cadets were detailed mostly on traffic duties. Ex-services men were called out in special border areas to do police jobs. Village Panchayats were made responsible for doing police jobs like catching paratroopers and guarding tracks and vital installations and also for promoting village defence and mass education.

In this grave emergency, the Deputy Commissioner was required to maintain liaison with the army, communications and supply lines. He had to ensure that internal peace was not disturbed, vital installations and vulnerable points were fully protected, paratroopers quickly rounded up, and saboteurs, spies and infiltrators detected and punished. He had to rigorously enforce civil defence measures and a complete black-out. Anti-social elements, black-marketers, hoarders were to be prevented from exploiting the situation. Normal supply of consumer goods including petrol was to be ensured. The Deputy Commissioner had to watch and build public morale by scotching baseless rumours, disseminating correct information through publicity organizations, and preventing sponsored evacuation from resulting in panic. He had to ensure that economic activities were continued at a higher level of efficiency. Great emphasis was to be laid on maximizing food production by energizing tubewells, making available pumping sets, supplying fertilizers and seeds and by bringing all cultivable waste lands under the plough. The Deputy Commissioner had to mobilize the human and material resources of his district for aiding the war effort. He had to collect Defence Fund and gifts for the *Jawans* through the combined efforts of the Panchayati Raj institution, political parties, voluntary social and religious organizations. Above all, Deputy Commissioner had to carry on normal district

work including holding the court, issuing licences and permits and co-ordinating developmental activities so that normal functioning of the civil administration should help dispel any possible panic and sense of insecurity among the masses.

For maintaining communications and supply lines, enforcing civil defence measures, safeguarding Government and private property, vital installations and public utility service, maintaining internal communal peace and amity, apprehending paratroopers, saboteurs, infiltrators, spies and anti-social elements, Deputy Commissioner's role as District Magistrate came to the forefront. He was adequately armed with powers under the Criminal Procedure Code, various other laws and especially the Defence of India Rules. He could requisition any moveable or immovable property or remove encumbrances in the interest of national defence. For instance, two or three Deputy Commissioners promptly supplied a few thousand civilian vehicles for use to the army at a few hours' notice. Deputy Commissioner's role as District Magistrate was firmly established and recognized in the more recent war emergency. The fact that the judiciary has been separated from the executive throughout the State did not make any difference to the implementation of his orders.

The Collector had not only to assess the damage to crops and dwellings either by enemy action or by the movement of our own army in the operational areas but he had also to invoke his judicial powers to get crops cut around the air-fields to prevent the possibility of paratroopers hiding in them and to pay compensation to the farmers. In the border areas the State Government has granted remission of land revenue, water charges, betterment levy, etc. It is the Collector who had to assess the amounts remitted and maintain proper records.

Relief and rehabilitation of the up-rooted persons from the border areas and disbursement of *ex-gratia* grants to the families of armed forces personnel killed or disabled by enemy action became special responsibilities of the Deputy Commissioner. Nearly forty thousand persons living in about 1,500 villages of three border Districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur were up-rooted during the recent hostilities. Five relief camps have been set up whose administration is entrusted to the Deputy Commissioners. The State Government has sanctioned free rations to the inmates of the camps, cash payment for maintenance of cattle. Clothes, including quilts and blankets, *durrees* and free milk powder are being supplied. *Ex-gratia* grants are being given to persons whose houses and property have been damaged. Interest-free loans ranging from one thousand to five thousand rupees for agricultural as well as industrial purposes

have also been sanctioned. It is the duty of the Deputy Commissioners to see that the *ex-gratia* grants and loans are speedily disbursed so that the up-rooted persons do not get disheartened and spread panic among the people living on the border areas. The Deputy Commissioners have also to provide construction material and housing loans to the sufferers on a priority basis. For disbursement, Relief and Reconstruction Advisory Committees have been set up at the district headquarters and in the affected areas. The central direction is provided by the Commissioner for Relief & Rehabilitation at the State headquarters.

## II

In normal circumstances the Deputy Commissioner functions as the captain of the team of district officers of all the departments. In the implementation of development programmes and schemes his role is that of a co-ordinator. However, the main emphasis in his role in a national emergency like war would naturally be on mobilization and implementation of civil measures for strengthening the defence effort. This new role is a composite one, though it is possible to discuss the components separately. In an emergency, the Deputy Commissioner more or less assumes the role which his predecessor in pre-Independence days played. He symbolizes the authority of the State in the field. He is the man on the spot to whom everybody looks up for the solution of his difficulties and for guidance and his is the judgment which is to be relied upon. The Deputy Commissioner maintains liaison with the army authorities through different channels, whether at the State headquarters or at the Divisional level. To him are referred the army requirements which have to be met. Implementation of all programmes by all departments in war emergency has the same ultimate objective of assisting the defence effort by actually mobilizing human resources and by strengthening the economic base. As a co-ordinator in peace times, the Deputy Commissioner acts mainly as a "staff man". In an emergency it is necessary that he becomes a "line man". There has to be a single-line command because duality of command would cause confusion and fritter away energies.

In a certain district the Chief Medical Officer was found wanting by the Deputy Commissioner in enthusiasm and co-operation for implementing civil defence measures. The Deputy Commissioner reported the matter at night to the "technocrat" Head of the Department. The latter authorized the Deputy Commissioner to make whatever arrangement he thought best for extending medical relief and to place whoever he thought fit in charge of these arrangements.

The Chief Medical Officer was withdrawn from the District and he bitterly complained against the attitude of the Deputy Commissioner who, he thought, had got upset because of some minor misunderstanding regarding civil defence arrangements. The C.M.O. further protested that he was being let down by his own Department at the whims of generalist administrator. Yet spot inquiry made by the Head of the Department himself confirmed that the apprehensions of Deputy Commissioner were not altogether baseless. This example illustrates the desirability of having a single line of command at the district level, if the Deputy Commissioner has to fulfil his role as an administrator effectively in emergency. He must not only be conceded discretion in tackling the local situation, he must not only be an effective co-ordinator to fulfil his role of being "maid of all work", but he must also be given in such crisis full authority to direct any District Officer to do whatever, in his judgment, the situation requires. This, incidentally, would throw up more fundamental question of the type of relationship that there should be between the generalist administrator and the specialist heads. There is no doubt that to deal with a war emergency the Head of district administration must be a person of integrity, intelligence and imagination who is able to take an overall comprehensive view of the situation. The Deputy Commissioner in a district may fulfil this role effectively vis-a-vis the district officers of the departments only if at the top the heads of the technical departments and organizations are invariably placed under the generalist administrator at the Secretariat level.

As a mobilizer of human and material resources and efforts of Government departments and non-Government agencies Deputy Commissioner has a very crucial role to play in the emergency. His first duty is to maintain and build up public morale. This he can do by personal example, by being steadfast to his post of duty (it matters a lot for public morale whether a Deputy Commissioner retains his family with him during the crisis or sends it away), by properly motivating the non-Government agencies and lastly by exercise of his powers as a law-and-order administrator to put down rumours and to round up mischievous elements. The Deputy Commissioner has an active rather than a passive role to play in morale building. No doubt, a village volunteer force was created to promote village defence yet the organs of the Panchayati Raj institution were actually energized by the Deputy Commissioners themselves.

The Deputy Commissioner also helps in boosting the morale of the masses not only by being more accessible than in normal times but also by being actually visible at crucial spots in crucial moments. Deputy Commissioner's appearance on the spot of an

occurrence of air raid, for instance, continuously assures the public of the abiding solicitude of the Government for their welfare. The Deputy Commissioner can also favourably influence the public opinion by personally condoling with the bereaved families and visiting casualties. Once the morale is built and proper atmosphere created, unexpected reserves of valour become manifest among the civil population. The wave of patriotic fervour and zeal has to be harnessed to the advantage of the armed forces and the country. In doing so, Deputy Commissioner has a leadership role to fulfil. It is not a political role. It is not a role that he consciously chooses for himself—rather it is a vacuum which he has to fill in. In the face of the external aggression all political parties and organisations sink their differences temporarily or relegate them to the background and unite for the defence of the country; those which sound a discordant note are promptly dealt with. While the objective of all the parties and organizations is the same, viz. promotion of war effort—yet none would like to play second fiddle to the other and allow it to exploit the situation for gaining popularity with the masses. Consequently, the direction and the lead has to come from a person who is neutral as between different groups, factions and parties, yet he is wedded to promote the welfare of the society including them all. This direction and lead has to be given by the Deputy Commissioner in an emergency. Wherever a Deputy Commissioner recently filled in this vacuum with intelligence, tact and imagination, the results achieved were marvellous. Mobilization and careful organization of resources were abundantly evident at one of the railway stations where special army trains carrying between 1500 to 2,000 persons were served meals in a matter of few minutes at a notice of only fifteen to twenty minutes.

### III

In the pre-Independence days it would not have been very difficult for the Deputy Commissioner to fulfil these roles and duties thrown up by war emergency. In those days, as Shri E. N. Mangat Rai points out in *Civil Administration in Punjab*, (Harvard University Centre for International Affairs), “the Deputy Commissioner was virtually the representative of the King, the concentrated source of all marginal patronage and power. This concentration of power and influence was a great and maneuverable asset, and was used at will, to implement and achieve current need and priority; the variety of powers available could, above all, be manipulated without too much definition or display of the unpleasant nature of their ultimate sanction.” During the British period, “district work was essentially autocratic

involving very little consultation among equals and equally little complex staff work. A premium was placed on quick decision, independent and firm action, not unlike the attributes of field military administration." But as today, "The expansion of the deputy commissioner's responsibilities, their change in emphasis and quality from the regulatory to the developmental, and the altogether different context of work in a free and democratic political system, combine to make him one of the most harassed and hard-pressed of all government employees."

Under the British colonial rule, the Deputy Commissioner discharged three primary functions of Government; as "District Magistrate" he was responsible for maintaining law and order, as "Collector" he headed revenue administration of the district and collected revenue and other dues and as 'Deputy Commissioner' he was the executive head of the district administration and co-ordinating authority for all departments of the Government. After Independence too he retained all the three functions but their character underwent a great change in the context of development programmes envisaged in the successive Five Year Plans. Maintenance of law and order though still an important function does not claim a very high priority in times of peace and reconstruction. As Collector he has of course to collect government revenue and dues but by his involvement in the implementation of land reforms legislations, he has also become an agent of socio-economic change. As Deputy Commissioner his role has become overwhelmingly developmental. He is responsible for increasing food production and implementing Five Year Plan programme and developmental schemes by himself, playing the role of a co-ordinator among different departments and agencies of the Government. He has also become the friend and guide of rural local development through Panchayati Raj institution. However, the needs of civil administration in the recent emergency have revived the old emphasis on Deputy Commissioner's role as law and order administrator, diversified and added new dimensions to his functions as Deputy Commissioner and greatly transformed his role.

Since the outbreak of hostilities, every Government department has been trying to push its efficiency to the highest pitch. Increase in efficiency in terms of man-hours and intensity of effort is generally possible, but increased output is equally dependent on adequate supplies of various inputs. For instance, this year the monsoons failed and the *kharif* crop was damaged. All preparations had to be made for maximizing *rabi* sowings. Instructions went out for energizing thousands of tubewells and building minor irrigation works by

allocating cement and other building material on priority basis. Seeds, insecticides and fertilizers were to be supplied to all according to their needs. All the culturable waste lands were to be brought under the plough on pain of their being acquired by the Government. Assuming that Deputy Commissioners could find enough time from their other pre-occupations for pushing up the sowing drive, the fact has to be reckoned that supplies, particularly of fertilizers, were not adequate. The only perceptible results of the drive could be the cultivation of the culturable waste lands with the Panchayats and growing kitchen gardens on the lands attached to governmental buildings. Thus, merely increased activities of Government functionaries in the absence of supplies of material can achieve but only limited results.

#### IV

As matters stand the threat of external aggression is likely to last for quite some time. It may seem necessary on the basis of recent experience to redefine the qualifications and role specification of a Deputy Commissioner, at least for the next four-five years. However, with the emphatic re-assertion of traditional roles of the Deputy Commissioner and the new trends in the extension of his responsibilities it is not possible either to give a complete definition of his new role or to lay down exact qualifications for the incumbent of the post. However, one thing is certain : Deputy Commissioner must be an officer possessing the sixth sense, who can always tackle a situation by anticipating it. Mere age or youth or a particular level of seniority would not be enough in determining somebody's suitability for posting as Deputy Commissioner. The officer to be chosen as Deputy Commissioner must, of course, be mature and sufficiently experienced but he also needs to be a man of integrity, intelligence, sensitivity, imagination and tact who will not only maintain law and order, administer land laws and reforms, execute development schemes and programmes, help increase food production, but also channelize mass enthusiasm generated by the recent events along constructive lines. The real challenge that the State administration, particularly the Deputy Commissioner faces, is how to constructively utilise mass enthusiasm and zeal to suffer and sacrifice in a national cause which has come to the forefront, by transcending narrow limits of political, communal or class differences and unite the entire nation. This mass enthusiasm comes in waves and not as a sustained flow of effort. Yet if made steady and properly channelised it can work wonders in promoting economic uplift and national prosperity which will ultimately guarantee our national security and integrity.

Civil Administration in Punjab in general and Deputy Commissioners in particular have had an unprecedented experience of functioning in a grave emergency resulting from hostilities forced on the country by an aggressive neighbour. It would be worthwhile for the Government to review in detail the new demands made on the administration by the recent emergency in the Punjab and the inadequacies noticed in meeting them. It would also be useful to organise a two or three weeks' orientation course in emergency administration at the State headquarters for all the potential Deputy Commissioners.

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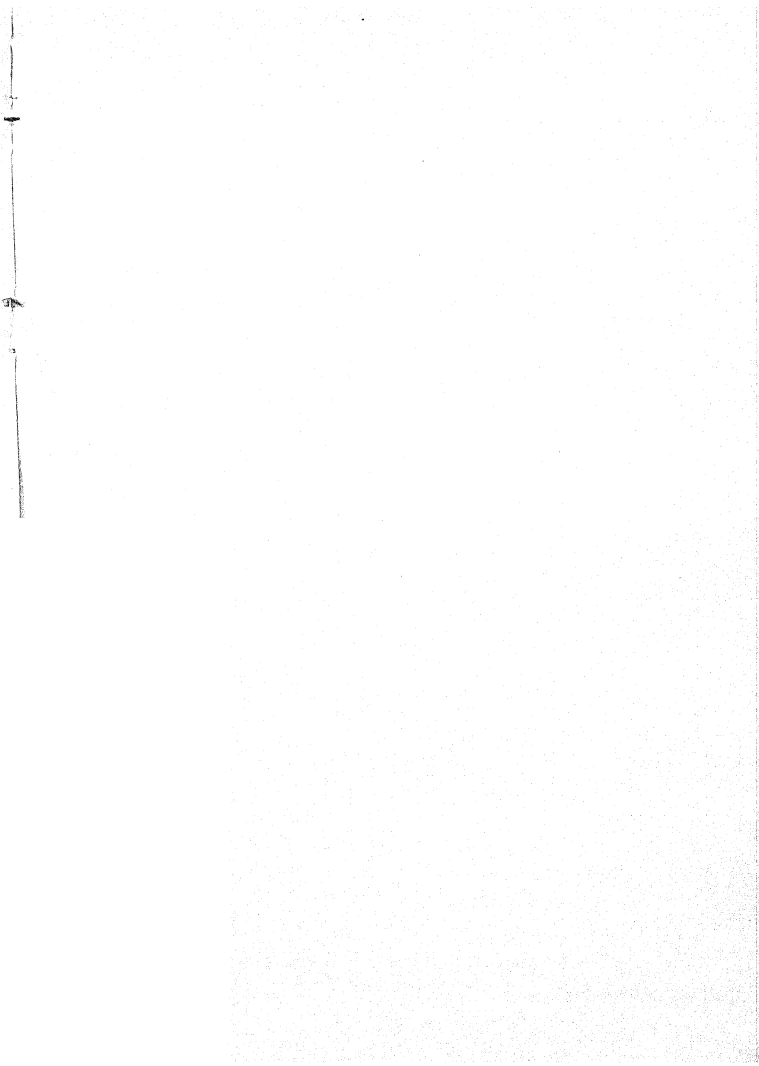
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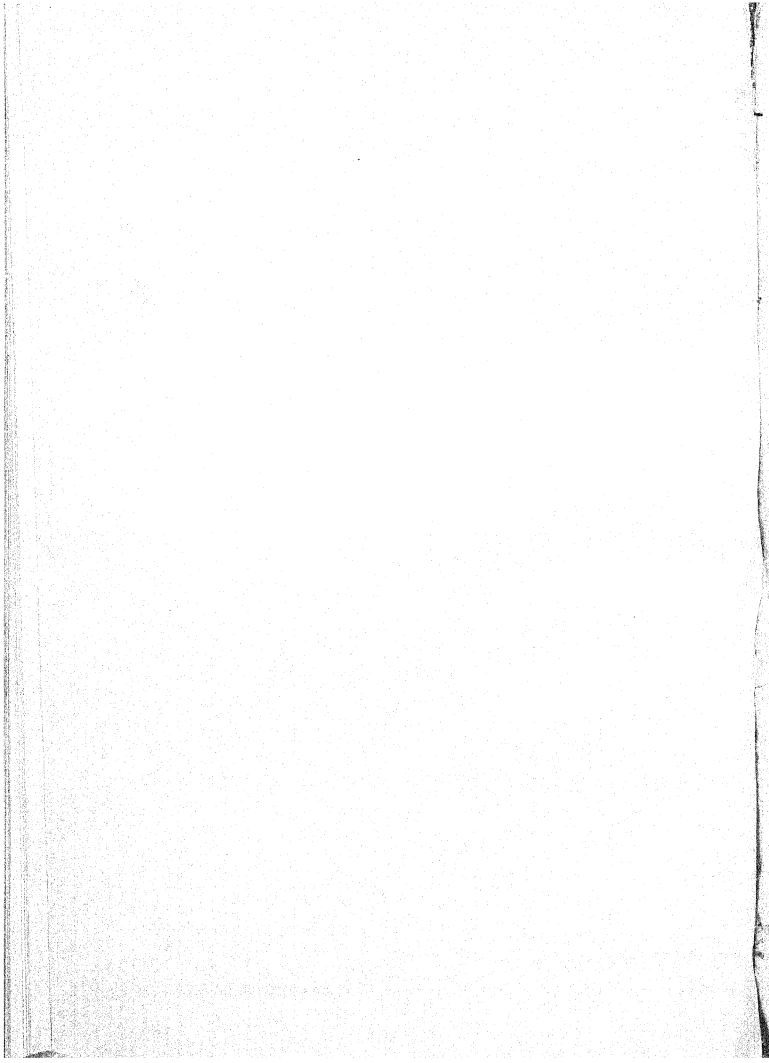
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## ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP\*

*Asoka Mehta*

I AM grateful to the Indian Institute of Public Administration for giving me this opportunity to meet its members and for an exchange of ideas with them. When we think of "Administrative Leadership" we do not treat the word "Administration" in the narrow sense; in fact, we make every effort to include the political part of administration. It is not an accident that from its inception, the Institute has had as its President, the Prime Minister of India. Secondly, the Institute is primarily concerned with the problems of what we might call "developmental administration". It is the vital area where new problems have to be handled, and where innovations have to be achieved. Development administration requires that we secure the right kind of relationship between the administrative and political wings. It will be my endeavour to show that it is very difficult to separate the two as they tend to have common and often blurred responsibilities.

If we look at the world today, the style of leadership may be located along the continuum from the predominantly authoritarian control with minimal freedom, at one pole, to a sharing of responsibilities, at the other. If we want to exploit the primitive instincts and the unconscious elements in the people, it must, inevitably, lead to an authoritarian type of leadership. A democratic leadership, by definition, has to be rooted in reason. We must recognize that an exchange of ideas on the plane of reason can influence citizens, shape events and determine policies. It is not that popular emotions have to be ignored; but the overarching influence resides in the exercise of reason.

The next thing is: let us be clear about our objectives. There are many piecemeal changes and reforms that have to be effected. Undoubtedly, administration is concerned with details; but I suggest that these details have to be informed by a single incandescent vision and

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\*Text of an Address delivered to the Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch of the Indian Institute of Public Administration at Hyderabad on June 30, 1965.

understanding. Without that, the routine becomes frustrating and dissipative. I suggest that the over-riding understanding of our times and for our country is transformation: transformation in economic, social and technological terms. We have to work for this transformation through deliberate phases of concentrated and critical changes.

Then again, this requires the emergence of a broad consensus about our purposes. Whether or not you are a democracy, this has to be done; if you are a democracy, the need is greater still. Consensus, however, must have a coherence: it would be quite possible to bring about a consensus among mutually contradictory things so long as the mass of people do not discover the contradiction. The consensus has to have a coherence, and the coherence has to have a convergence—ultimately, it must lead to a pin-pointing of objectives and a plan of action.

Therefore, what we need is a purpose that spells out the strategy. Planning is nothing but the working out of the strategy. After weighing the various alternatives, we ultimately arrive at a certain broad strategy. There is some room for tactical manoeuvring, but no room for a change in basic strategy. There is, thus, an objective and a strategy, a purpose and a Plan. Now I suggest that the basic leadership resides not so much in any particular person, but in the cause and the broad strategy. This I believe is what Jawaharlal Nehru used to call the "Revolution". He thought of us in terms of "the children of the revolution", and of a nation that has a "tryst with destiny".

And it is this relationship between the objective and our emotions, passion and understanding that one might call the Revolution. I call it the Revolution of Development, which is going to involve and demand the energies and passions of many more millions than what the political revolution needed for success. This developmental revolution, the cause that it embodies, the strategy that it enunciates, has to be accepted by the tallest man in the country. The greatest conductor can undoubtedly introduce a certain amount of his own genius when he conducts an orchestra. But he cannot violate the score which is laid down in the symphony that is being performed. Move away from the score; and it no longer is a symphony, but only cacophony. Within the limits of the musical score, the greatest of conductors can bring about the most sublime of innovations and improvisations.

Please do not think of the Plan as a single document. Whether it covers a period of 5, 10 or 15 years, the segments have to be related to an ever larger universe. And what is the period of transformation? Like a butterfly emerging from the chrysalis, we are now going through

a stage in this basic transformation. It is during this period that the leadership has to provide the cause and the strategy.

## II

We believe in democracy and that imposes certain obligations on us. In a democracy, authority is always limited. In the name of Revolution, we cannot ask for unlimited authority. Instead, authority has to be authorized by the due process of law. Further, authority has to be exercised according to an accepted consensus. Power which is graced with rightfulness will evoke a greater response in a democracy. We must realize that the revolution is conceived in a certain context which we cannot afford to give up. The effectiveness of authority in a democracy is measured not by the power that it exercises, but by the willingness of the people to accept that power.

All this is necessary because we are in the midst of global changes from which we cannot contract out. There are certain key items which we have to recognize and which must influence whatever we do. Firstly, no longer are we anchored in traditions, no matter how important traditions may have been in the past. Whether that is good or bad, is another matter, but we cannot hope to find solutions to our problems through such safe anchorages. Secondly, we are literally being called upon to live with change. Galileo and Copernicus broke up the mental mould of the medieval world by proving that the earth was a planet moving in the Universe. Today, we are in the midst of an even greater revolution—a revolution where man literally is in a position to explore space. This is going to exercise a similarly decisive influence on the mind and mould of people. All that I can say is that ours is a Protean Universe—a universe in which we have to live with constant change, and, therefore, even values have got to validate themselves.

In the past, it was not necessary to apply such searching tests; tradition, authority and the scriptures had laid down definite yardsticks which were generally applicable. Today, these tests are no longer valid, and the new tests demand certain highly sophisticated rational disciplines and men who are capable of framing and applying these tests. As students of administration you know, there are various theories of administration that vary from one extreme to the other. There are theories which emphasize organization at the expense of the people; there are other theories that exalt the people at the expense of organization. The current thinking has been in terms of Revisionism and Synthesis; neither of the two extremes are particularly relevant.

I suggest that, in India, where we are faced by a stagnant economy and stratified society, the dichotomy between the traditional order and rational organization bears a certain relevance. In the developed countries, modern writing on administration has moved away from this dichotomy. But I feel we are still at a stage where there is a certain validity to this old concept of rational organization. As a developing country we have to learn to operate at two levels. At the operational level, administration must deal with primitive problems and with primitive tools; at the level of understanding, however, it has to operate with a certain sophistication, because the whole effort is to concentrate into a smaller period of time the changes that other people have achieved over a much longer period. This means that the leaders of administration must learn to operate at two distinct levels—the levels of sophistication and of somewhat primitive pre-occupation. It is at the later level where the problems of rational organization have to be tackled and cannot be ignored.

Jefferson, one of the founding fathers of the American Constitution, said that "we frame our Institutions not in the fear of the follies of men but on their Reason." I am old-fashioned enough to believe in the relevance of this Jeffersonian insight to the world of today. The fastest growth is achieved in those areas where there is the greatest input of Research, and what is Research except control by Reason. You cannot have purposeful Research, unless you accept the validity of what happens by the light of Reason. The stock of science and technology is doubling every ten years, and this stock has to be absorbed by individuals and human societies. Science and technology must not become the arbiters of our destiny, but the companions in our quest for a new way of life. It becomes necessary, therefore, to treat society and the human personality as phenomena whose anatomy and physiology, whose magic and mystery have to be understood and analysed by the input of reason. Administration has to deal with a variety of imponderables and ponderables, but to say that such imponderables must exist and persist would be an act of intellectual cowardice and laziness; we must do our best to remove them. The problems of India and of the world today are going to demand that we have this Faith, that it is not the follies of men, but their wisdom alone that can save us. Let us discover the ways whereby we are touched by that wisdom, learn to evoke it and constantly discover those who want it and the media by which we can carry on a creative dialogue.

The complexity of administration requires specialization and also a certain organization of command. But my contention is that we are in the most difficult and intimidating phase, yet the most exciting

period of transformation. It can either intimidate us completely and rob us of the desire to explore the sky; or it can strengthen our wings so that we can measure ourselves against the stars. It all depends to what extent we allow ourselves to be informed by a wider purpose and a deeper vision. Specialization is necessary but it is even more necessary that all specializations are related to each other. The need for an integrated approach demands that all specializations must be subordinated to a larger whole. There has got to be an administrative *gestalt* which inspires each segment of specialization.

I will not go all the way with Huxley who said that specialization leads to an evolutionary dead-end. The human species has proved the most imaginative and flexible because it is the least specialized. In a world where we have to live with constant change, specializations are necessary and will be increasingly necessary, but they must be balanced by the awareness that specialization must not become a dead-end. This is a very difficult task and it requires a new discipline.

In this country, the trouble is that we tend to make vague generalizations; so it is necessary at this stage to insist on a measure of specialization. This habit of working back to some beautiful couplet in our epics or scripture as a solution for every problem is dangerous. It is poetical, it is disarming, but it is not a practical tool. There is the danger that specialization will create additional frictions which we cannot afford; and so it has to be accompanied by rational understanding. To use a Hegelian term, one must learn to operate at the level of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis, almost simultaneously.

### III

These appear to be very difficult tasks to set before a nation. But I see no reason why one-seventh of the world's humanity, 500 million people, should not throw up 5,000 or even 50,000 persons who are willing to undergo this kind of a discipline. Stalin once said that he had 50,000 generals, meaning thereby that he had as many people who were willing to understand his ideas on the discipline of transformation and to undertake responsibilities. Today, we do not have even a fraction of that number who speak a common idiom. It does not matter whether you belong to different political parties, or to a particular branch of administration; it is an inter-disciplinary growth which recognizes that there is a common outlook and understanding which shares the rationale of a certain strategy. The reason why our revolution is constantly fumbling and faltering is because we have not bothered to achieve this basic sense of comradeship, this basic approach to a shared goal, that is so necessary at different levels.

One may well ask what has triggered the French miracle; even when the political situation was completely frustrating, there were in various other fields, people who shared a common understanding and a common outlook. There was a certain *esprit de corps* while the whole political structure was stumbling; this is the spirit which enabled France within 10 years to achieve an economic miracle. I would also invite your attention to what Plato said of his Guardians. He wanted that the Ideal State should be ruled by the Guardians who "had the power of seeing things together". I suggest that the top men—whether they come from the administrative or the political branch—have got to have this ability to see things together. Without this ability, the revolution cannot be processed.

Leadership has been defined as charismatic or ordinary leadership. I do not know in India whether anybody has the charisma. A charismatic leader does not require the monopoly of power, he does not need power to make himself effective. Power comes, as it were, to him and tumbles at his feet. Perhaps, the last charismatic leader we had was Jawaharlal Nehru. A political leader today must have will power and sensitivity to the moods of the period. He should be a *clear* thinker, rather than a *profound* thinker. He can get profound thinking done for him, but nobody can do the clear thinking, except himself. The ability required is not merely to experience the emotions of growth, but to voice the essential aspirations of the people. Broad enunciations of policy are important, but strategies are not spelled out by political leaders alone. Strategies are worked out by a variety of people—political people, administrative leaders, business leaders, technicians, educationists. Every policy has its implications, its possibilities, its mutual consistencies, and a policy can either succeed or fail in its details and nuances, which are completely in the hands of administrators, in the narrow sense of the term.

That is why I think it is very difficult to say where policy-making ends and implementation begins. The one flows into the other; in a special sense, we are all involved in the task of policy-making. The meanest of us can distort, debase and defeat any policy, if somehow he is not brought in tune with it. A leader, whether political or administrative, needs access to new ideas; that is not being done here. In U.S.A. and U.K., a constant effort is made to induce persons to work out alternative ideas and schemes. A man with ideas can demand that they be considered, not that they should be accepted. I am somewhat distressed to find that in India the distance is growing between men with ideas and those who can implement them. The result is that ideas grow sterile and those who are operating today have no new ideas brought to them.

This Institute was meant to bring these two elements together. Is it identifying problems on which the men with ideas can work? It is not enough to dismiss ideas as impractical; if everything were practical, the world would be completely stagnant. We have got to develop a certain creative tension between new ideas and the practical possibilities that exist. It is difficult to delimit the practical possibilities, when our constant companion is change, transformation of the context and the means within which we are operating. Therefore, we should go out of our way to encourage daring thoughts and formulation. This is not being done today.

#### IV

I am not at all happy that the Government should be staffed entirely by people drawn from the Civil Service. Why don't we draw people from Universities to serve for short spells in Government? Why don't civil servants teach for some time in the Universities? Why don't we draw on the talents of people from business houses and newspaper offices? It is necessary to organize such an inter-flow of ideas, if a consensus with a coherence and a convergence is to emerge. The development of *esprit de corps* demands more of trust and a greater inter-disciplinary approach. Every problem looks different depending upon from what place and from what point you are looking at it. It is necessary to give men experience of looking at a problem from two or three points of view. This rigid system was good enough in the past; but today we are involved in a developmental revolution and we need a more flexible system.

Then there is the stratified structure of Civil Service. One may ask that if seniority is not accepted as the index, then how does one guard against favouritism? I think we have to experiment and find the answer. In U.S.A., a person is judged, not by the position he occupies, but only by the work he is engaged in and his output. Ours is a highly structured society with a heightened consciousness of status; as such we cannot be involved in a revolution of transformation. This pre-occupation with status is a hangover of the feudal age and, at least, the civil servant should not be a victim of such feudalism.

The revolution demands a certain amount of social over-turning. The crusted soil of centuries has to be ploughed under and the soil beneath must rise to the top, if a new harvest of hope is to be gathered. I said earlier that the stock of science and technology is doubling every ten years, that means by the end of the century the stock of science and technology will be ten times what it is today. There is a great back-log that remains to be absorbed and by the end of this century,

35 years from today, we do not want to be still under-developed. I hope by then we shall be at par with other nations in the world. Think of the accelerated effort that is involved in such development; we will never achieve the goal if we are not willing to skip a generation. If we really mean to make progress, we must give better training to the younger generation and delegate greater responsibility to them.

## V

I do not now want to go into the usual problems of administration; instead I was more concerned about giving you the wider context in which one has to operate. In the quest for new tools and new techniques, it is necessary that you balance them by some kind of an overriding purpose and understanding. The discipline that is thus introduced is the only solvent of frustration. Most of us who are present here will probably assert that they understand the content of frustration. My analysis is that frustration is a form of erosion. Just as a soil gets eroded, so also a society and a human being can get eroded. There is a process of self-erosion and social erosion. The whole process of rebuilding India is conservation of the social soil, a revival of fertility, conservation of the self and a revival of its creativity. The process begins when we achieve a common purpose, an incandescent vision and a spirit of comradeship. It is only then that we can reverse the process and ensure that growth is stronger than the sense of decay.

The luxury of frustration can only lead to total destruction. For myself the work at the Planning Commission is that of organizing a counter-frustration squad and, for me, the Plan is an adventure in faith—faith in our people, faith in our ability and ultimately, the faith that growth will overcome the forces of decay. There is no getting away from the difficulties and tensions and conflicts that will arise. In the last analysis, we are the children of Light and the children of Darkness. In this conflict between Light and Darkness, all that one seeks to do is to see that the area of darkness is reduced, and that the area of light should grow. In this effort, every administrator at some stage must ask himself whether as a result of his efforts, things are a little darker or more luminous. Any light that you may emanate will ultimately have its angle of refraction. Our effort must be towards constantly narrowing the angle of refraction; if not, then we are not moving forward. Every administrator and leader must realize that there is a tragic penumbra which accompanies all his efforts. Creativity has a certain anguish about it; fertility has a certain price-tag that must be paid. We must not allow this to frustrate our efforts and cripple our creativity.

I have tried to indicate certain broad purposes and policies, I have also tried to bring in a certain philosophical approach. The best administrators in the past were not only very good at details, but were also able to enrich the whole stock of philosophy. The new administrator, therefore, has to display this range of talents. Given the willingness to measure up to the challenges and given the discipline needed for completing this kind of task, I have no doubt that India is still capable of throwing up a set of administrators who will contribute to the radical transformation of this nation.



## MR. RED TAPE\*

*L. K. Jha*

**I** DO not know if you have had the good fortune of not meeting Mr. Red Tape. Most people have come across him in one form or another. And who can escape the filling of forms? When a child is born, when it goes to school, when as a grown-up he applies for a job, when he wants to build a house, when he wants to claim his pension, when he dies and indeed even after his death, forms have to be filled up. And where there is a form, there is a Mr. Red Tape.

Mr. Red Tape is a creature of somewhat strange habits. He moves in grooves, he sits on files, he sleeps over reminders and occasionally, he has been known to eat his own words. He would be a fascinating addition to any zoo, but that is not where he lives. His favourite haunt is a Government Office. And although many Government Offices bear some resemblance to a zoo, people who go to Government Offices are not as easily amused as visitors to a zoo. However laughable his ways may be, Mr. Red Tape provokes not laughter but tears.

There are many stories told about the antics of Mr. Red Tape. It is said that in a certain Government office, there was a large accumulation of old documents and files, dating back to decades, documents to which no one but white ants and rats paid any attention. The space which these documents occupied began to squeeze out the people working in that office and the Head of that office had a bright revolutionary idea. If the old documents were burnt, so much space would become free. So, he wrote to the Head of his Department in the far off State capital, seeking his permission to do so. After three years and nineteen reminders during which the people working in that office were all but suffocated, the sanction came. Yes, the documents could be destroyed, but three copies of each of them should first be made for future reference.

What annoys and worries people about Mr. Red Tape is not oddities of this kind, but his whole outlook and approach to the problems which are brought to him. To every proposal, he has an objection. For every solution, he can find a difficulty.

However annoying a character he may seem in office, if you meet Mr. Red Tape in private life, you will find that he is quite a likeable

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\*Broadcast from All India Radio, New Delhi on November 23, 1965.

normal human being. In fairness to him, therefore, one should ask what it is that causes his transformation and makes him behave the way that he does.

One day, I had the good fortune of catching him in a relaxed mood at home. His daughter, aged ten, wanted him to help her write an essay on the life of Tilak. So, he was glad to be interrupted. In the course of our conversation, I asked him, as tactfully as I could, how it was that he who was obviously so human at home became so inhuman in office. To my surprise, his usually placid face showed signs of animation. There was a gleam in his eye instead of the glassy stare with which he froze visitors to his office.

"What choice have I got?", he asked. "I am not judged by the results I achieve, but by my adherence to rules. I won't be blamed if I do nothing, but I will be taken to task if I make a single mistake. What does it matter if a battle is lost, or trains collide, or buildings collapse so long as I have acted according to the rules? It is far better that no new houses are built than that a single house should go up which infringes any regulation. It is far better that refugees should wait indefinitely for the relief which is due to them than to run the risk of paying more than his due to anyone. Sins of commission are easier to detect than sins of omission."

"This must be very trying", I said. "How do you manage to function at all?"


"That is very simple", he replied. "If some one asks me a question, the first thing I ask myself is whether it is within my competence to give him a reply. This is never easy for any one to know. So, I start consulting everybody else who might possibly be concerned or interested. Before they give me any answer, they ask me a number of questions. I fling them back at the poor chap who approached me first. If he still perseveres and comes back with answers, I pass them back to my colleagues. If they can find no flaw in the answers, they take a decision. And usually, the decision is to put the matter up to the officers above them. And so the game goes on. Do you think I like it? When I retire, the very rules and procedures which I apply will result in my pension being held up for months and even years. And when it is sanctioned, I shall have to prove by producing certificates on prescribed forms that I am alive and also that I was alive in each of the intervening months during which my pension was under consideration! Yet what am I to do? People think I exercise authority. They do not know that I have no authority. Where the authority lies, no one knows. All I know is that if I do nothing, no one will blame me, but if I do something, then many people will ask me whether

what I did was correct. Correct, mind you, not right. If I help someone, my motives may be questioned. If I say no, I am safe. So, I take the line of least assistance."

As he paused for breath, I managed to ask him another question. "Is there no way out?", I asked. "Can nothing be done to make things easier and simpler?"

There was a sudden change in his manner. He looked at me with a suspicious eye, wondering whether he had talked more freely than he should have and whether he had infringed Government Servants' Conduct Rules in any manner. After a brief pause in which the gleam went out of his eye, he said: "That is a question which you must address to someone in the Department of Administrative Reforms. It will be for them to consult others, examine the matter at the appropriate level and give an answer in suitable terms in due course to your query. So far as I am concerned, I have to help my daughter with her essay, though I must confess that she knows much more about Tilak than I do."

At this broad hint, I got up to take leave. He seemed relieved and once again spoke in a somewhat personal way. He said: "Now don't you go and broadcast all that I said and if you ever repeat this conversation, don't give out my real name. Call me Mr. Red Tape."



## FAMILY PLANNING : PLANS AND ACTION

*Nicholas J. Demerath*

SO great is India's population pressure, and so crucial her efforts at population control, that detached analysis is difficult; exhortation and criticism are easy. Lest the reader draw negative inferences hastily from the account which follows, consider the context. India is a new and heterogenous nation with democratic institutions and a federal system in which the States are very strong. The bureaucracy is slowly struggling out of a law and order past into a developmental and problem oriented future. And leaders are riven socially and psychologically in a current of change from personal to universal standards and strata-gems. However great their value in some respects, these characteristics are obstacles to a family planning programme; obstacles that are especially formidable because national family planning, unlike other development programmes, has no model of success to go by. Thus, "the case of India" is understandable: efforts at fertility control here are not new but the organization and management resources prerequisite to any significant programme impact have yet to be mobilized.

In the Nineteen Thirties voluntary societies and birth control clinics were established in several cities. In 1951, the Planning Commission appointed a committee on population growth and family planning. In 1952, with the Second Five Year Plan, the Central Ministry of Health got a family planning unit and a first annual appropriation of about Rs. 6,500,000. This was increased to more than Rs. 50,000,000 annually in the Third Five Year Plan (1966-70). Most of these funds are intended as grants-in-aid to States, cities and voluntary organization, on the basis of 75 or 100 per cent of costs.

However modest all these Central Government appropriations, not one has been fully expended. The first year (1952) the Central Government had funds for family planning, only about Rs. 3,000,000 of Rs. 6,500,000 was utilized. Twelve years later, the percentage of expenditure to budget provision was not much higher: it averaged 58 per cent for the 10 States where data are available.<sup>1</sup> Numerous explanations are offered, all of which spell lack of instrumental or performance capacity. This hiatus between plan and instrumental capacity is not peculiar to family planning or to India. It will come

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<sup>1</sup> India, Programme Evaluation Organization, *Evaluation of the Family Planning Programme in India, Report of the Panel of Consultants*. Planning Commission, Government of India, 1965, p. 27.

as no surprise to sociologists: they expect this in societies like India whose structures of social behaviour continue to emphasize affiliation needs, traditional thinking, particularism, and functional diffuseness. Economists will recognize in this inability to mobilize the human input, a characteristic of the pre-take off stage of development. And several public administrators have already pointed to Indian difficulties of development administration, given the Indian Administrative Service with its British colonial past; given the constitutional autonomy of the 15 Indian States to a degree resembling U.S. States rights before the Civil War; and given insufficient management skills among the public health physicians who have been in command of the family planning programme.

The plan and instrumental gap, then, is to be expected on the basis of various general considerations. But what have been the particulars? What needs to be done and how in respect to India's family planning programme? To get at these questions I will use two concepts from the sociology of managed organizations: (1) the organization as blueprint, (2) the organization as action. Though I will not trace the scholarly pedigrees of these ideas, the reader will likely recall the attributes and concepts described by Roethlisberger and Dickson, Barnard, Mannheim, Weber, W. Moore, A. Gouldner, G. Friedmann, and others.

#### *Organization as Blueprint*

Status prescriptions and expectations  
Plans  
Authority  
Formal and official  
Functional rationality  
Rational model  
Papers, charts, boxes

#### *Organization as Action*

Members compliance or deviance  
Workable programmes  
Communication  
Informal and unofficial  
Substantive rationality  
Natural system model  
Personalities, groups processes.

Let us apply these concepts to the Indian family planning scene as described in government documents. Chronologically, three stages of effort are discernible and I have used them as major categories following.

### STAGE ONE (1956-61)

#### *Blueprint One*

The Second Five Year Plan period (1956-1960) saw the first official planning groups and blueprints for family planning on a national scale. Numerous plan and policy boards were created. In 1956 there appeared

a Central Family Planning Board, chaired by the Minister of Health, and by 1959 there were State boards in 14 of the 15 States. Top officials were named and by 1959 there were 10 States with Family Planning Officers and, at the Centre, a Director of Family Planning responsible to the Director General of Health Services. All of the latter officials and the Health Minister, since 1962, had medical and public health backgrounds. To plan or to "chalk out" became an ever-greater activity. Two other preliminaries to programme action also came to be emphasized, understandably enough: training and research.

There was training in demography, training in family planning methods, and training courses for public health and other community workers. Demographic institutes, medical colleges, schools of nursing, health education agencies were involved in these instructional activities. In addition, special family planning training centres were established at several points, some under the Centre and others under the States. Then, travelling teams of trainers were formed, including usually a physician and health educator, or physician and social worker. These teams worked with "camps" (*i.e.*, meetings) of local leaders in the community development blocks or other areas. The camps assembled for one or two days to learn about the population problem, the Family Planning Programme, and methods of contraception as well as to consider the most appropriate procedures locally.

Research activities increased. There were demographic studies in government funded centres at Delhi, Calcutta, Trivandrum and Bombay. At medical centres physiological researches were conducted, including investigations of reproduction and of contraceptive techniques and materials. Problems of motivation and communications began to be studied in several small pilot projects.

### *Action One*

Though planning, training, and research were given the principal attention during the first stage, there was also a measure of programme accomplishment in rural clinics and, in lesser ratio, in a few towns and cities. By 1961, 1500 clinics were reported in operation. They provided contraceptives, (condoms, diaphragms, jellies, foam tablets) and advisory services either free or at minimal cost, depending on ability to pay. About five million couples were said to have been contacted, of whom one fifth were given appliances, materials, or contraceptive advice. In a few States sterilization was promoted and hospitals were being utilized for the operations. Also several mobile surgical teams were doing the operations, several score a day, at sterilization camps. This method was being promoted by mass advertising

and small subsidies were being given to the sterilizees as compensation, presumably for time lost from work and for costs of transportation. As of July 1961, about 130,000 sterilizations had been reported, with a slight preponderance of males over females.<sup>2</sup>

That this action was insufficient, was the central finding of the high level Health Survey and Planning Committee (the Mudaliar Committee) whose report was published in 1961.<sup>3</sup> The Committee wanted to see the national family planning programme become both a broad scale and an intensive "mass movement". This was prerequisite to success, though the Committee thought Government alone could not launch the movement. They urged efforts to enlist more interest and help of voluntary organizations, like the Indian Family Planning Association, with the Central Government providing financial aid. High priority should be given for procurement of larger supplies of contraceptive materials, either by Indian production or import. Expansion of informational efforts was strongly recommended, and family planning education efforts should be co-ordinated with the education work of other national programmes, such as community development and social welfare. The Mudaliar Committee sought an expanded sterilization effort, but with careful study of the social and demographic effects. The Committee, of course, had done its work four years before the IUCD, (Intra-Uterine Contraceptive Device), or loop, was to be emphasized.

Of particular interest is a supplement to this 1961 report. There, a minority of the Mudaliar Committee went on to urge that quite bold and different steps be taken, if by 1966, Indian population growth rate had not clearly turned downward. In effect, they urged that India take up population planning and control—a more comprehensive stratagem than family planning. The minority proposed: (1) graded tax penalties (lesser advantages) beginning with the fourth birth; (2) removal of income tax disadvantages for single persons; (3) no maternity benefits for those who refuse to limit their progeny; (4) limiting Government services, like free education, to no more than three children in a family; (5) enlisting the help of all Government employees in promoting family planning; and (6) permitting abortion when justified for socio-economic reasons.<sup>4</sup> There seems to have been little serious consideration given subsequently to many of these ideas. Although in 1965 the Minister of Finance did announce certain income tax inducements for smaller families, the income tax payers and the highly fertile masses are by no means synonymous.

<sup>2</sup> Government of India, Ministry of Health, *Report of the Health Survey and Planning Committee*. Madras, Government of India, 1961, V. 1, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 406-410.

## (STAGE TWO 1962-64)

*Blueprint Two*

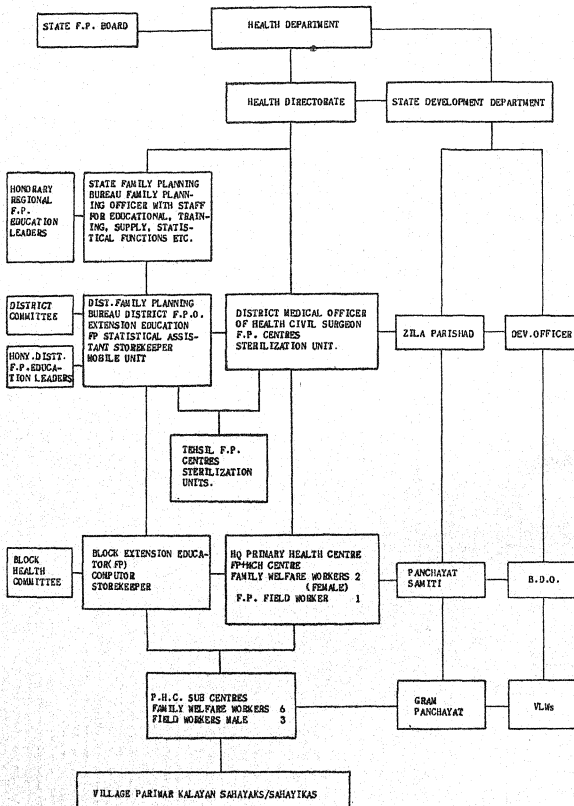
In April 1963, the Director of Family Planning, as if he were responding to the Mudaliar Committee Report, presented a detailed blueprint for what was termed "the re-organized or extended family planning programme". He explained that careful observations by many observers had led him to conclude "the overall progress of the programme must be admitted to be remarkable, considering the scope of the programme".<sup>5</sup> The progress was documented by tables showing that Centre allocations to State Governments had risen 200 fold in five years, almost 11 million pieces of "educational materials" had been produced, there were 8,441 service centres. A total of 22,631 persons in four categories had been trained and were reported to be on the job. Figures were presented which showed increasing sale of various types of contraceptive supplies between 1956 and 1963.

"To make still further improvements in the programme", the Director reported 25 pages of criticism and then spelled out his re-organization scheme. Heretofore, the key service unit had been mainly a clinic set-up to which women came for rather elaborate medical examination and prescription of contraceptives. Now, a re-organization was needed in the direction of an "extension" approach designed to reach the masses rapidly. Accordingly, the re-organized scheme would emphasize extension education, greater availability of contraceptive supplies, and less dependence on the traditional clinic approach. In addition, there were to be better statistics and evaluation, and a much stronger "ladder" of organization and supervision.

The main programme goal was said to be reduction of the nation's birth rate from more than 40 to 25 per 1,000 population, possibly by 1973. For this purpose, "operational goals" were defined as achieving for 90 per cent of the married adult population of India three basic pre-conditions of family planning, namely: (1) group acceptance of the smaller family size norm, (2) personal knowledge about family planning methods, and (3) easy availability of supplies and services. The blueprint or "set-up" for the States is shown in the chart on page 688. The organization and staffing implications were not spelled out for the nation, but some idea of magnitudes can be drawn from the chart bearing in mind these facts: India has 15 States and 4 territories. There are 324 districts. There are 5,000 rural development blocks, each with about 80,000 people and there are 500,000 villages.

<sup>5</sup> Lieut. Col. B. L. Raina, *Family Planning Programme: Report for 1962-63*. New Delhi, Ministry of Health (no date).

## PROPOSED STATE FAMILY PLANNING ORGANIZATION



At village level, committees under village leadership will plan for education and action in their own groups. The village programme will be assisted by Contraceptive Depot Holders, and by Gram Kalyan Sahayaks and Sahayikas.

Twenty per cent of the estimated 480 million population are in the towns and cities.

At the village and sub-centre level, the blueprint provided for female workers (Auxiliary Nurse Midwives), at one per 10,000 population. These ANM's, in addition to performing their routine maternal and child health services, supposedly would educate women for family planning, act as contraceptive "depot holders", refer cases for sterilization and IUCD and then provide follow up on the cases. One male worker per 20 to 30 thousand population was also blueprinted to do public education, community organization, building and maintaining the contraceptive supply-lines, and organizing camps for sterilization and IUCD's.

The basic unit of operation was to be the Rural Family Planning Unit, coterminous in area with a Community Development Block. This Unit would be attached to the Block Health Unit, where the latter exists; but in absence of a Unit, it could also be set up independently and attached to the Block Development Officer. At block level, a post of Woman Medical Officer was blueprinted. In doing this, the likely acceptance of IUCD as a new family planning method was anticipated. At this level, a full-time Family Planning Extension Educator was planned to join the efforts of leaders and development workers. A Computer was specified to help with vital statistics and programme evaluation. Also, a Storekeeper was to be provided to ensure the flow of supplies. At the district level, a consolidated "Family Planning Bureau" was prescribed with enough personnel and supplies to support the total programme in all blocks of the district. State and central set-ups were left essentially unchanged though their loads, in blueprint, would now be greater under the re-organization.

For towns and cities, the re-organized scheme called for Urban Family Planning Units (rather than centres or clinics). Presumably, emphasis would go to a mass programme to reach all the people in each urban area of 50,000 population. But there was no provision for supporting and co-ordinating these urban units.

The Government of India (the Centre) accepted the blueprint for the re-organized family planning programme. In October 1963 there was issued to all State Governments a 45 page circular letter with three enclosures. This document states the basis and line item budget for financial assistance to the States; specified job qualifications and duties at all levels, tables of organization, administrative relations, community relations, training requirements, and even specified the bicycle allowances for three positions.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 86-131.

*Action Two*

The author of the 1962-63 Annual Report and "Blueprint Two" wrote:

"Even such a sympathetic observer as the demographer Kingsley Davis, only 12 years ago, wrote that he doubted whether an official program could be launched in the foreseeable future. Not only is it launched but India's Third Five Year Plan states that the Family Planning program is at the very centre of planned development".<sup>7</sup>

Just how national was the programme's coverage, how effective its implementation, how real its accomplishment, were to become matters of mounting concern over the next two years.

Inaugurating the seventeenth meeting of the Central Family Planning Board in July 1965, Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission (the Prime Minister is the Chairman), spoke as follows and in a manner accurately described in the reports of the occasion as "impassioned", "spirited", "inspired", "vehement", "raising his voice".<sup>8</sup> He said:

"We should not waste our time on petty worries of scales and salaries and status. These are undoubtedly important. I do not deny them. But I want to know if there is a famine somewhere and we are fighting it, will we be insisting upon saying what are the patterns of assistance, what are the scales of pay you will give us or what are going to be our service conditions before we can fight the famine? Do we, specially those of us who are actually engaged in this task, not realise that this is a life and death struggle for us?"<sup>9</sup>

Shri Mehta, a development minded man personally as well as by virtue of his office, clearly thought all was not going well "at the very centre of planned development".

That this was the case,—despite the larger figures on people trained, materials printed, units manned—was revealed clearly in reports of the evaluation of the family planning programme by the Planning Commission's Programme Evaluation Organization. The evaluators had visited the States in 1964 and early 1965; with reports and implementation beginning in the 1965 summer.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> India, *Family Planning News*, Ministry of Health, August 1965, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

The Evaluation Group had not attempted a fullfledged evaluation of the programme's impact. Instead, as they pointed out, they studied "the current and emerging problems in the implementation of the 'Reorganized' family planning programme".<sup>10</sup> They observed what I am calling here the gap between plans and instrumental capacity. And the critical importance of the gap was now the greater in view of the clinical and administrative advantages of the IUCD or loop which the Indian Council on Medical Research in early 1965 had endorsed for mass utilization.

The findings of the evaluation report<sup>11</sup> provide facts on the 1964 action outcome of "the reorganized and extended" blueprint. At block and district levels, 3,195 family planning service units were reported. Over 80 per cent of these were managed by State Governments. Local government bodies (towns and cities) were still under-represented, with less than 2.6 of the total. The average population per unit varied from 48,000 in one State (Kerala) to 715,000 in another (Bihar). Staffing of the units was quite deficient; averaging only 1.1 workers full-time equivalent per unit.

In the service units, workers did not know what they were supposed to do, and with whom they were to do it; job descriptions and supervisory methods had not been spelled out. Local leaders had not been trained in the ways to promote family planning in their areas; indeed, training of all kinds was weak.

At block and district levels also, there were not enough supervisors, either positions or people. There was a tendency to economize on supervisory posts. Support from district family planning committees was not what it should be, though this could not generally be expected until full-time district staff were available to inform, stimulate and guide the district committees. Recruitment of the full district staffs, including district family planning medical officers and family planning extension educators, had not been given a very high priority. Family planning workers were not getting the maximum level of salary, allowances, and service benefits which other staff with similar qualifications received. As the evaluation team put it, the "shortages" of staff often were really shortages in appealing conditions of work.

The States lacked assurances of long-term financial support for family planning. That Blueprint Two, "the re-organized and extended" programme, had been launched in the middle of the Third Plan

<sup>10</sup> *Evaluation of the Family Planning Programme: Reports of Assessment Teams and the Panel of Consultants. op. cit.*, p. 64. (This is the basic document; in addition, there have been two condensations).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

period, had compounded the financial uncertainties. The State financial authorities had no assurance that subsidies from the Centre would be continued or increased in the Fourth Plan, starting in 1966. Therefore, they hesitated to create new positions and to think of expansion. There was widespread caution, delay, and inaction.

In the State family planning bureaus, presently sanctioned positions were inadequate to carry out required leadership functions. The State Family Planning Officer was commonly an Assistant Director when, to get the necessary resources and collaboration from other officials for his programme, he needed the rank of Deputy Director of Health Services, plus imagination and drive. He would then be aided by helpers at the Assistant Director level to supervise the key aspects of the programme. It was noted that State family planning boards were not always very effective, and the State Family Planning Officers needed help in activating these bodies.

Another set of findings on "Action Two" came out of my own travels and observations. During the summer of 1965 I observed family planning work in eight States and five of the largest cities. At the same time I observed and participated in various developments at the Centre in New Delhi. My findings pertain mainly to promotion and accomplishment by means of the IUCD or loop, the method that was being emphasized in 1965. There had been real accomplishment in a few States, some of it quite impressive. But as the table shows, the all-India picture was very spotty indeed. Five States accounted for about 82 per cent of the 166,768 insertions by the end of September: Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab, West Bengal. The same five States, at the end of November, had inserted a total of about 78 per cent of the 271,386 which the Ministry of Health reported for the national IUCD effort. These five states show good accomplishment, but the cumulative total is barely a beginning toward the figure required for any noticeable effect on the birthrate—5,000,000 and upward in each of several years. My other findings so closely parallel those already discussed, no detail is warranted.

### STAGE THREE (1966—)

#### *Blueprint Three*

The Planning Commission's evaluation<sup>12</sup> concluded with several recommendations that, in effect, constitute a third blueprint, with a quite different Centre set up and changes in Centre-State relationships.

<sup>12</sup> *Evaluation of the Family Planning Programme: Reports of Assessment Teams and the Panel of Consultants, op. cit.*

The States should get more technical help from the Centre as well as from other states. Such assistance is needed not only where progress is slow, but also where some extra help might move a State programme "over the edge" to success. A "State Consultant Panel" was urged, to include outstanding State workers with experience in special aspects of the programme who could be called upon by other States for limited periods to help with specific tasks.

LOOPS INSERTED : MAY 1 to NOVEMBER 30, 1965

Name of State or Territory	Cumulative Totals as of			
	July 31	Aug. 31	Sept. 30	Nov. 30
1. Andhra Pradesh .. ..	—	1,500	1,500	4,500
2. Assam .. ..	1,731	3,812	5,455	8,881
3. Bihar .. ..	2	86	1,014	2,331
4. Gujarat .. ..	20,431	22,192	38,868	51,316
5. Jammu & Kashmir ..	—	—	285	733
6. Kerala .. ..	575	900	5,013	12,428
7. Madhya Pradesh .. ..	145	120	1,324	2,170
8. Madras .. ..	338	358	428	960
9. Maharashtra .. ..	13,257	15,282	21,216	31,450
10. Mysore .. ..	3,238	6,192	10,541	21,246
11. Orissa .. ..	187	701	1,301	1,961
12. Punjab .. ..	7,343	16,404	24,570	39,239
13. Rajasthan .. ..	3,986	2,494	4,549	6,245
14. Uttar Pradesh .. ..	1,135	1,658	2,668	8,788
15. West Bengal .. ..	16,233	27,539	40,524	68,270
16. Delhi .. ..	2,000	7,000	7,000	10,000
17. Himachal Pradesh ..	—	27	472	801
18. Manipur .. ..	—	—	—	67
TOTAL :	70,601	106,265	166,768	271,386

Source : Central Family Planning Directorate.

There should be decentralization of certain powers to the States, particularly powers of grant allocation to local voluntary organization and other bodies. The Centre would make the general policies and guidelines for such grants.

In respect to finance, the evaluators recommended: (1) Each State should have a "master-plan for building up all the component parts of its total family planning programme", and the plan should underlay a schematic budget that would assure any unit, once started, of specified budgetary resources for the next ten years, irrespective of the Five Year Plan period. (2) For better use of funds and greater flexibility of operation, the family planning programme should hereafter be handled not as a "centrally sponsored scheme" but as one of the State plan schemes and thus enjoy a specified pattern of Central assistance covering the planned and budgetary operations as above. (3) The proportion of Central assistance should be kept at least at 75 per cent of cost, and possibly raised to 100 per cent.

At the Centre, the evaluators emphasized the need for much more administrative and financial authority, and a greatly strengthened headquarters staff with sections on planning, contraceptive supplies, administration, training and education, and—of key importance—field operations with six regional officers. (The Director of Family Planning had only two or three professional assistants in his office.) The evaluators urged a "Central Family Planning Organization" be established as a Directorate General of Family Planning in the Health Ministry. The Director General of Family Planning should be called "Commissioner of Family Planning" and be ranked an *ex-officio* Additional Secretary to Government. This would imply also conferring corresponding secretarial status to the Director General of Health Services.

A five-member Family Planning Executive Board should be set up as a semi-autonomous body composed of: (1) Secretary to Government, Ministry of Health; (2) Director General of Health Services; (3) Joint Secretary and Financial Advisor (Health), Ministry of Finance; (4) Joint Secretary and Establishment Officer, Ministry of Home Affairs; and (5) Director General of Family Planning as Member-Secretary. The Board should be able to exercise full powers of financial sanction and administrative action, including appointment of staff, within the annual budget allocation for the programme. The Panel noted that an alternative would be to establish a ministerial level board, but they preferred the secretarial board because secretaries could be convened more readily than could ministers, and could still take action.

It is too early to observe Action Three. It will probably reflect not only the Blueprint Three summarized above, but also the critiques and recommendations of two expert assessments by visiting teams sent to India in 1965 by the World Bank and by the United Nations (Technical Assistance). Their reports have not yet been released, though

there have been conversations with Indian officials. It is evident though that the findings and recommendations have been considered and, are being implemented in part, though not without anguish in some quarters. The secretariat presumably opposed the physicians when it came to giving the *ex-officio* rank of Additional Secretary to Government to the new family planning chief; the new Commissioner of Family Planning is only ranked an additional Director General of Health Services. And instead of becoming the "semi-autonomous" arm of a "semi-autonomous Executive Board", the Central Family Planning Organization was kept in the Health Ministry. Still retained is the "Cabinet Committee" for family planning composed of the ministers of finance, health, information and broadcasting, food and agriculture, labour and employment, member of the Planning Commission (Deputy Chairman), plus three advisers—all health officials.

#### INTERPRETATION

I have described the persistent gap between the plans for family planning and the instrumental capacity to carry them out. This I have done by comparing blueprints and action over the last 13 years, drawing on government documents and my own observations. One may say of family planning what one observer has said of India's Community Development Programme, "the emphasis has been on expansion of schematic pattern at a pace faster than the implementing personnel could organize."<sup>13</sup> The massiveness of India's family planning challenge unquestionably calls for big plans. The population is now estimated at about 480 million growing at a rate of about 2.5 per cent or 10 to 12 million annually, whereas growth of national product is barely ahead.<sup>14</sup> But the plans must become action if there is to be accomplishment and if India is to attain her development objectives in food, agriculture, industrial employment, etc. What is the likelihood of closing the plan and instrumental capacity gap?

There are several favourable factors in the present situation. The Planning Commission's recommendations growing out of their 1964-65 evaluation, gives emphasis to management problems and solutions. The availability and administrative simplicity of the loop combined with its evident appeal in a ready market requiring only information and service centres to begin with, is clearly an asset. And the loop

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Durgah Deshmukh, *Kurukshetra*, Jan. 26, 1965, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Gross national product increase, 1952 to 1963, was at an annual rate of 3.3 per cent. Among 12 Asian countries, only Indonesia was lesser (2.8); Japan (10) and Thailand (6.0) the leaders. India's agricultural product increase is the same as her population growth rate; 2.5 per cent. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East Survey, as reported in the *Economic Times*, Bombay, Oct. 6, 1965.

as the method for emphasis does not conflict with the alternatives of condom and sterilization of males. Among staff and consultants, more thought is being given to setting operational goals or targets as a first step in workable programming; and this process may be facilitated by such techniques as critical path analysis and performance budgeting. Most favourable, is the first evidence of consensus in the Cabinet and in the Congress party that national family planning is not just another health programme to be promoted coequally with tuberculosis control, small-pox eradication, leprosy control and the like. Instead, it is beginning to get number one priority alongside food production and defence, though the politicians probably must have more confidence in the programme's capacity before they will commit themselves fully: they need "a winner" in India as elsewhere. Finally, on the favourable side, there are examples now of family planning accomplishment in five States (see table page 693).

Of the factors unfavourable to manage action, the most basic are high illiteracy and son-seeking peasant familism. Eighty per cent of Indians live in the country, and millions of city residents remain villagers psychologically. These and other institutional factors may frustrate purposive population control. But if the control effort is to have a chance, other more nearly manageable factors must be reckoned with. Of these, one of the most pervasive is the penchant for symbols; plans and paper, meetings and assemblies, talk and print. The problem is often thought corrected once the law is passed. The goal is commonly considered won if everyone on a committee assents, if the funds have been appropriated, if the employees have been posted. Numbers of games are often substituted for more threatening assessments; numbers of bodies in place, numbers of rupees earmarked, numbers of anything assembled or processed. Also, co-operative action on the job comes hard, for caste-like practices persist regardless of statutory prohibitions.

Every man is an island; each man to his function, his private contract with God. This is the realization of the Gita's selfless action. This is caste. In the beginning of a no doubt useful division of labour in a rural society, it has now divorced function from social obligation, position from duties. It has led to the Indian passion for speech-making, for gestures and for symbolic action.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> V. S. Naipaul, *An Area of Darkness*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1964 p. 83. For accounts of the caste factor in contemporary India, see M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962; Vikas Mishra, *Hinduism and Economic Growth*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1962; Selig Harrison, *India: The Most Dangerous Decades*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1960.

As observers both Indian and Western frequently note, organizational behaviour generally is characterized by deference to age and seniority, to rank and authority and, more subtly, to caste and to colour. Delegation is difficult to practice, and responsibility hard to take. It is easier to distrust than to trust. The power to make decisions, even the smallest decisions, is usually held zealously at the top by means of tight review, and by endless noting up and down the parallel hierarchies of administrative generalists and of experts. Organizational goals are set at the top and too seldom translated or broken down for the involvement or understanding of subordinates.

Leaders who inspire and who catalyze group action and co-operation, as well as many competent managers are called for. While it is true that India possesses a larger number of intellectuals and professionals than most other societies in transition, their per cent of the population is low and the ratio of managers and organizational leaders is even lower probably. Thus, shortages of personnel qualified to manage and staff a national family planning programme is a negative factor alongside the difficulties of communication and co-operation in pursuit of common goals.

Already apparent is an overloading of the family planning elite—overloaded by communications, overloaded by matters for decision.<sup>16</sup> This elite in the States, the regional offices, and Centre needs a very large enhancement of its leadership and management capabilities. This could be done by adding experienced managers from business or government, orienting them to family planning problems, and giving them expert social science assistance.

Brief, practical management training and development courses for present health professionals in supervisory positions could also be helpful. Whether the family planning programme will develop strong executive leadership, whether and when a sizable management input will be made one cannot say, though this is now the most critical factor in India's family planning accomplishment.



<sup>16</sup> Karl W. Deutsch and Amitai Etzioni write on the communication capability of an elite as a factor in the process of inter-nation political unification. It is also important in the management or administration of national development programme. Etzioni defines "overloading" of the elite as "presenting it with more communication than it is able to digest (and) requiring more decisions per time unit than it is able to make". Amitai Etzioni, "The Epigenesis of Political Unification", in a book he edited, *Social Change*, New York, Basic Books, 1964, p. 487.

## RESEARCH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

*T. R. Seshadri*

AT present there seems to be a fear in the minds of the public whether Indian universities can undertake any research work and whether they have become institutions solely devoted to teaching. The reason for this has been explained as two-fold; the number of students are increasing enormously and so also the universities including colleges. But most of these are very ill-equipped and in a state of uncertainty and instability. There is lack of finance and serious lack of organization. On the other hand, a large number of Research Laboratories have sprung up as National Laboratories. There are also a number of other research institutions run by Atomic Energy Department, Defence Science Organization and Industries (textiles, jute, lac, tea) and Agricultural Research and Medical Research Institutes. These are very well provided with buildings and equipments and highly paid and trained personnel. Practically all the financial resources and foreign exchange facilities of the Nation are available to these highly organized institutions. Very little finance has been left for universities and they are being squeezed out of established and competent research.

Frequent discussions have taken place and strong opinions expressed as to whether this separation of teaching and research will be good for the growth of science in this fast developing country. There is also a strong feeling that unless research of fundamental and advanced character is done in universities, advanced teaching becomes increasingly inefficient. The research institutes also become progressively sterile by being cut off from the progressive and youthful atmosphere of universities. At the same time there is a fear that there is not enough finance for running both the expensive National and other laboratories and invest more money on universities for doing research. Therefore, this seems to be an appropriate time for discussing this topic of Research in Universities and considering various aspects of the problem.

To start with, it may be necessary to have a correct picture of what a university should be. The institution of universities is quite ancient; they were well-known in Ancient India and also in Ancient Greece. They were considered to be centres of all knowledge and culture. They had great teachers who possessed practically all the knowledge that was known at that time. These teachers had clear ideas and could

communicate them efficiently to their pupils and could educate them to appreciate knowledge and wisdom. There used to be frequent discussions and arguments. One could imagine that during these occasions new knowledge was naturally discovered and was developed. Thus even in those days a university had a dual role : (1) teaching of known knowledge, and (2) discovery of new knowledge. This has continued to the present day in all the countries of the world and, therefore, it will be unusual to see a university intended only for teaching and not charged with research and discovery at the highest levels.

But it has been remarked that in general universities in India do not satisfy this description. Most of the peculiar defects in them could be traced to the manner of their evolution. They were originally started as examining bodies and had no direct connection with teaching. This was largely left to individual colleges. After the First World War, some of the major Universities developed teaching faculties in a very halting way. The resources were comparatively meagre and teaching personnel too were not good. Most of them were people left over from public services, careers in law and similar attractive avenues. Research was not so compulsory and was not enthusiastically cultivated. There were, of course, some exceptions, but these had no substantial influence. After the Second World War and Independence there has been very rapid increase in the number of Universities and Colleges. This has accentuated the problem of finance, equipment and good teachers. Further before and after the advent of democracy, these Universities have become centres of political interest to the utter detriment of academic life and to the ruin of advanced study and research. The situation has started improving after the foundation of U.G.C. which has been making efforts to enforce standards in university teaching and in research. With greater resources at its command it could prove to be an effective instrument of reform and of the progress of universities.

It should not be forgotten that a university's main function is to promote growth of knowledge and culture. It should help students to develop wisdom and grow to the highest levels of human personality. An atmosphere of original thinking and research is essential for this purpose. Importance of scientific research should not, therefore, be valued only from the amount of power it gives or lucrative employments it provides. These are only by-products of something more fundamental; these are the golden eggs, but the hen should not be forgotten. Just as physical health is dependent on sport and exercise, mental and intellectual health depends on the higher type of exercises based on scientific and philosophical studies and research. In this respect universities play a fundamental part and one educated in universities

has great advantages as a citizen and a social worker as compared with others who did not have this opportunity of mental development.


## II

Speaking of research and research institutes it is necessary to understand some recent developments. During the past 100 years there has been enormous progress in the application of scientific discoveries to industry. The earliest was the development of engineering industries, but later, with accelerated intensity, chemical and other industries have developed on a large scale. A hundred years ago the laboratory discovery of new synthetic dyes took a long time to be converted into a commercial success. The developments had to be made by the industry itself and often the discoverers had to turn themselves into industrialists and make commercial successes of the discoveries. Even at the beginning of this century, the relationship between industry and universities was small. Universities used to train the graduates and the industry itself used to train the technologists by taking them as apprentice. The situation has changed enormously at the present time. Universities and technological institutes are expected to do the development of laboratory discoveries and provide trained technologists.

During the last century there was very little difference between basic research and industrial research in terms of cost and equipment. More and more differentiation set in with the progress of the present technological era. Not only technological education has been fostered by special institutes of technology but even technological research requiring costly and large scale equipment has to be provided for in these institutions. More recently as the result of intensive development of different branches of technology, several research institutes of specialized nature have sprung up in almost all countries of the world. In our country, a number of these are called National Laboratories. Towards the end of the second World War the idea of National Laboratories took shape and they have been organized in the years of independence with great speed and energy at considerable cost. They have been claimed to be some of the best in the world. Originally they were intended to cater to the technological needs of the developing industries, but there seems to have been no very definite policy regarding their main function. The discussion may probably be still continuing. Their increasing tendency to regard themselves as duplicates of universities offering Ph. D. training and fellowships has been criticized and this has been attributed largely to the unwillingness of university trained scientific officers to take to planned project studies which requires co-operative team work.

In certain highly developed countries in the world this new need of technology and industries has been met by adding the institutes of research to the universities. This has been very helpful for advanced teaching and even research both fundamental and applied was thereby carried out more effectively. It has been the opinion of scientists who have studied different systems that research associated with universities is always much more efficient and far more economical than when it is segregated in separate institutes. This point does not seem to have been considered adequately in the organization of our National Laboratories and also of other industrial laboratories. One of the main reasons given by our leaders at that time was that the universities were in a bad way and because of the peculiar set-up it was very difficult to improve them and depend on them for rapid development of Industrial Research. It was more easy to start new institutions and develop research. There seemed to be great strength in this argument. Actually we know the enormous handicaps under which universities are working, particularly because of the inroads of non-academic influence and inherent lack of organizational skill. At the same time there is justification for the feeling that these new developments have led to further neglect of universities. There seems to be now a strong feeling that this segregation of research institutes from universities has been overdone and there is talk of having collaboration and co-ordination. But the difficulties are quite large. The atmosphere of universities with low salaries and scarcity of men and material and that of National Laboratories with liberal salaries and plentiful resources cannot co-exist in association unless they are evened out and a single policy governs both of them not only in regard to monetary benefits but also in regard to competence and ability. The subject is one of great difficulty because it has been allowed to develop for over too long a time. Still, as a practical proposition, immediate effect could be given to co-operative effort in which fundamental research is entrusted to universities and project research and industrial work is the main concern of National Laboratories with their large scale equipment and special facilities.

In spite of all their handicaps, the contribution of Indian universities to scientific research is not inconsiderable. By far the major part of India's output is still from universities. This is because they are the natural and most suitable places for the work. Their contribution could be expected to be much better if their handicaps are removed. That this should happen as quickly as possible is the prayer of all those interested in science and the progress of knowledge; by their neglect the nation will be drying up the fountain source of scientific research and teaching.



## GOVERNMENT IN METROPOLITAN CALCUTTA

*Mohit Bhattacharya*

THE phenomenon of urbanization and its impact on almost every aspect of the social system have, in recent years, led to much academic interest and consequent analytical sophistications. Metropolitanism, as one form of urban growth, has been subjected to thorough scrutiny as much to satisfy academic curiosity as to provide planners and administrators with hard data and possible solutions to the myriad problems which a flood of unchecked urbanization brings in its trail. Thus conceived, the study of widespread urban growth around the city of Calcutta, carried out by the Institute of Public Administration, New York, is important for two reasons. In the first place, its purpose has been to assist the local planners with a large array of facts and data without a knowledge of which no solution pattern could be devised. In the second place, the study has been of considerable international importance inasmuch as the knowledge of the area might help in making comparisons with apparently similar urban growth elsewhere and thus formulating general principles and concepts. The metropolitan growth of Calcutta, like any other similar growth elsewhere, could be viewed from different perspectives. The investigations carried out, since 1961, by the Ford Foundation Consultants, the Institute of Public Administration (New York), the World Health Organization and the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization of the Government of West Bengal, to name the major authorities engaged in research and planning in the area, bear testimony to the multi-dimensional approaches to the problem.<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to compress all of them within the compass of this brief essay. The main purpose here is to highlight the principal governmental problems of the urban area. Since these stem from and are intertwined with the physical nature of the area, an account is also given of its geographic nature and spread and its locational-functional significance.

### *Terminologies*

Before we deal with the physical nature of the urban area, it is necessary to define some of the important terms which will be frequently used in course of the discussion. Such terms as "urban" and "rural"

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<sup>1</sup> The Institute of Public Administration, New York, has been publishing the results of investigations in the form of about a dozen monographs.

have particular local connotations, an explanation of which would save us from possible semantic confusion.

- (1) *Urban Area*: An area is defined as urban by the Indian Census if it possesses, *inter alia*, the following characteristics:

- (a) A density of not less than one thousand persons per square mile;
- (b) A total population of at least five thousand; and
- (c) Three fourths of the working population being engaged in non-agricultural activities.

- (2) *Rural Area* : An area is rural if it is non-urban.

- (3) *Calcutta Conurbation* : Like the U.S. Bureau of the Census definition of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area or the Registrar General's definition of the conurbation in England, no attempts have as yet been made by the Indian Census to define urban agglomerations. In delineating the boundaries of the Calcutta Conurbation, the Study Group of Geographers of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization had to take into account the local conditions that vitally affected the nature and extent of the conurbation. Apparently, it is the compact ribbon-shaped built-up area along both banks of the River Hooghly extending in all directions from the two cities of Calcutta (East Bank) and Howrah (West Bank). Because of material differences between living conditions in West Bengal and Western Europe, the boundary of the conurbation was demarcated by mapping (a) all areas under urban local bodies, (b) all rural local authority areas (locally named *mouzas*) with more than sixty per cent of the population dependent on non-agricultural occupations (as per 1951 census), (c) all rural local authority areas with a density of more than 2,000 persons to the square mile in 1951, and (d) all settled areas including built-up areas and not distinguishing between urban and rural settlement, as factory labour was found to be residing in villages as well as towns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> C. B. Fawcett's conception of the conurbation which seems to have been the basis of English census delineation of it, also includes enclaves of rural land in urban areas. Again, Robin Best points out, "in County Boroughs alone no less than a third of the total administrative area was in agricultural and other rural uses in 1960". See *The Major Land Uses of Great Britain*, Department of Agricultural Economics, Wye College, University of London, 1959, pp. 53-4. Within the Calcutta Conurbation the proportion of rural enclaves is as high as 44 per cent of the urbanized land.

- (4) *Calcutta Metropolitan District* : The Calcutta Conurbation is the urban core along both banks of the River Hooghly. But, for planning purposes and future development, substantial portions of purely rural tracts and the areas of three other outlying municipalities have been added to the conurbation area. Thus the conurbation and these additional tracts taken together constitute what the Calcutta planners call the Calcutta Metropolitan District (CMD), which cuts across the four magisterial districts of the southern plain of West Bengal. This wide urban-rural tract of nearly 450 square miles is the planning area of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization of the Government of West Bengal (CMPO). It contains about 6 million population and is administered by a multiplicity of local government authorities, the numerous field agencies of the State and the Union Government, and by a host of special agencies or *ad hoc* bodies.

#### GEOGRAPHY AND LOCATIONAL-FUNCTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

The city of Calcutta is the heart of the CMD and the focal point of a region that extends far beyond the CMD. Several factors contributed to the growth of Calcutta which in turn generated steady urban growth in the peripheral areas resulting in the present agglomeration of urban centres. Situated at the mouth of the Ganges-Bhagirathi river systems of North India, Calcutta grew to be a major port in Eastern India. The Bay of Bengal is about 80 miles from the port whose hinterland contains the fertile alluvial plains of the Ganges valley and the leading industrial region of India. Consequently, the port handles about 45 per cent of India's total exports and 40 per cent of total imports. It is also the focal point of inland waterways system, although the partition of India and the deterioration of the Bhagirathi have greatly reduced its influence in recent times. Calcutta's airport at Dum Dum is one of the busiest in the East. As the greatest transport node of Eastern India, Calcutta's location has ensured its unparalleled commercial pre-eminence, with all the paraphernalia of banking and insurance companies, capital market and stock exchanges, clearing agencies and shipping lines, wholesale and retail trading houses and allied trades and professions. All the major rail-systems converge in the city which is also the focal point of several important National Highways. These communication systems have tied the Calcutta area to a far-flung region of about 350,000 square miles tentatively measured on the basis of intensity of flow of goods and migration to and from the city.

Calcutta's immediate neighbourhood is the hub of West Bengal's industrial structure which has developed mostly northward along the banks of the River Hooghly. It is this Hooghly Industrial Belt unified by gradual industrialization along the river and by the spinal communication systems, which has formed by slight inflation on the east, west and south of the Calcutta Metropolitan District. Certain physical factors such as the existence of swamps and marshes have restricted the growth of the industrial belt in the east and the west and the communication systems moving north-south have given it a particularly lineal pattern. Here are located a complex of industries the more important of which are jute mills, cotton mills, chemicals, engineering and automobile works, glass, soap, pottery and match factories. The importance of industries and commerce and other non-agricultural occupations is borne out by the fact that nearly 98 per cent of the income earners in the CMD derive their income from these occupations (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

*Employment in CMD*

Sectors	Earners in 1961-62 (in thousand)	% to total
1. Primary .. (Agriculture, including animal husbandry, fishery, etc.)	58.60	2.50
2. Secondary .. (Industries and construction activities)	964.62	41.27
3. Tertiary .. (Commerce, banking and insurance, transport and communication, services and professions.)	1314.26	56.23
TOTAL .. ..	2337.48	100.00

Also, the gross industrial production of the CMD amounting to about 822 crores (1961-62) accounts for slightly more than 29 per cent of national production and the net value added by manufacturing which is about 270 crores constitutes more than half the national figure.

The urban field of the CMD, as measured by daily commutation extends to about 9,000 square miles of which 4,000 square miles constitutes the intensity zone of commutation. As surveyed by the Geographers of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, the daily supply zone of commodities such as fish, eggs, milk and milk products, fruits and vegetables also conforms to the wide daily commutation

field. One peculiarity of commutation in the CMD is the predominance of the rail-borne traffic. Buses ply within a narrow zone around Calcutta and the role of the automobile which is so important in the metropolitan areas elsewhere in the world, is yet to be felt in the CMD.

#### POPULATION PRESSURE

The intermingling of the constituent local authority areas within the CMD is largely due to the twin forces of widespread industrialization and a tremendous population explosion. Of the total CMD area of about 450 square miles, nearly 235 square miles constitute the urban core and the rest are peripheral rural areas. As per the latest (1961) census, the total population of the CMD is slightly more than 6 million of which nearly 90 per cent live in the urban core area (see Table 2). The commanding position of the City of Calcutta is revealed by the fact that its population is nearly half of that of the CMD and almost equal to the combined strength of the rest of the urban core. The real concentration of population has taken place in about 50 per cent of the area of the CMD, and as regards the distribution of urban population in the entire State of West Bengal, the CMD alone contains nearly 75 per cent of the State's urban population.

TABLE 2

#### *Population Distribution in CMD*

Units					Population (in thousand)	Area sq. miles
<hr/>						
1. Urban core						
(a)	Calcutta City	..	..	..	2927	36.92
(b)	Other Municipal Towns	..	..	..	2691	140.06
(c)	Non-municipal Towns		..	..	395	57.00*
2. Rural units ( <i>Mouzas</i> )					609	216.00*
TOTAL					6622	449.98*

\* Approximate figures.

The density of population varies considerably from area to area within the CMD (see Table 3 on page 707). For instance, the city of Calcutta has the highest density with about 76,000 to the square mile.

At the other extreme, the rural fringes have a very low density of nearly 3,000. The low density in the peripheral rural tracts and in some of the urban areas has kept down the average density of the CMD as a whole.

For obvious economic reasons, Calcutta and its environs have always attracted in-migrants from different parts of India and the rural

TABLE 3

*Population Density*

Units					Density (in thousand) per sq. mile
1. Calcutta City	..	..	..	..	76
2. Urban Core, including Calcutta	..	..	..	..	25
3. Rural Fringe	..	..	..	..	3
CMD (as a whole)	..	..	..	..	15

areas of undivided Bengal. A socio-economic survey<sup>3</sup> conducted by the Calcutta University during 1954-58 revealed that about 55 per cent of Calcutta's population were migrants. The latest census (1961) figures also point out that the annual rate of growth over the last decade has been over 3 per cent through in-migration and only 1.5 through excess of birth over death. After the partition of Bengal, continuous flow of refugees from East Pakistan had poured into Calcutta and its adjacent areas. Almost all the towns around Calcutta have been registering since then steady population growth. As the inter-censal figures for Calcutta and its neighbourhood areas show (see Table 4 on page 708), Calcutta's net growth is the highest among the CMD towns, although the percentage increase of 8 per cent is the lowest. Apart from Calcutta, thirteen out of the total of 34 municipal towns in the CMD registered a growth of more than 50 per cent. Of these, the growth figures of at least three towns are as high as 214 per cent (North Dum Dum), 119 per cent (Kotrung) and 107 per cent (Bally). In addition, as many as seven municipal towns had the growth figures between 40 per cent and 49 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> S. N. Sen, *The City of Calcutta*, Calcutta, Bookland, 1960.

TABLE 4

*Population Growth in Municipal Areas*

Urban Local Bodies	Population		Percentage change
	1951	1961	
1. Calcutta Corporation .. ..	26,98,444	29,27,289	8.47
2. Chandernagore Corporation .. ..	49,909	67,105	34.45
3. Baidyabati Municipality .. ..	24,883	44,312	78.08
4. Bally Municipality .. ..	63,138	1,30,896	107.32
5. Bansberia Municipality .. ..	30,622	45,463	48.47
6. Baranagore Municipality .. ..	77,126	1,07,837	39.82
7. Barasat Municipality .. ..	16,027	29,281	82.70
8. Barrackpore Municipality .. ..	42,639	63,778	50.42
9. Baruipur Municipality .. ..	9,238	13,608	47.30
10. Bhadreswar Municipality .. ..	36,292	35,489	(—) 2.21
11. Bhatpara Municipality .. ..	1,34,916	1,47,630	9.42
12. Budge Budge Municipality .. ..	32,196	39,824	23.69
13. Champdany Municipality .. ..	31,543	42,129	33.56
14. Dum Dum Municipality .. ..	14,002	20,041	43.13
15. Garden Reach Municipality .. ..	1,09,160	1,30,770	19.80
16. Garulia Municipality .. ..	28,304	39,041	2.60
17. Hallsahar Municipality .. ..	34,666	51,423	48.33
18. Hooghly-Chinsurah Municipality .. ..	56,805	83,104	46.30
19. Howrah Municipality .. ..	4,33,630	5,12,598	18.21
20. Kamarhati Municipality .. ..	77,251	1,25,457	62.40
21. Kanchrapara Municipality .. ..	56,668	68,966	21.70
22. Khardah Municipality .. ..	18,524	28,362	53.11
23. Konnagar Municipality .. ..	20,233	29,443	45.52
24. Kotrung Municipality .. ..	14,177	31,031	118.88
25. Naihati Municipality .. ..	55,313	58,457	5.68
26. North Barrackpore Municipality .. ..	32,173	56,683	76.18
27. North Dum Dum Municipality .. ..	12,156	38,140	213.75
28. Panihati .. ..	49,514	93,749	89.34
29. Rajpur Municipality .. ..	16,310	24,812	52.13
30. Rishra Municipality .. ..	27,465	38,535	40.31
31. Serampore Municipality .. ..	74,824	91,521	22.32
32. South Dum Dum Municipality .. ..	61,391	1,11,284	81.27
33. South Suburban Municipality .. ..	1,04,055	1,85,811	78.57
34. Titagarh Municipality .. ..	71,622	76,429	6.71
35. Uttarpara Municipality .. ..	17,126	21,132	23.39
36. Barrackpore Cantonment .. ..	16,189	16,912	10.64

*Peri-urban Growth*

The rural areas contiguous to the Hooghly industrial belt have always lived within the magnetic pull of the chain of neighbouring urban local bodies which administer the industrial area. In the

last twenty-five years, increasing industrialization and in-migration of the successive waves of refugees from East Pakistan have led to the natural overspilling of the population of the municipal areas into the rural fringes. Thus, in many places, municipal jurisdiction has *in fact* moved into the nearby urbanized peripheral areas leaving the statutory limits somewhere behind. Also, a few new urban pockets have in certain cases clustered together, and grown up almost as one unit. Lastly, new urban settlements have sprung up in some places independently.

This phenomenon of rapid peri-urban growth took place only during the last inter-censal period of 1951-61. The 1951 census identified the rise of only two new urban areas, whereas as many as thirty-two new urban areas were recognized in 1961.<sup>4</sup> The total area freshly urbanized thus came to about 57 square miles with a population of nearly 3,95,000. Here, the average density of about 7,000 to the square mile is higher than even the density pattern of some of the individual municipalities. One consequence of this urban flood which quickly inundated a sizable portion of the peripheral rural areas, is that the boundaries of the Calcutta Conurbation moved further from the outer limits of the municipalities to those of the urbanized areas, registering thereby an inter-censal areal growth of nearly 32 per cent.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The discussions so far have aimed at highlighting the process of growth of a wide stretch of integrated territory along both banks of the River Hooghly. This spatial integration of the CMD has far-reaching implications for its government and administration. The functional interdependence of the local areas falling within the CMD has recently attracted the attention of the public authorities in India. For instance, at the request of the Government of India, a team of consultants from the World Health Organization reviewed in 1959 the environmental sanitary conditions of the Greater Calcutta Area.<sup>5</sup> In view of the physical and functional unity of the area, the WHO consultants recommended, *inter alia*, the creation of a Calcutta Metropolitan Authority with jurisdiction for sanitary functions, such as water supply and

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<sup>4</sup> It may be noted that due to differences in the definition of urban areas in 1951 and 1961 Census, an inter-censal comparison of urbanization becomes difficult. This of course does not detract from the finding of the author about the increase of urbanization in metropolitan Calcutta during the intervening period. The 1961 census *under-states* the urban areas defined on the 1951 pattern and the real rate of urban growth in the area in question would be more than is indicated in the paper.—*Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> The review area of the WHO consultants was, roughly speaking, the same as the Calcutta Conurbation area.

sewage, over urban and industrial areas on both sides of the River Hooghly covering approximately 270 square miles.<sup>6</sup> Shortly afterwards, the Government of West Bengal set up the Metropolitan Water and Sewage Board on the lines suggested by the WHO team. Finally, the Board was superseded in 1961 by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization which was established to attack the problems of the Calcutta Metropolitan area on a bigger scale and "to secure and promote its development according to plan". The CMPO is the only agency so far created to deal with the problems of the Calcutta Metropolitan District on an integrated basis. Unlike such planning bodies as, for example, the Wellington Regional Planning Council in New Zealand, it is a non-representative, technical body—an organ of the State Government. Its purpose is merely to make a master plan for the co-ordinated development of the CMD.

*Local Government in CMD*: Fragmentation of governmental jurisdictions which is a universal feature of metropolitan areas everywhere, can also be found in the CMD. Aside from the direct or indirect involvement of the Union and State Government agencies, a multiplicity of local government authorities directly administer specific areas. The urban local bodies (see Table 5) are the English County-borough-like all-purpose single-tier authorities locally known as

TABLE 5  
*Urban Local Bodies in CMD*

Area				Urban Local Bodies
1.	City of Calcutta (36.92 sq. miles)	..	..	Calcutta Corporation
2.	Barrackpore Cantonment (1.43 sq. miles)	..	..	Cantonment Board
3.	Chandernagore Town (3.73 sq. miles)	..	..	Chandernagore Corporation
4.	Other municipal areas (134.90 sq. miles)	..	..	33 Municipalities
TOTAL : 176.98 sq. miles				36

corporations and municipalities. The only exception is the Barrackpore Cantonment which has a board consisting of military personnel, State Government nominee and local representatives. For all practical purposes, the board operates as a municipal authority. The city of Calcutta is administered by the Calcutta Corporation. Chandernagore which was originally a French town, also has a corporation

<sup>6</sup> *Assignment Report on Water Supply and Sewage Disposal, Greater Calcutta, WHO Project : India 170, World Health Organization, January 1960.*

which follows, however, mainly the provisions of the Bengal Municipal Act which governs the operation of the thirty-three municipalities in CMD. The areas of these municipalities vary widely from 0.80 square miles to 11.73 square miles, the average being about 4 square miles. The rural areas and the freshly urbanized areas which together comprise 250 square miles, are administered by a newly evolved system of rural local government. In accordance with an all-India pattern, generally known as the *Panchayati Raj*, a three-tiered structure has been designed for each magisterial district. At the top is the district level body called the *Zilla Parishad*; the second tier is the *Anchalik Parishad* at the level of the development block which comprises about one hundred villages with not more than 100,000 population; at the bottom tier is the village level body known as the *Gram Panchayat*. In West Bengal, the lowest tier has been further sub-divided into two types of authorities called the *Anchal Panchayat* and the *Gram Panchayat*. The former consists of a number of villages each of which has a *Gram Panchayat*.<sup>7</sup> All these types of rural local authorities—four types in the CMD—have overlapping jurisdictions and functions and the entire structure is hierarchical, the topmost body being the supervisory and co-ordinating body for the whole magisterial district. Within the CMD, parts of the areas of four Zilla Parishads fall and the number of lower tier authorities in these parts will run into few hundreds.

The governmental picture is further complicated by the existence of a number of *ad hoc* special purpose bodies such as the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta, the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the West Bengal Development Corporation, the Calcutta State Transport Corporation and the like (see Table 6 on page 712). Many of the important functions and services such as transportation, slum clearance, city planning and development and water supply have been entrusted to them that not unoften come in conflict with the elected local bodies.

The outer fringes of the CMD cut across the boundaries of four magisterial districts where the regional units of the State Government perform a host of local functions directly, many of which are now gradually being vested in the newly created rural local bodies. The main administrative units are the *District*, the *Sub-division* and the *Block*. The district administration headed by the French Prefect-like District Officer exerts considerable influence and control on the rural local bodies. Next to him is the Sub-divisional Officer in each sub-division of a district who functions almost as an agent of the district officer within the sub-division. Finally, at the development block

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<sup>7</sup> In addition, each gram panchayat has a gram sabha which consists of the entire electorate in a gram panchayat area, and which possesses very limited powers.

TABLE 6

*Important Special Purpose Bodies in CMD*

Name	Composition	Jurisdiction	Functions
1. Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta	Central Government and State Government nominees, representatives of Calcutta Corporation, Howrah Municipality and major commercial and industrial interests	Dock areas in and around Calcutta and navigation and allied authority over a wide stretch of the Hooghly River even beyond the CMD	Port of Calcutta and navigation authority
2. West Bengal Development Corporation	State Government nominees	State-wide	Water supply, road construction, disposal of sewage, land reclamation and improvement
3. West Bengal State Electricity Board	do.	do.	Supply of electricity
4. Calcutta State Transport Corporation	3 out of 5 members are State nominees	City of Calcutta, parts of Howrah Municipality and the district of 24-Parganas	Passenger bus services
5. Oriental Gas Co. Ltd.	State nominees	City of Calcutta its environs	Supply of gas
6. West Bengal Secondary Education Board	17 out of 30 members are State nominees	State-wide	Secondary education
7. Smoke Nuisances Commission	5 out of 11 members are State nominees	Towns and suburbs of Calcutta and Howrah	Abatement of smoke nuisances
8. Calcutta Improvement Trust	6 out of 11 members are State nominees	City of Calcutta	Improvement of Calcutta including street, housing and general improvement schemes
9. Howrah Improvement Trust	5 out of 11 members are State nominees	Howrah Municipal area	Improvement of Howrah, otherwise same as 8
10. Commissioners for the New Howrah Bridge	Same as 1	Howrah Bridge and its approaches	Maintenance and control of Howrah Bridge
11. Salt Lakes Reclamation and Development Board	State Government nominees	Salt Lakes area to the east of the city of Calcutta	Reclamation and development including execution of city extension project

level operates the Block Development Officer. These three units—District, Sub-division and Block—have each its own complement of field officials who serve the local areas directly. Thus, in the rural areas and the freshly urbanized tracts where rural authorities are still now functioning, the regional units of State administration operate in close association with the elected rural local bodies.

### *Governmental Problems*

The governmental organization within the CMD is much more complex than what the above discussion points up.<sup>8</sup> For instance, there are a number of Union Government agencies such as the Railway Board, the Planning Commission, the Central Water and Power Commission, and the ministries like the Finance Ministry, the Education Ministry and so on which are both directly and indirectly involved in the government of the CMD. Also, a very important part is played by many of the State Government Departments such as those of Local Self-Government and Panchayats, Finance, Home, Education and Health. Even some private organizations such as the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation, Light Railways and Bus Syndicates ought to be included to get a clear picture of the authorities and organizations that are directly servicing the CMD. Here the emphasis has been deliberately laid on the local self-governing bodies for the simple reason that they are the main suppliers of the municipal services such as water supply, roads, public health measures, primary education, sewerage and drainage facilities, parks and playgrounds, street-lighting and the like. They are also responsible for inspection of food and drugs, markets and slaughterhouses, building regulations and zoning. Naturally, therefore, it is these local bodies which have to bear the main brunt of increasing demand for the municipal services and their administration faces the real pressure generated by population increase and growing urbanization.

Gross inadequacy of municipal services and deficiency in the administrative structure are the basic facts of the system of local government in West Bengal, and the local bodies in the CMD are no exception to this. For instance, in 1962-63, the *per capita* income of individual municipalities ranged between three shillings and slightly more than a pound. The condition of the rural local bodies is far worse. Low *per capita* income naturally entails low *per capita* expenditure and the services such as water supply, roads, sanitary measures, education, etc. are thus starved. There is no set principle of exchequer grant, as

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<sup>8</sup> A full-scale inquiry was conducted by the Institute of Public Administration, New York, and the findings are now published in Calcutta Research Studies No. 1, M. Bhattacharya *et al*, *Government in Metropolitan Calcutta : A manual*, M. Bhattacharya, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965.

in Britain, assuring substantial financial assistance to the local bodies. Grants from the State Government which are entirely discretionary, account for nearly 20 per cent of the total revenues of the urban local bodies. The mainstay of their finances is the property taxation which yields about 70 per cent of their total revenues. But the machinery of tax assessment and collection is far from satisfactory. Consequently, under-assessment and default in collection are universal features of municipal financial administration. As it has been rightly pointed out, "The local authorities are caught in a vicious circle: low tax receipts from a narrowly-limited field breed poor administration, poor administration puts a brake on the imposition of new taxes or the increase of existing ones".<sup>9</sup> As regards administration, very few urban local bodies can employ qualified valuers, engineers and doctors, and, for the sake of economy, many officials such as the sanitary inspector, the head clerk and the like are to work in various capacities.<sup>10</sup> The upper tier rural local authorities are now receiving staff assistance from the State Government, but those at the lowest tier have little or no staff at all."<sup>11</sup>

Such, in brief, is the picture of local government within the CMD. The low standard of local administration is manifest in each of the local authority areas. Metropolitanization has just aggravated the problems, and not created them. In fact, many of the local ills such as water scarcity, lack of adequate sanitary and public health facilities and so on, would still be there, even if there was no metropolitan area with interlocking local bodies. This situation has important implications of metropolitan problems. The crux of the metropolitan administrative riddle is that physical integration of contiguous areas following from land uses, movement of population, traffic and goods, etc. needs to be translated into some form of administrative integration. Hence the prescriptions for such devices<sup>12</sup> as federation of local bodies, joint boards, annexation and consolidation, inter-authority contracts and so on. Whatever be the form of administrative solution, the chief purpose remains the same everywhere: the areas of problems must coincide, in the main, with those of the administering authorities. In

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<sup>9</sup> Calcutta Research Studies No. 3, Abhijit Datta and David C. Ranny, *Municipal Finances in the Calcutta Metropolitan District : A Preliminary Survey*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965.

<sup>10</sup> Calcutta Research Studies No. 2, M. M. Singh, *Municipal Government in the Calcutta Metropolitan District : A Preliminary Survey*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965.

<sup>11</sup> Calcutta Research Studies No. 5, M. Bhattacharya, *Rural Self-Government in Metropolitan Calcutta*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion on the administrative solutions to metropolitan area problems, see L. P. Green, "Johannesburg" in W. A. Robson, *Great Cities of the World*, 2nd ed., 1957.

the metropolitan areas of the mature economies such as those in the United States and Great Britain, the local areas are more or less well-provided with the basic services and the administration as such is not inadequate. There, the main problem is one of administrative co-ordination among the involved authorities for those functions that have metropolitan area-wide repercussions. In the CMD, also, the physical integration of the metropolitan area does, of course, necessitate inter-governmental co-ordination and metropolitan area-wide solutions for certain problems. But the distinguishing feature of the CMD is that the area contains a multiplicity of substandard local authorities none of which are capable of providing the basic municipal services in their respective areas. Hence the main problems are basically localized rather than metropolitanized. In suggesting a re-organization of the government of the area, this fact of localization of the basic municipal problems has got to be borne in mind. This has perhaps general applicability to the metropolitan areas in the developing countries of the world, where the problems arising out of basic deficiency in local government structure and functions have a tendency to get mixed up with those that are genuinely metropolitan.<sup>13</sup> Another difficulty in such metropolitan areas is that the basic weakness of the local bodies renders a two-tier Greater London-type governmental design ineffective. For, formal re-organization does little to remove the structural-functional inadequacies of the lower tier bodies without whose active co-operation the system can hardly operate successfully. Secondly, the upper tier authority responsible for metropolitan area-wide functions cannot be expected to precept on the poverty-stricken lower tier bodies. In a developing economy where the local economic base is proverbially weak, the institution of local bodies with overlapping governmental jurisdiction may make it difficult to tap enough revenues from the identical tax base.

### *Governmental Solutions*

As mentioned earlier, there are quite a number of solution patterns evolved in the metropolitan areas of different countries of the world to get out of their governmental chaos. Yet, however, any solution that can be suggested must be based on a careful consideration of the peculiar problems of a particular metropolitan area.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The localization of problems arising out of local government deficiencies was also pointed out by many Arab urbanists in Morroe Berger, *The New Metropolis in the Arab World*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1963.

<sup>14</sup> The suggestions of the Local Government Commission for England for different areas such as the Tyneside, the Teesside and the West Midlands bear testimony to this statement.

It follows from what has been discussed above that in the CMD, three things have to be borne in mind before any governmental solution can be suggested. Firstly, for certain specific purposes such as drainage and sewerage, water supply, traffic control and overall planning including land use control, the metropolitan area needs to be viewed as a unity, and as experience proves, fragmentation of governmental jurisdictions is a positive hindrance to the much-needed integrated and singleminded approach to these problems.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, the urban local bodies whose areas form the core of the CMD are structurally and financially too weak to ensure even a moderate standard of municipal services. This is true in spite of the fact that many of the municipal towns have local industrial base. Lastly, there is a vast peri-urban fringe consisting of freshly urbanized tracts and purely rural areas both of which are administered by a multiplicity of rural local bodies in close association with the regional administrative units of the State Government.

Let us take the last two points first. So far as the urban local bodies are concerned, the first thing needed to enable them to cope with the rising demand for urban services is to stimulate them structurally and financially. As it has been pointed out, "The municipal framework was...established in the early days of the jute industry, which began in the 1850's, and there has been little re-organization in spite of the great industrial growth and development of a closely-knit conurbation in the last quarter of a century. Moreover, no important changes have been made in the municipal boundaries laid down by 1900."<sup>16</sup> If we leave out Calcutta (36.92 square miles) and Barrackpore Cantonment (1.43 square miles) which is a military station, it can be noticed that nearly a fourth of the urban local bodies have areas below 2 square miles; and most of them possess areas between 2 and 6 square miles. Only six have areas between 6.01 and 11.73 square miles. In view of such small areas and the consequent high density of population, municipal consolidation seems to be the imperative need. Only in this way can the municipal bodies pull together their administrative and financial resources. Consolidation would yield some viable units which could then perhaps annex even some of the peri-urban areas. The factors that need to be taken into account in municipal consolidation were fully laid down in the statutory regulations for the Boundary Commission in England in 1945.<sup>17</sup> These are of universal validity.

<sup>15</sup> Of these, traffic control falls outside the jurisdiction of the local bodies and is exercised by the police which are directly under the State Government.

<sup>16</sup> Calcutta Research Studies No. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> See R. M. Jackson, *The Machinery of Local Government*, Ch. XI, London, Macmillan, 1958.

It can only be emphasized that the annual ratable value, population and area of each unit have to be carefully weighed in the formation of new units.<sup>18</sup> Also, these local bodies must be assured of statutory State Government grants commensurate with their financial needs.

As regards the peri-urban fringe, its two component parts, *e.g.*, freshly urbanized tracts and purely rural tracts, are susceptible to different solutions. For instance, the purely rural area or a part of it can be used for the purposes of a ring of green belt around the CMD, which function can be entrusted to a body constituted to look after metropolitan area-wide problems. The other alternative is to treat the rural area and the freshly urbanized tracts on the same footing, and these may be controlled, developed and administered by a separate "peri-urban development board". For, these areas are still now under the rural local bodies which are structurally and financially unfit to meet the rising demand for urban services. Sooner or later, this peri-urban fringe will completely elude the grasp of the rural local bodies through rapid urbanization which is expected to inundate the rest of the rural areas within the CMD. Keeping these developments in mind, proper administrative provision should be made to forestall haphazard and unregulated growth. Since the urban-rural fringe area lies at the periphery of the urban local bodies, one solution could be to combine parts of this area with contiguous urban local bodies. But, that would put a severe burden on the weak urban bodies that can hardly make both ends meet. Also, it is the general experience that the freshly annexed area needs more services, but yields very little tax revenue. Under the circumstances, the establishment of a peri-urban development board may be helpful on two counts. It can undertake the work of systematic development of the entire urban-rural fringe area which would then receive a unified treatment. Also, such a board may be profitably utilized as a watch-dog body to keep an Argus-eye on unregulated fringe urbanization throughout the State of West Bengal.<sup>19</sup> The operation of the board would naturally necessitate the extinguishing of the jurisdiction of the district magistrate and the sub-divisional officer in respect of most functions.

We can now consider the first point about an integrated approach to some of the specific problems of the CMD. No institution like the Greater London Council or the Metropolitan Toronto Council has so far been established to administer metropolitan area-wide functions.

<sup>18</sup> Within the CMD, the State Government has so far effected consolidation of two contiguous urban local bodies, and proposals for two other areas are under consideration.

<sup>19</sup> For a more detailed analysis of this point, see Calcutta Research Studies No. 5, *op. cit.*, Ch. 8.

However, two important bodies have recently been set up for the CMD as a whole. Of these, reference has already been made to the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation. The other important body is the Council of Co-ordination which is presided over by the Chief Minister of the State, and consists of seven other ministers, some members of the State legislature, a few journalists and eminent public figures, representatives of the bigger urban local bodies and some civil servants. As the name suggests, it is to review, co-ordinate and look to the implementation of the work of all the important agencies concerned with the "social, economic and overall betterment" of the CMD. The Council is not an elective body; its members are nominated by the State Government. Obviously, in a politics-ridden State like West Bengal, the purpose of such a body is not merely to ensure co-ordination among competing agencies, but essentially to take the important interest groups in confidence. Even then, on the face of it, there seems to be a real need for public relations which, if actually provided by this body, will go a long way in removing local political obstacles to the implementation of the plan which the CMPO might frame.

Inter-governmental co-ordination is perhaps the biggest problem in the CMD. Prior to the establishment of the CMPO, a number of special purpose bodies have been created from time to time to undertake developmental and allied work for different parts of the CMD. As Table 6 shows, there are at least four bodies, excluding the CMPO, which are concerned with improvement and development, *e.g.*, West Bengal Development Corporation, Calcutta Improvement Trust, Howrah Improvement Trust, and Salt Lakes Reclamation and Development Board. To put it bluntly, if the CMPO is genuinely to be treated as a planning body for the whole of the CMD, the planning functions of these four bodies, within the CMD, need to be extinguished. The West Bengal Development Corporation might continue its operations outside the CMD, since its jurisdiction is State-wide. But, the other three can well be merged into the CMPO to form a pool of rare technical personnel. There is no earthly reason why the CMPO cannot thus be given the responsibility for both planning and execution. Such re-organization would eliminate institutional rivalries that might bedevil planning in the CMD, and ensure economic and rational use of scarce technical and financial resources. Despite its impressive composition, the Council of Co-ordination has failed so far to be the rallying point of public consciousness about planning in the CMD. This, however, is the appropriate body for publicizing and popularizing the planning proposals of the CMPO. But, political neglect seems to have made it a cripple. If the Council could provide the much needed

leadership in planning, it could, at a later date, be transformed into a Metropolitan Council of the London or Toronto model. Pending such development, the CMPO, re-organized in the line suggested above, can undertake the metropolitan area-wide functions; the urban local bodies after necessary consolidation would discharge the purely local functions; and a peri-urban development board would look after the municipal and development work of the peripheral, urban-rural tract.

A final word may be said about the problem of inter-departmental co-ordination at the level of State administration which is an important element in the planning and development of the CMD. Since the policy leadership must emanate from the State Government, co-ordination among the departments that are directly involved in local government administration is of paramount importance. More than any others, the three departments that are so involved are the Development and Planning Department, the Local Self-Government and Panchayats Department and the Health Department. Originally conceived as a co-ordinating department for the framing of the five year plan of the State Government, the Development Department got involved in such functions as local development work and setting up of township. The latest addition to its responsibilities is town and country planning, for which a separate Town and Country Planning Branch has been set up within the department. Constitution, control, supervision and care of the local self-governing bodies have been the responsibility of the Local Self-Government and Panchayats Department. Lastly, the Health Department which has the final control of all health activities in the State, also possesses powers of supervision over the local self-governing units in respect of their public health and sanitary services including water supply, drainage, garbage and sewage disposal. The Directorate of Public Health Engineering within this department deals with all engineering aspects of environmental health, executes water supply schemes in both urban and rural areas, and undertakes sanitary schemes including drainage and sewage disposal. It is the Local Self-Government and Panchayats Department which has overall responsibility for the local self-governing bodies. Yet, strangely enough, it has been left with just a crumb of formal powers. Unless there is an attempt to bypass this department, it is difficult to see how the functions of the Town and Country Planning Branch and the Directorate of Public Health Engineering can be divorced from those of the Local Self-government and Panchayats Department. Planning can not be done in an administrative vacuum. Departmental isolation is a patent vice in State administration, and when the complementary and identical functions are parcelled out among a number of agencies, its inevitable corollary is institutional rivalries. The West Bengal

Government, under the directives of the Planning Commission, have now embarked upon planning operations for a number of urban centres outside the CMD. In the interests of speedy and effective planning, it seems imperative that the Town and Country Planning Branch, and the Directorate of Public Health Engineering should combine with the Local Self-Government and Panchayats Department. Only thus can a co-ordinated approach at the policy formulation level match with a similar approach at the level of policy execution.

#### CONCLUSION

The growth and development of the CMD have direct relevance to the health of its far-flung influence area and to the state of the national economy. As one authority pointed out, "The vast majority of informed observers... consider the urban problem in West Bengal, and especially the area of Greater Calcutta, and urgent matter of national—and even international concern."<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, however, many of these problems have remained unattended due, mainly, to administrative stagnation. For instance, since 1947, out of the 36 urban local bodies, 19 have been superseded and taken over by the State Government at different times. The City of Calcutta which is the heart of the CMD has suffered from frequent bouts of administrative stalemate which is another fascinating story of interminable conflicts of competing interests. Against such a background of administrative paralysis, one can at best hope that suggested institutional changes would be punctuated by a much-needed political leadership which is so crucial for the life and health of the CMD.



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<sup>20</sup> Richard L. Park, "The Urban Challenge to Local and State Government: West Bengal, with Special Attention to Calcutta", in Roy Turner, *India's Urban Future*, University of California Press, 1962.

## TRAINING THE ADMINISTRATOR—THE PROBLEM OF MOTIVATION

*R. P. Khosla*

A consideration of the question of training raises a wide variety of issues, some of rather limited impact such as the techniques of training or the time of training and others of considerably wider relevance such as the content of a training programme and its relation to the goals of training. The relative importance of these issues varies according to the type of work for which the training is being given. Training for routine, mechanical or repetitive operations raises much simpler and fewer problems than training for the sophisticated administrator who will be intimately associated with policy formulation and the broad planning and the execution of specific programmes. Training is also influenced by the functions and aims of the organization for whom the person is being trained. Although it is largely true that administration is a universal phenomenon common to government and private corporations alike, the difference in the primary purpose of the two produces a notable difference in emphasis.

In this article I propose to discuss some of the problems that arise in connection with the institutional training of the general administrator. By "general administrator" I mean the man whose duties involve co-ordination, direction and planning and the taking of value decisions rather than factual decisions; whose duties vary extensively and who does not normally expect to be exclusively concerned with a single field of work during his career. I have not discussed whether institutional training is desirable at all in the first instance, or if it is, how it should be combined with practical training. The necessity of institutional training for the general administrator has now come to be so widely accepted that it is no longer an issue in the field of training. The supremacy of the learning-on-the-job philosophy has given way to a recognition of the fact that there are certain aspects of training which can be dealt with most effectively through a formal institutionalized course of instruction. I have dwelt mostly upon the problem of motivation in training since this problem assumes major importance where the training, because it has been institutionalized, appears to be somewhat removed from the practical day-to-day problems of the work for which the training is being imparted. The position is also further complicated by the fact that because the general administrator's duties are so varied, it is more difficult to define his training needs. But it is also

correspondingly more essential to do so since his training can so easily become vague generalities. It is all too easy to take the view that all knowledge is useful to the general administrator and the more he knows the better.

At the outset I would like to pause to draw a distinction between the process of education and the process of training. Broadly speaking the process of education may be said to consist of the acquisition of knowledge, the development of a spirit of enquiry and the cultivation of a sense of reasoned detachment. In a certain limited sense any increase in knowledge could be said to contribute to a furtherance of education. Formal education may specify certain fields in which knowledge has to be acquired—the wider the field the broader may be said to be the education imparted.

Training on the other hand does not have as its aim the broad overall development of the individual's personality. A programme of training is of course concerned with imparting knowledge in certain specified fields. The selection of these fields is made with reference to the type of job for which the training is being imparted. The knowledge may relate to certain specified skills or techniques or it may concern itself with certain values, an awareness of which is required for the proper performance of his duties by the trainee.

The distinction that has to be recognized is that of the three aspects of the process of education described above the development of a spirit of enquiry and the acquisition of a sense of reasoned detachment cannot really be the function of a training programme. This does not, however, imply that these qualities are of no value to an administrator who has to deal with a variety of complex situations. Undoubtedly a man who possesses these qualities would be a better administrator than one who does not. In fact there is a great deal of force in the argument that the possession of these qualities is essential for an administrator who has to deal with human beings and whose decisions have to take into account a wide variety of pulls and pressures before they can be made. These, however, are qualities which develop slowly over a long period of time when a man's personality is still in the process of formation. They are a mixture of emotional and intellectual ingredients and are a product of a variety of stimuli, some originating in the home and others at school or university. It is beyond the scope of a training programme to develop these qualities and if they have not been acquired during the formative years, it is extremely unlikely that any attempt to do so during a training programme will succeed.

I have analyzed this difference between training and education because in training programmes for general administrators this

distinction tends to get blurred, particularly in the mind of the trainee. In the case of training for simple, repetitive and mechanical tasks the distinction between training and education is quite easy to make. The training of a typist or an accounts clerk could not in any sense of the word be described as education, without enlarging the scope of the term to a point where it would become practically meaningless. It is the acquisition of a skill and in a way this may be equated with the acquisition of knowledge. It is, however, nothing more than that and does not involve the acquisition of intellectual or personal qualities.

It is when we consider the question of training the general administrator, the man who will be concerned with the framing of policy and the planning and execution of major schemes that the distinction, is not so easy to make. It becomes increasingly difficult to relate the content of training to the actual job to be done in the same obvious way that can be done in training the typist or accounts clerk.

## II

It would help to analyze the factors that influence the shape and content of a training programme. The most important single factor can be described as the framework of decision-making. There are a variety of definitions of what constitutes administration, but perhaps the core of all administrative activity consists in the making of decisions. At all levels of the administrative hierarchy, an individual is concerned with the exercise of choice. Training, therefore, has to be directed towards improving the quality of decisions that administrators make. In the context of administration the framework of decision making is of much greater importance than the actual technique of decision-making. The term "framework" perhaps needs some elaboration. The framework really implies the rules, regulations, policy directives, laws and social values which govern the situation in which the administrator has to function. The nature of the framework as well as the precision and clarity with which it is possible to define it vary according to the level of the administrative hierarchy. The level also influences the extent of discretion that has to be exercised in arriving at a decision. For a police constable the framework of his decisions is fairly, clearly and rigidly demarcated by specific laws, regulations and administrative directions which define what is a crime and prescribe the procedures to be adopted for dealing with it. When he discovers a criminal in the act of, say, private distillation of alcohol, very little discretion has to be exercised by him in arriving at a decision. Right and wrong are clearly specified and he has simply to arrest the offenders. For the administrator who may be associated with the

formulation of a policy on the question of whether the private distillation of alcohol should be made illegal or not, the rights and wrongs of the question are not so plainly evident. There are no fixed laws which he can quote in support of one course of action in preference to another. Right and wrong have to be determined with reference to a variety of factors—economic, social and cultural. Each of these factors represents a vast field of knowledge where the merits of a proposition may always be arguable. The framework of decision-making is, therefore, wide, difficult to define and concerned with controversial concepts. Within this field the administrator possesses a wide measure of discretion, unlike the police constable.

It has been necessary to elaborate on these differences in the framework of decision-making because of the bearing they have on the nature and content of training. For the police constable his training programme will consist principally of a study of the laws and directives on the subject of crime and criminals. It would also include a study of methods of detection. In either case it would be concerned with the acquisition of specific clearly definable techniques and areas of knowledge, and would not need to develop in the trainee an understanding of the proper use of discretion simply because the nature of his duties would rarely require discretion to be used. It would, therefore, be easy for the trainee to relate the content of the instruction to specific decisions he would have to take on his job.

In the case of the generalist administrator who will be concerned with taking major decisions of policy which may affect large numbers of people in extremely important ways, the wide sweep of the framework of decision-making requires an awareness of a variety of fields of knowledge which have a bearing on the decision. He needs to be conscious of the structure of laws that govern society, the economic forces that shape it and the sociological and cultural factors that influence its values. A good administrative decision is likely to be influenced by one or more of these factors in a variety of ways. It is, therefore, necessary for the administrator to secure some understanding of these areas of knowledge at a very early stage of his career and a study of these subjects has to be included in a course of training.

It is this requirement which frequently produces a distinctive problem in a training programme for the general administrator. All too frequently it is difficult for the trainee to perceive any direct connection between a study of economics or sociology and the practical world of administration. The new entrant feels a study of these subjects is too theoretical while a seasoned administrator fails to see in what way the solution to hard practical problems of day-to-day administration can be made any easier by a study of economics or sociology. He may agree

that it is intellectually stimulating but is likely to argue that his concern as an administrator is not to develop his intellect but to get a job of work done.

The absence of any apparent correlation between a programme of training which includes a study of economics and sociology and the duties of the job for which training is being given brings into focus the whole question of motivation in training. Motivation is hardly a problem where training is concerned with imparting a specific professional skill which the trainee has to possess if he is to do the job at all. This would be the case with training programmes for accountants, engineers and all types of skilled workmen. In such cases the absolute necessity for a knowledge of accounts or engineering is immediately and clearly apparent to the trainee and it requires no explanation to convince him that unless he absorbs a sufficient quantity of the knowledge imparted during the training he will not be able to do the job at all. For the general administrator the absolute necessity of securing an understanding of economics, sociology and culture is not apparent. What is it, therefore, that induces the administrator to interest himself in the content of the training programme and participate actively in it?

There may be a variety of reasons. In the first instance certain penal provisions can be built into a training programme. Successful performance in a training programme may be an essential prerequisite for securing the job or if the programme constitutes post-entry training, poor performance may entail undesirable consequences such as denial of normal pay increases or career advancement. Alternatively certain positive inducements may be offered for distinguished performance such as exceptional increases in pay, gain in seniority or rapid promotion to higher positions within the career structure. Both these alternatives are really concerned with the same basic inducement: material gains or an enhancement of power and prestige. As motivators, however, they are only second bests. They can very easily be built into the mechanics of a training programme but although they may secure a certain minimum absorption of certain areas of knowledge, there is no way of ensuring that the absorption is not merely skin deep and its retention short-lived. The ability of the trainee to display a certain minimum level of performance in terms of the standards set by the trainer may easily lead to the belief that the training programme is proving entirely successful. Such performance may in fact be proof of qualities entirely different from those required by an administrator and, therefore, somewhat inappropriate as a measure of satisfactory performance. It is not my intention to argue that tests of performance have no place in a training programme. Their chief

value, however, should lie in helping the trainee himself to assess his progress towards an understanding of the processes of administration and acquisition of better administrative techniques. As a means for determining whether to impose penal measures or not, they are of somewhat limited value.

By far the most effective form of motivation consists of a genuine conviction that the content of training will be of value in assisting the trainee to discharge his duties competently. This type of motivation is, however, the most difficult to evoke in the case of a programme of training for the general administrator.

I have earlier explained how the framework of decision-making, where issues of policy are involved, requires in the administrator a sensitive awareness of the economic, legal, social and ethical forces that govern society. In a democracy this awareness is of particular importance. It is imperative that the administrator be conscious of the limitations that are imposed on his freedom of decision by the social and political milieu in which he functions. This raises the question whether a study of law, economics and sociology should form part of a programme of training or whether such a programme should restrict itself to teaching techniques of administrative procedure. Under the latter arrangement the responsibility for imparting instruction in such subjects would be entrusted to some other institution, perhaps a university, where instruction in these subjects is one of the normal functions.

Before, however, this aspect of the matter can be considered, another question needs to be answered. Is the type of knowledge of these subjects required by the administrator radically different from the type required by a University scholar? Is administrative economics different from academic economics or law for administrators different from Law for scholars? I would say quite definitely that they are. There is a difference both in approach and in emphasis. Administrative Law with its particular concern with procedures has already come to be recognized as a distinctive branch of legal studies. In the field of economics also the administrator is concerned with how the instruments of economic regulation that are in the hands of government can be used to achieve certain administrative purposes. He does not himself have to become an economist but he must know how and when to use a trained economist as an advisor. While a study of these subjects arms the administrator with instruments of action, a study of sociology and psychology would teach him something about the organism which he seeks to regulate with the use of these instruments.

It is important that this difference of emphasis and approach between the scholastic and administrative aspects of knowledge be recognized by the training authorities and also that it be clearly demonstrated to the trainee that what he is required to study will be of direct value to him in the discharge of his duties. It is not enough to merely tell the trainee that instruction in these fields will help him towards a better understanding of society. It becomes necessary to demonstrate an evident connection. In the absence of this the administrator who is above all a believer in the pragmatic approach will lack faith in his training and will display interest in it only if indifference is likely to be met with specific penalties.

It follows that if any purely theoretical knowledge of a subject is essential for an understanding of its application to administrative problems, the imparting of this theoretical knowledge should not form part of the functions of a training programme. Possession of an adequate level of this knowledge should be an essential prerequisite to admission to the institution. It does not matter whether this is achieved by building this requirement into the process of recruitment or by making other institutional arrangements for it. This is important in order to maintain in the mind of both the trainer and the trainee the distinction between training and education. It is necessary for the trainee to be able to hold in focus the aim of a training programme and relate all its aspects to that aim.

### III

These considerations raise the question of the background and experience appropriate to a trainer. Can a pure scholar impart to the administrator the appreciation of the use of law or economics or sociology in solving administrative problems? It would follow from the requirement that the connection between these subjects and the administrator's professional duties be clearly demonstrated that a pure scholar would not be able to visualize the impact on administrative problems of the concepts involved. While an academic background is necessary, it has to be supplemented by a period of administrative experience which will enable the trainer to translate theory into practical application. This naturally reduces very drastically the field of selection. In a country like the United States there exists a body of men who have in the course of their years moved from scholarship to administration and back to scholarship again. The system of lateral entry into government service and the movement of men from universities to business concerns and back produces a happy marriage between the purely theoretical approach and an understanding of the practical application of these concepts. Since movement is equally free

in both directions, the scholar who has had practical experience of administration can return to the seclusion of his university, reflect upon and analyze his experiences and use them to lend greater reality to his teaching which might otherwise be restricted to a purely theoretical approach. This, however, is a feature peculiar to the American scene and in most other countries where the training of administrators has been systematized and institutionalized, this combination of experience and the opportunity to reflect upon it and digest it is not always available. There will, however, always be within the ranks of government people who are there primarily because of their expert knowledge in what are basically academic fields. Today no government can function without the advice and assistance of economists, lawyers, statisticians and other specialists. It is from the ranks of such people that it is necessary to draw trainers for the administrator since they will be able to translate theory into practice at every step and to provide the conviction to the trainee that the knowledge being provided to him will be of direct assistance to him in making the decisions which will face him in his job.

I have not in this discussion dwelt upon the question of training in the various management skills that constitute the hard core of administrative techniques for the professional administrator. In this field motivation is not a problem. The application of what is taught in the class room to practical situations can be established and demonstrated at every step. Public administration has not as yet come to exist as a subject of academic importance in its own right. Perhaps it is possible, however, to perceive the first steps in this direction. In certain countries, some Universities do provide courses of instruction which culminate in the award of an academic degree, but the number of such institutions is small. To the extent that they contribute to the development of the study of administration along purely doctrinal lines, their value to the professional administrator will be limited. And if they produce a body of scholars learned in the doctrines of administrative science but innocent of their practical working, the professional administrator has to possess a high degree of awareness of their limitations as trainers. For the administrator, the trainer must be an administrator himself. Only one who has actual experience of the processes of administration can convey to the administrator an understanding of the continual compromises with perfection that the administrator has to make or the subtle interplay of forces and pressures that precede a decision.

#### IV

There is another aspect of training which is relevant from the point of view of motivation. This is the question of the proper timing of

training. There are certain jobs which simply cannot be performed without adequate prior training in that field. In such cases obviously training has to precede any actual work. The profession of administration, however, does not suffer from this restriction and under proper supervision and guidance a new entrant can begin work immediately on joining an organization. From the point of view of institutional training this is an advantage. Institutional training acquires much more meaning when the trainee is able to form a clear conception of what it is about. The trainee is then easily able to relate the concepts taught in the class room to his practical experience. Training in administration then becomes a process of analyzing the experience of the trainee and relating it to basic concepts. He is able to appreciate the value of particular administrative techniques and to assess for himself their utility in various situations. The relevance of additions to his knowledge in certain directions becomes much clearer than if the trainee has no conception of the situations in which they might be useful.

These considerations would argue in favour of placing training at a point of time where it has been preceded by a measure of practical experience. The precise point may vary from one situation to another, but in general it should not be too early for the administrator to have acquired a reasonable understanding of the processes of administration nor too late for him to become set in his ideas and, therefore, unresponsive to new ideas and instruction. Under such a scheme the period of practical experience would have to be arranged to provide the trainee with experience of a sufficiently wide spectrum of administrative activities to familiarize him with a representative cross-section of the various types of work he will have to do in his career.


It is, however, necessary to recognize a certain qualification in this pattern of training. There may be certain skills which an administrator must possess before he can start work. This may be the case where his work involves the administration of certain specialized laws or a highly sophisticated system of accounts. In such cases a short concentrated course devoted exclusively to the study of that subject is necessary. This really introduces a distinction in the content of the administrator's training between knowledge necessary to take a decision at all and knowledge which helps the administrator to take better decisions. The first type of knowledge must obviously precede any practical work but the second type should more profitably follow a period of practical experience if it is to acquire greater depth and meaning for the administrator.

## V

The need to relate the content of a training programme to the job to be done influences the training programme in another way. It is

necessary to determine how far into the future the training should project itself. The nature of duties of the administrator changes as he gains in experience and seniority. The area of his principal concern moves from the implementation of programmes in his early years to the framing of policies in his later years. The change in nature of his work during his career is extensive enough to require a different emphasis in training requirements for an administrator on the threshold of his job and one who has already taken many strides up the career ladder. It is important to realize that a single training programme should not endeavour to prepare the administrator for the entire range of duties he is likely to be called upon to perform during his career. If it does, a substantial portion of the programme will lose its sense of relevance for the trainee. The trainer and the trainee should be able to focus their attention on a specified period of say the first five or ten years of the administrator's career and confine the training to the job-requirements of this period. It is then possible to define the job requirements with greater precision and to determine more clearly whether a particular aspect of the training is related to these requirements.

This aspect of training really involves a recognition that training is not a once-for-all affair which can be concentrated into a single point of time but should be a continuous process. A good training programme should generate in the administrator an awareness of the multifariousness of the duties that he will have to perform during his career and the ability to distinguish the unimportant from the trivial in any situation. He has to realize that every administrative situation has something new to teach him and that every job provides training for higher responsibilities and more sophisticated decisions. Formalized institutional training occurring from time to time during an administrator's career can accelerate the process of learning but obviously cannot furnish the same live material that actual work on the job can do. It is, however, important to recognize that during the course of his career an administrator must have an opportunity to detach himself from his immediate surroundings and reflect upon the problems in administration which his past experience has thrown up as important. One of the greatest successes of a training programme is to implant in the trainee an appreciation of the fact that learning is a continuous process and an anxiety to participate in that process himself.



## MANAGEMENT MANPOWER PLANNING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL AND THE LEVEL OF THE FIRM\*

*K. N. Butani*

**M**ANPOWER has come to be recognized as a crucial factor in the process of economic and social development. Physical resources are important. So are financial resources. But what brings them together in an inter-play of productive forces is Manpower. This has been implicit in classical economic theories. Labour has always been recognized as a factor of production. But Manpower implies much more than Labour. It is muscle-power plus brain-power with the latter assuming greater importance in higher grades of Manpower and distinguishing the latter from homogenous labour.

The launching of the Sputnik by U.S.S.R. gave a big boost to the need for Manpower Planning. The remarkable achievements in the field of science and technology made in that country have been attributed to the great importance attached to the development of scientific and technical personnel—easily recognizable as some crucial groups of manpower.

A lot of empirical work has been done in U.S.A. and elsewhere to identify the contribution made by Manpower to economic growth. The studies of Schultz, Denison, Vaizey and Harbison are notable amongst such work. Attempts have been made to abstract from the economic growth, that has taken place over time, that part which could be attributed to the known inputs of capital, labour and technology. A sizable portion of the growth remains unaccounted for and is attributed to the increasing skills and knowledge acquired by labour. Such studies have revolutioned attitudes towards expenditures on education and training. These expenditures are increasingly coming to be recognized as investments in the formation of human capital and not—as hitherto—expenditures on consumption. And these investments in the development of human resources are increasingly becoming the concern of governments even in countries such as U.S.A. since such investments cannot be left to be determined by the supply-demand forces of the market. Hence the importance assumed by Manpower planning.

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\*Based on a paper presented at a Seminar organized by the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, in December, 1964.

Amongst the more important groups of Manpower, usually classified under the heading—Scientific, Technical and Professional manpower—Management manpower represents a critical group. This is because, in contradistinction to functional specialists like a Doctor, an Electronics Engineer or a Metallurgist, a Manager is expected to bring together in harmonious inter-play the activities of these specialists for the fulfilment of organization objectives. This of course is an over simplification, for we should get involved in questions such as :

Is not a Doctor a Manager if he is posted as the head of a hospital? Is an Accounts Officer a Manager and if so when does he begin to shed his functions emanating from his specific expertise and partake of the characteristics of Management manpower?

The emphasis in assigning a critical role to Management manpower, is really the recognition of the pre-eminence of the generic co-ordinative management function in contradistinction to specific specialized functions.

At the national level planning in respect of any Manpower Group would basically involve two things—a forecast of requirements for the future in quantitative as well as qualitative terms, and arrangements to ensure the supply of the required numbers of the appropriate quality. The arrangements would include formal education plus training. In respect of Management manpower, both—forecasting of requirements as well as arrangements for ensuring needed supply—present considerable difficulties many of which are of a character unique to this Manpower Group. Firstly, conceptual difficulties render the task of information gathering and analysis more difficult. For example, who constitute Management manpower? A similar question in respect of Medical manpower or Engineering manpower is comparatively easy to answer. These Manpower Groups are easily identifiable by their formal educational requirements. In these groups, occupation and educational attainment have a strong correspondence. Not so with Management manpower. Here occupation and education may have no correspondence, at all, at least in the situation obtaining in the country today. A doctor may be a Manager in a pharmaceutical firm at a level where his functions demand more of managerial attributes than those of his substantive professional qualification. Similarly, an engineer may begin in an occupation directly relatable to his professional attributes but may move up the hierarchical ladder where each higher stage involves more of generic managerial functions and less those of his substantive professional qualification. And at very high levels, functional expertise which may have been indispensable at lower positions may become utterly dispensable. This lack of correspondence between occupational function and educational

attainment makes an identification and separation of Management manpower from other Scientific, Technical and Professional manpower quite a problem. And this frustrates attempts at meaningful forecasts of requirements as well as the planning of arrangements to meet requirements.

It is perhaps because of difficulties of this nature or a comparatively slower recognition of the role of Management manpower that, while the forecasting of requirements in respect of other Manpower Groups has received a great deal of attention at the national level, little work has been done in respect of the Management Manpower group.

The first serious attempt in this direction was made in 1960 when the All India Board of Technical Studies in Management set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, to assess the requirements for Management manpower for both public and private sectors during the Third Plan period.

Prior to this no quantitative assessment had been undertaken but the need for setting up institutional arrangements for training managerial personnel had lead to several reviews/studies notable amongst which are the ones which lead to the establishment of the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad in 1957, the Dean Robins' study to which the setting up of the All-India Institutes of Management at Calcutta and Ahmedabad owe their origin, the Rao Committee for Commerce Education which has some bearing on the subject under discussion, etc.

The Mudaliar Committee addressed a questionnaire to selected establishments and obtained information from them, *inter alia*, about employment of managerial personnel and their future requirements of such personnel. For this purpose managerial personnel was categorized into the following three fields of management:

- (i) Technical Management; comprising Production Management, Development Management and Transport Management.
- (ii) Commercial Management: comprising Distribution Management, Sales Management and Financial Management.
- (iii) General Management: comprising Office Management, Personnel Management and General Management.

On the basis of information received, the Committee worked out certain norms of employment of Management manpower mostly related to total employment. Based on these norms the requirements of managerial personnel for the Third Plan were estimated to be about

6,150<sup>1</sup> in Technical Management and about 12,250<sup>1</sup> in Commercial and General Management put together.

The report of the Committee was finalized very recently. In the meanwhile, on the basis of "norms" indicated in preliminary papers of the Committee, the Institute of Applied Manpower Research, made a preliminary estimate<sup>2</sup> of the requirements of Management manpower during the Fourth and Fifth Plan period. These work out to about 1,10,000 of which about 44,000 relate to the Fourth Plan period.

There are severe limitations to these estimates arising not only from incomplete coverage but some basic issues. The limitations have been indicated in the IAMR paper. But even such estimates have some usefulness. They indicate at least the broad scale of requirements and the efforts that need to be made to meet them.

The Mudaliar Committee also took stock of the existing educational/training facilities in universities and elsewhere and took note of the several well developed in-service training programmes of establishments in the private sector notably Tatas, Hindustan Lever, Standard Vacuum, etc. For managerial personnel in the Technical Management field the Committee recommended that places for Management Training be provided not only in the five Indian Institutes of Technology but in various other Institutes, Universities, and Regional Engineering Colleges.

While the work of the Mudaliar Committee was underway, another Committee, headed by Shri K. B. Mathur, former Chairman of the Heavy Electricals at Bhopal, was set up to study the training requirements of managerial personnel of public enterprises. This Committee recommended, *inter alia*, that a Central Institute should be set up to provide a foundational course for new entrants to Management cadres in industrial undertakings in the public sectors.

As of late, the National Productivity Council, the All India and various other Management Associations, the Regional Institutes for small scale industries, etc., have generated a host of activities designed to promote interest in Management training. They organize a large number of Management seminars and short-term courses intended to stimulate interest in management principles and practices and induct

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<sup>1</sup> As in the draft papers of the Committees; these figures have since undergone a slight revision upwards.

<sup>2</sup> IAMR Occasional Paper No. 2/1964, "Preliminary Estimates of Requirements for Managerial Personnel in India during Fifth Plan Period."

employed managers into modern management practices and executive development programmes.

Because of the heterogeneity of the functions comprised in Management and the various levels at which management operates, the planning of educational and training arrangements presents unique problems. It is possible that with the increasing acceptance of the value of management education, more and more of the first entry positions in employment would be filled by those who have had formal education in the functional fields in which they enter. This would greatly facilitate the planning of educational arrangements. Presently management personnel are drawn from various sources and pre-employment training in Management is not regarded as an essential or even a preferential qualification for the appointment of managerial personnel.

Post employment training presents different problems. Here the need may be not so much for formal instruction but a more intensive induction into the generic as well as functional aspects of Management. And the arrangements for this will need to be different, *e.g.*, executive development programmes in firms on individual or collective basis, short-term refresher programmes in Universities/Institute of Management, Seminars, etc. The nature and content of these would depend on the level of management personnel for whom the programme is designed.

At the level of the Firm, Manpower Planning should assume as great an importance, if not more, as materials planning, production planning or financial planning. Even in a situation like ours, where considerable unemployment prevails, the lack of scientific technical and the professional manpower has often been a serious bottleneck to growth. And Management manpower of the right quality is not easy to obtain. An aggressive personnel policy in a modern firm would imply, even in our situation, a looking ahead in terms of manpower needs. If a firm is able to assess its requirements for Management manpower over the coming 4-5 years, it can plan its policy of recruitment at positions of first entry, and organize or participate in management development programmes designed to upgrade management skills of employed personnel to man middle and higher management levels.

Manpower planning at the level of the firm is of great consequence to manpower planning at the national level. If information on current/prospective requirements of Management manpower at various levels, of firms of varying sizes and complexity, in various sectors of the economy, on current/prospective sources of recruitment of Management manpower of such firms, etc., were available, it would make planning at the national level more meaningful.

In U.S.S.R. where great importance is attached to manpower planning,<sup>3</sup> planning at the national level is based almost entirely on an integration of manpower plans of individual enterprise. And these are based on elaborate norms and manning patterns evolved at the level of the enterprise.

One of the key problems identified by the Institute of Applied Manpower Research in relation to Engineering manpower planning is the need to bridge the hiatus between the real needs of users of engineering manpower—the employing establishments, and the producers of engineering manpower—the educational institutions. For this the answer tentatively found by the Institute is the installation of collaborative arrangements between the users and producers with a view to bringing them together in a common endeavour to improve the quality of Engineering manpower and at the same reduce the total time taken in imparting academic instruction in an educational institution and practical training in employing establishments. These collaborative arrangements are being tested on an experimental basis in respect of a public sector employer—the Hindustan Steel Ltd.—and the Indian Institute of Technology at Bombay. Apart from other advantages, such a collaborative arrangement will enable practising engineers to lend a helping hand in teaching, thus augmenting the supply of teaching personnel which is so scarce. Similar collaborative arrangements may be feasible in respect of Management manpower also, provided manpower planning is undertaken at the level of the Firm to enable it to assess its requirements of Management manpower of various types and levels. Each type and level of Management manpower will need different types of educational/training arrangements and an insight based on the plans of various firms would greatly facilitate the planning of such arrangements at the national level.

Management manpower planning can become effective only if more and more employers adopt modern management concepts and practices and accept the viewpoint that managers are not born as such but can, and must, be developed, and that, in this effort, formal management education and training have a part to play.



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<sup>3</sup> For an account of manpower planning in the USSR see IAMR Report No. 2/1963, "Manpower Planning in USSR" by K. N. Butani.

## ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT—THE EXPERIENCE OF PUNJAB

*R. N. Chopra*

NOW that this economically underdeveloped country has embarked on an experiment in planned development through democratic processes and a considerable experience has been gained in that direction, it is time to consider the utility of regional development as a means of advancing the economic base of our comparatively more backward areas. In the five-yearly plans of the Central Government and the complementary plans of the States as well as in the processes of the formulation of these plans, the comparatively backward regions within the States have, generally speaking, not received due attention of the authorities, except in the case of scheduled areas in the country and the hilly areas in the Punjab.

It cannot be denied—in fact, it has been well-recognized now—that, within a State, it is very necessary, particularly in a democratic set-up of Government, that its comparatively neglected areas should be brought, in the shortest possible time, at par economically with the more advanced regions. This will not only tend to bring about a better emotional integration within the State and the country and obviate the possibility of a hitherto quite justifiable spate of political criticism from the representatives of those neglected areas but also augment the income and production in those areas and lead to the political and economic well-being of their people.

As an enunciation of policy and a pious wish all this is very laudable, but the objective is easier to declare and difficult to carry out in actual practice. Not only the inertia, political and administrative, at all levels of decision-makers has to be combated and overcome consciously, but also new methods of work have to be discovered and spelled out in detail, with a view to expediting the implementation of projects and programmes. The first thing to be done is to identify what sorts of programmes are most suited for these areas and their resources-based development; what funds can be spared in a five-yearly plan period; what sort of an administrative machine is required to ensure the proper and expeditious utilization of those funds; and lastly what powers, financial and administrative, properly defined, should be delegated by Government to that machine? Next step, of course, will concern the choice of men, devoted and experienced, who will run that machine purposefully and satisfactorily. This will

include the consideration of various concessions and incentives for government personnel to enable them to work with equanimity, sustained interest and zeal in backward areas.

What follows in the succeeding paragraphs is the result of this writer's experience in developing the Punjab Hill Areas during the last 4½ years (March 1961-August 1965) and is intended to provide some food for thought for our policy-makers who no doubt are devoted to the overall objective of developing the comparatively backward areas in the country but may not always be aware of the numerous difficulties that have to be faced in the attainment of that objective. If this paper can help provoke further discussion and deliberation in the right quarters, it would have amply served its purpose.

#### EXISTING ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

The Punjab Government started paying special attention to the development of its economically backward Hill Areas in the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. Not only separate allocations were made for this purpose but also a distinct administrative set-up was created for the implementation of developmental programmes. Apart from a whole-time Development Commissioner whose main function was the planning and implementation of developmental schemes on a co-ordinated basis, Deputy Directors (or other officers of equivalent status) of Horticulture, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Industries, Co-operation, Fisheries, Poultry and Forests were appointed in the Hill Areas. A representative and broad-based Hill Areas Advisory Committee was set up, with four Sub-Committees to attend to agricultural, industry and power, communications and transport and education and water supply, etc., sub-heads of development.

To enable the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas) to discharge his functions adequately and satisfactorily, the following modifications in these existing Government instructions were made:

- (i) The sanctions for schemes concerning the Community Development/National Extension Service Blocks located in the five districts of the Hill Areas region which the Divisional Commissioners concerned were competent to give, will henceforth be accorded by the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas). This will apply to local development schemes also.
- (ii) Similarly, the annual confidential reports of the Block Officers as well as of other supervisory officers of the Development Departments serving the region which hitherto were

being written or reviewed by the Divisional Commissioners concerned, will henceforth be dealt with by the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas).

- (iii) The annual confidential reports of the Regional Officers mentioned in the preceding para will be channelled by the Heads of the concerned Departments through the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas) for any remarks he may have to make. Having given his remarks, these reports will be sent by the latter to the Administrative Secretaries concerned for further action.
- (iv) Before writing the annual confidential reports of the Heads of Department, the Administrative Secretaries concerned will consult and may take into consideration the views of the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas) before submitting them to the Minister.
- (v) Annual confidential reports of the Sub-Divisional Officers (Civil) and the Deputy Commissioners of the five Districts of the Hill Areas region will be sent by the Divisional Commissioners concerned to the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas) for his remarks on their development work, who will then pass on these reports to Government for further action.
- (vi) Deputy Commissioners of the five districts mentioned in the definition of "hill areas" will correspond direct with the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas) on all development matters and not with their respective Divisional Commissioners.

The above administrative arrangements were further strengthened towards the end of 1963 when the Punjab Cabinet took the following decisions :

- (i) *Filling up of vacant posts in the Hill Areas*: Vacant posts in the "hill areas" should be filled with experienced personnel (at least two years' experience in a similar post or possessing special aptitude for working in the hills) by all Departments within three months, on priority. Personnel coming from the hill areas should be given preference.
- (ii) *Transfer of officials from the Hill Areas*: No officer/official engaged on development work should be transferred from hill areas unless he has put in at least three years' service, without consulting the Development Commissioner, Hill Areas. This would be particularly applicable to the departments

of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Forests, Co-operation, and Development.

- (iii) *Incentives for good workers*: Any official/officer of the development departments who has done particularly and consistently good work in the hill areas during the three years' posting, should be considered eligible for the grant of *one* advance increment. However, in cases of very good work, the officials/officers should be considered eligible for the grant of *two* advance increments. Care should be taken by the Department concerned that suitable disciplinary action is also taken against the officials/officers whose work is not up to the mark.
- (iv) *Budget for the Hill Areas* : As soon as possible, preferably from the financial year 1964-65, the annual budget (particularly on the "Plan" side) should appear separately for the Hill areas in the Budget and Plan documents, so that the amounts allocated for the hill areas are actually spent there and not in the plains. This should be done in consultation with the Finance and Planning Departments.
- (v) *Departmental schemes for the Hill Areas* : All departmental schemes operating in the hill areas, whether on the Plan or non-Plan side, should be placed under the control of the Deputy Directors (Hill Areas) (or officials of equivalent rank serving in hill areas) of the respective Departments.
- (vi) *Additional powers to the Departmental Officers of Divisional rank* : In respect of the schemes and the functions specifically appearing in the Annual Plan and the Budget, the Departmental officers of Divisional rank in the hill areas, namely, Deputy Directors, Agriculture, Horticulture, and Animal Husbandry, Officer on Special Duty (Industries), Deputy Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Deputy Chief Conservator of Forests or the two Conservators of Forests, will have full powers of the respective Heads of Departments, except in personnel matters relating to promotion, disciplinary action, transfer, etc., in which case they will be the recommending authority. Such powers would also be given to them in respect of other matters which do not have any financial implications, directly and indirectly.

#### *The Role of the Hill Commissioner*

The Role of the Hill Commissioner, as it unfolded itself, was at best that of a co-ordinating authority for the planning and execution

of developmental programmes for the hill areas, assisted by the Regional Officers of Deputy Director's rank in the Forest, Agriculture, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Industries and Co-operative Departments. The Hill Commissioner was a sort of "abettor", "instigator" and "provoker" to the executing Departments which actually controlled the entire field staff, posting and promotions of personnel, financial sanctions and allocations and other procedural "wherewithal" required for the implementation of schemes. He had no direct authority to give final orders or green signals except that implied in the writing of annual confidential reports of the field staff mentioned above and the normal general administration staff at the District and Sub-Divisional levels in the hill areas. In brief, he was not running an independent Department for the hill areas, though his status as Additional Secretary in the Development Department did give him some advantage not only in bringing the file and the field nearer, as it were, but also to influence the policy in respect of the Panchayati Raj institutions which were given the responsibility of implementing many departmental schemes touching the people at the grass roots.

#### DIFFICULTIES ARISING OUT OF POLICY AND PROCEDURE

The first Hill Commissioner worked these arrangements for the last  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years. Some positive results in the developmental sphere have been achieved and the implementation of various schemes has been speeded up. Some new programmes which needed priority have also been initiated. The progress of work in the field, however, could have been much better and speedier if the administrative procedures had not been dilatory and the various bottlenecks arising out of the system had not intervened. Actual difficulties in the course of this "first-of-its-kind" experiment in regional development in Punjab may be ascribed to the following factors:

- (i) The unwillingness of the departmental field personnel to serve in hill areas because of lack of amenities, resulting in many vacancies remaining unfilled for long posting of staff as a matter of punishment, frequent changes and transfers.
- (ii) Departmental apathy and inability to take to new ideas and suggestions beneficial to the backward region, lack of leadership, knowledge and urge among some Heads of Departments and their reluctance to punish their incompetent subordinate officers serving in the hill areas.
- (iii) Administrative procedures of working—especially delays in issue of financial sanctions, recruitment of staff, purchase of stores and supplies and the slow pace of construction of

buildings. Particular attention must be drawn to the fact that State financial procedures have a tendency to curb all initiative—the Finance Department having all the power to apply brakes, without the responsibility of delivering the goods.

- (iv) Since the Departments are organized and used to working vertically, any attempt to bring them together horizontally for co-ordination purposes is resisted in the first instance. In the vertical lines, the initiative has tended to remain with the lower staff and not with the officers, with the result that not only are the schemes not spelt out in full details but their Communication to the field staff is also incomplete and incomprehensible, leading to a tardy and ineffective implementation.
- (v) Difficulty in fixing responsibility for failure of inadequate implementation of schemes and programmes. It is always “someone else” responsible for slow results, wasteful expenditure or results not commensurate with the efforts. (For example, why should the scheme of artificial insemination of cows with Jersey blood in the Hill areas yield only 25 per cent conception rate—a rate which has been brought up from 15 per cent with very great difficulty?)

The experiment of developing the Punjab Hill areas which is one of the pioneer experiments in “regional” development by paying specific attention to it, has been somewhat of a success—thanks to the untiring efforts of the field staff at all levels. But the question is: cannot these areas be developed still more quickly and adequately and still better results obtained from the monies that are invested on the Plan or non-Plan side? In view of the proposed Hill Plan of Rs. 60 crores. out of the State Fourth Five Year Plan of Rs. 500 crores, it is all the more necessary that the administrative machinery should be streamlined, made effective and purposeful, with well-defined powers and responsibilities and the implementation of the Plan programmes should not be left to the existing arrangements which are, broadly speaking, not really satisfactory. At present the Hill Commissioner, after all, is only a “co-ordinator” at best, incapable or unauthorized as he is to give orders on the spot, and nothing new can move in the area, unless the executive and administrative departments and the Finance Department accept his point of view in various matters and issue instructions or sanctions, even if the funds are available either from a fresh allotment or allocations from “shortfalls”. It can be argued that once a “Plan” for the hill areas has been formulated, the rest is implementation and the Hill Commissioner, assisted by his Deputy

Directors in the field, should be able to see it through with speed and efficiency. In actual working, things do not move all that smoothly and simply. At almost every step, the repository of power at Chandigarh, whether at the Head of the Department level or at the level of Administrative Department, Finance Department, Planning Department or the Cabinet, comes into play, and time-consuming processes and clearances take hold of the situation in the field. Very few powers, after all, have been delegated to those who work in the field, whether these concern the issue of sanctions, recruitment, transfer and promotion of staff or purchase of stores, and in any case there is no local delegated authority given or available to the Hill Commissioner to remove the difficulties or bottlenecks which obstruct the actual implementation of programmes at many stages. All major obstructions have to be reported to the Heads of Departments/A.D./F.D. and the actual implementation in the field gets delayed till they are removed. (Instances have been known (i) where even land in a Government Farm could not be cleared of trees, for construction of sheds, till the Heads of the Department gave his clearance which took three months or (ii) the local Deputy Director could not reduce the eligibility age of Jersey cross bred calves from 6 months to 4 months, for the grant of concentrates subsidy, under a sanctioned scheme. The instances can be multiplied.)

Not only that: the experience has been that the Hill Commissioner and his Deputy Directors have had to enter into interminable correspondence and discussions with the authorities in Chandigarh to get matters through, mainly because the State administration is not officer-oriented at present and the file gets started or disposed of only if the dealing Assistant decides to give it a push. These are hard facts of administrative life to which no one can shut his eyes. It is true the Administrative Reforms Commission is trying to grapple with the problem and suggest how the entire administrative machinery can be made to work smoothly, promptly and efficiently—a machinery which was never designed to handle developmental programmes of the magnitude which the five yearly plans envisage for the quick growth of the country, State or region's economy. It will take time to implement even such suggestions as the Administrative Reforms Commission may make but the implementation of the programmes cannot wait.

#### PROPOSALS FOR RE-ORGANIZATION

For formulating some positive recommendations for a change in the administrative arrangements for the rapid development of the

Punjab Hill Areas, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the "rationale" of the new administrative "set-up". "The administrative process in implementation is carried out through the instrumentality of an organization where the *process of decision-making is the core activity*. The process of administration, which an implementation organization carried through, is only as dynamic as the process of decision-making."

"Implementation involves:

- (a) programming the individual projects;
- (b) actuating or providing the necessary leadership;
- (c) exerting the controls in order to examine whether work on the plan of action is proceeding as programmed."

Briefly, "...*programming* involves identifying the various outputs/end results, arranging their production into a time sequence, pinpointing accountability to carry out production, preparing detailed schedules for the financial, physical and manpower resources required in accordance with the time sequence of construction or production schedule already established" "...it is equally important to provide the basis for the estimates so that they can be used as standards when actual performance is sought to be measured as against the scheduled."

*Actuating* may be viewed as the process by means of which a manager directly and personally influences the behaviour of those who work with him and by which his subordinates, in turn, feed back information that is vital for him to accomplish action. It is a dynamic relationship, both personal and active. It is personal because it implies close man-to-man relationship. It is active because it is of an evolving nature wherein there is a two-way communication between the manager and his subordinates.

This process involves: "(i) carrying out effective communications between the supervisor and his subordinates as to what is sought to be accomplished, (ii) provision of leadership so that the subordinates are properly motivated, and (iii) the exercise of adequate discipline so that these subordinates who function constructively are rewarded and sanctions are applied against those who do not."

"*Controlling*: A control system may be viewed as the mechanism which seeks to assure that actual progress of work in an enterprise is being accomplished in accordance with the established standards. It includes a reporting mechanism for measuring the actual performance against those standards."

It is not really possible to introduce effectively the above conceptual framework of implementation of developmental programmes into our existing administrative system. A "Project" approach where objectives are clearly defined, responsibility squarely fixed and adequate authority delegated to a Project Officer/Manager, is perhaps the answer. Our present system which is dilatory, diffused in responsibility and centralized in authority is really not equipped to deliver the goods so far as the developmental activity of the State is concerned.

Development of a specified region like the Punjab Hill Areas deserves to be treated as a big project by itself, and should be handled scientifically. Enough ground has been prepared in the Third Plan period, resource-based objectives have been defined and some interest has been created in sizable pockets of the Region to go ahead with income-yielding programmes, and a break-through in such pockets is possible. Similar other pockets can be located and developed in the Region but infra-structures like roads, transport, minor irrigation facilities, and basic supplies like seed, nursery plants and Jersey blood, etc., will have to be provided by the Government in advance.

What then should be the administrative framework for the hill areas in the Fourth Plan, now that the Government have already taken a decision to invest Rs. 60 crores—out of a State Plan of Rs. 500 crores, in this Region? The problem should be viewed in the light of the following important factors:

- (a) The neighbouring State of Himachal Pradesh enjoys certain advantages in the economic field which are not available to the Punjab Hill areas. Himachal Pradesh has been able to secure all the needed funds and the entire State machinery is so intensively deployed in the field that the quantum of results actually achieved is much more than in Punjab Hill Areas. According to the prevailing indications, the Centre is not prepared to treat Punjab Hill Areas at par with Himachal Pradesh.
- (b) Punjab Hill Areas are only a part of the Punjab State, with one-eighth of the population and one-fourth of the area only. They have to compete with the other Regions of the State, *e.g.*, Haryana.
- (c) As an obvious corollary of (a) and (b) above, the regional administrative machinery must be geared to make the best of what is allotted to the Punjab Hill Areas within the State's Fourth Plan by Government.

- (d) An organizational set-up for the implementation of the Fourth Plan Schemes in the Hill Areas must provide for a quicker decision-making machinery at all levels, and the "bottlenecking" and time-consuming procedures in vogue at present must be done away with or bypassed deliberately, if quick results in the field are to be achieved.

In the light of the above considerations two alternative administrative arrangements suggest themselves and these deserve to be discussed in some detail. The first alternative concerns the strengthening of the existing administrative set-up. The Hill Commissioner, as at present placed, has no authority over the departmental working and for every little "bottleneck" he has, directly or indirectly, to approach the departmental head, the Administrative Department or the Finance Department—whether these "bottlenecks" relate to the introduction of any new ideas or schemes, or crop up in the various stages of actual implementation of schemes. The answer perhaps lies in improving the existing arrangements in the following directions:

1. Delegating all the powers of Heads of Departments to the respective Deputy Directors working in the hill areas.
2. Giving all the powers of the Administrative and Finance Departments to the Hill Commissioner, working under the orders of a whole-time Minister for Hill Areas, except in the matter of creation of posts, re-appropriation of allocations from one major head (Budgetary) to another and transfer of plan allocations from one sub-head to another. The Hill Commissioner should be advised by a whole-time Financial Advisor, whose advice in exceptional cases may be overruled by the Minister for Hill Areas, on the advice of the Hill Commissioner.
3. This will, of course, imply that the staff once posted to the Hill Areas by Departments will not be shifted from there by the Departments, except for promotion and major punishments, and that too after consulting the Hill Commissioner. This should particularly apply to the field personnel of Agriculture/Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Poultry, Fisheries, Forests and Industries Departments and of the Panchayati Raj Organization.
4. Formulation of the Plan and the Budget for the hill areas as distinct entities (Action is already afoot in this regard).
5. Provision of proper incentives for the departmental staff working in the hill areas in the shape of a reasonable Hill Compensatory Allowance (the present rate of 12½ per cent

available in major parts of hill areas is considered inadequate and unattractive for more than one reason), and cash incentives for results *positively* and tangibly achieved in the field. Such incentives should be well defined and given by a Committee headed by the Hill Commissioner, Financial Advisor and the concerned departmental Deputy Director of the Hill Areas.

6. Locating the office of the Hill Commissioner in the State Civil Secretariat at Chandigarh, where he should be Additional Secretary in the Planning Department also.

Alternatively, a Hill Development Corporation may be set up, which will be responsible for the implementation of the Fourth Plan programmes in the hill areas with the following broad features.

1. The Corporation should have a Board of Directors with Chief Minister as the Chairman and Finance Minister, Hill Areas Minister and Ministers for PWD, Irrigation, Industries, Development and Agriculture group, Education and Health, as its members.
2. The Board of Directors will define specifically the type of cases which will be referred to it once a month by the Managing Director for orders. Such cases may cover the following types : (a) creation of new posts and grant of allowances or advance increments, (b) promotions and transfers of officers of gazetted rank, (c) broad transfer of allocations from one major budgetary head to another and from one Plan head to another, and (d) any new schemes costing above Rs. 5 lacs in a financial year.
3. A whole-time Managing Director of the rank of a Commissioner will be appointed who will exercise all the powers (except those mentioned above) of a Head of the Department, as well as those at present vesting in the administrative Departments and the Finance Department. In financial matters, he will be advised by a Financial Advisor appointed by Government but will have the power of overruling that advice, in which case the Financial Advisor will have the authority to approach the Board of Directors, but the order of the Managing Director will be carried out in the meantime.
4. The Managing Director will be assisted by the departmental Deputy Directors of Agriculture/Horticulture, Animal


Husbandry, Forests, Poultry, Fishery, Dairying, Co-operation, PWD (Roads) Transport, Minor Irrigation, Development and Industries Departments, who will have the same powers as Heads of Departments. (All other powers will vest in the Managing Director, advised by a Financial Advisor mentioned above. He will give various sanctions and clearances, etc.)

5. The Corporation will deal with only the Plan Schemes and have a cadre of its own, built from officers/officials on deputation from the parent Departments for a period of three years at least—the period may be increased in cases if the Corporation chooses to do so and the officer/official is willing. The Corporation will have the right to send back officials/officers who do not pull their weight in the Hill Areas.
6. The Corporation will have the right to set up its own supply, service and purchase organization.
7. The Hill Areas Advisory Committee, as constituted by Government hitherto, will continue to advise the Board of Directors in matters relating to developmental needs of the Hill Areas, in meetings to be held twice a year.
8. The Corporation will have its own Statistical and Plan Evaluation Cell.
9. Since the supervisory officers of the Corporation will simultaneously work for the Departments on the non-Plan side of their activity, the costs of that staff will be shared proportionately and the expenditure booked accordingly.
10. The Corporation will not interfere, except by way of advice, with the working of the Departments in the hill areas, in matters relating to non-Plan activities of Departments in hill areas. In other words, the Corporation will confine its activities mainly to “additional interventions” formulated in the Fourth and subsequent Five Year Plan document.
11. The Corporation will be responsible for the formulation of the Fifth Plan for the hill areas.
12. The headquarters of the Corporation will be located at Chandigarh.

It is a matter of administrative judgment whether the first alternative should be preferred or the second. The first alternative is

unconventional though workable. The second—A Hill Development Corporation idea—has been tried in Southern Italy very successfully and there is no reason and from personal study of its functioning in that country the author does not see reason why it should not work here as an experiment in regional development.

The above suggestions are to expedite the decision-making process at all levels and detach the hill areas development activity from the shackles of the present cumbersome and dilatory administrative procedures and processes.



## THE FOURTH FINANCE COMMISSION

*P. C. Mathur*

THE Fourth Finance Commission, with Dr. P. V. Rajmanner as Chairman, was set up in May, 1964 and submitted its Report in August, 1965. The recommendations of the Commission, which will cover a period of five years, commencing from April 1, 1966, have been accepted by the Government, except that the Government has taken into account certain liabilities of some of the State Governments which had been excluded by the Commission due to shortage of time.

While the recommendations of the Commission are mainly along expected lines, the Report raises certain important questions which deserve serious study.

### II

It has been the experience of almost all federations that whatever be the distribution of resources between Central and State authorities, they do not synchronize with their needs. This has led, specially in the newer federations, to a system of transfers from one government to another—generally from the Centre to the States, as many of the important productive taxes, such as the income tax, excise and customs duties, are more appropriately and conveniently levied by the Central Government in the interests of countrywide uniformity in tax rates.

The Constitution of India, besides providing for some sources of revenue which are wholly Central (*e.g.*, customs duties, corporation tax), and some which are wholly State sources (*e.g.*, land revenue, taxes on the sale and purchase of goods other than newspapers), makes a provision for the transfer to the states of the proceeds of certain taxes either wholly (*e.g.*, estate duty on property other than agricultural land, taxes on railway fares and freights) or partly (*e.g.*, non-agricultural incomes, Central excise duties). In addition, there is a provision for grants-in-aid to the States under Article 275(1) of the Constitution.

The Constitution provides for the setting up of a Finance Commission every five years or earlier to make recommendations to the President as to (a) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be divided between them and their allocation between them; (b) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States; and (c) any other matter

referred to the Commission by the President in the interests of sound finance. Four Finance Commissions have reported so far—in 1952, 1957, 1961 and 1965.

Mention may also be made here of Article 282, under which the Union or a State may make any grants for any public purpose, even though the purpose is not one with respect to which Parliament or the Legislature of the State, as the case may be, may make laws.

It is evident that in a system where large transfers of funds are effected from the Centre to the States, the determination of the States' share of the divisible taxes and its distribution among them, and the principles of grants-in-aid to them, are of great importance. Some of the considerations that are of significance, and which the successive Finance Commissions have sought to keep before themselves are: first, the transfer of resources from the Centre must be such as it can bear without undue strain on its resources, taking into account its responsibility for such vital matters as the defence of the country and the stability of its economy; second, the increasing needs of the States, particularly on account of the increasing expenditure on developmental functions, must be provided for; third, the transfer of resources from the Centre should be so effected that while the needs of the States are met, they can, at the same time, perform their functions with the maximum autonomy and without a reduction in their own sense of responsibility, both in the raising of their resources and in their expenditure; and fourth, it should attempt to reduce inequalities between the States.

While these principles are sound in theory, their practical application to the concrete questions of allocating the shares of taxes and fixing the amounts of grants is not easy and successive Finance Commissions have been faced with a plethora of varying and conflicting claims and viewpoints put forward by the State Governments. Whatever scheme of distribution may be adopted, it is obvious that there cannot be universal satisfaction and, indeed, there has generally been universal dissatisfaction.

The position has been complicated still further by the fact that the evolution of economic planning in India has been such that a large part of the total Plan has to be implemented by the States but in the absence of adequate resources grants have been made for the purpose under Article 282. In course of time, the grants and loans for Plan purposes have come to occupy a very important place in the total transfers of resources from the Centre to the States and have overshadowed the transfers made on the recommendations of the Finance Commissions.

## III

The Fourth Finance Commission was required to make recommendations regarding:

- (a) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of income tax and Central excise duties and their allocation among the States;
- (b) the principles which should govern grants-in-aid to the States, and the sums to be paid to them, having regard, among other considerations, to their revenue resources for the five years ending with the year 1970-71 on the basis of the levels of taxation likely to be reached in the year 1965-66; their requirements to meet the committed expenditure on maintenance and upkeep of Plan schemes completed during the Third Plan; any further expenditure likely to devolve upon the States for the servicing of their debt; creation of a fund out of the excess, if any, over a specified limit of the net proceeds of estate duty for the repayment of the States' debt to the Central Government; and the scope for economy in State expenditure consistent with efficiency.
- (c) the changes, if any, to be made in the distribution of the net proceeds of estate duty, the grant in lieu of taxes on railway fares and the net proceeds of certain additional excise duties in replacement of the sales tax formerly levied by the State Governments; and
- (d) the effect of the combined incidence of a State's sales tax and Union duties of excise on the production, consumption or export of commodities or products, the duties on which are shareable with the States, and the adjustments, if any, to be made in the State's share of Union excise duties if there is any increase in the State's sales tax on such commodities over a limit to be specified by the Commission.

The main recommendations of the Commission are briefly mentioned below:

*Income Tax:* Ever since the introduction of Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act of 1935 a share of the Central income tax has been an important balancing factor between the needs of the Provinces or States and their resources. Under the Otto Niemeyer Award, 50 per cent of the net proceeds of the income tax on non-agricultural incomes was to be made over to the Provinces. In view of the increasing needs of the States, the First, Second and Third Finance Commissions raised the States' share to 55, 60 and 66½ per

cent respectively. The Fourth Finance Commission took note of the States' representation about the need for abating in some measure the loss sustained by them, consequent upon the reclassification of income tax paid by companies in 1959. It recommended that after deducting the share of the Union Territories, 75 per cent of the divisible pool should be allocated to the States.

As regards the principles of distribution of the States' share among them, the First Commission had recommended that 80 per cent of the States' share of the divisible pool of income tax should be distributed among the States on the basis of their relative population and 20 per cent on the basis of the relative collections of income tax in the different States. While the Second Commission increased the weightage given to population, the Third Commission reverted to the 80:20 formula of the First Commission. The Fourth Commission felt that a sense of certainty and stability should prevail and did not think it desirable that the basis of distribution should be reopened every time a new Finance Commission is appointed. It, therefore, decided that the principle of distribution to individual States should be the same as recommended by the First and Third Commissions.

*Union Excise Duties:* The First Finance Commission had recommended that 40 per cent of the net proceeds of the excise duty on three commodities be distributed among the States. The Second Commission raised the number of shareable duties to eight and the Third Commission to 35, while reducing the percentage share of the States. The Fourth Commission recommended that all Union excise duties currently levied as also those that might be levied during the coming five years should be shared between the Centre and the States. This extension in the number of commodities was based on many factors such as: the need to give the States a substantial interest in the collection and levy of Union Excises in order to achieve a co-ordination between the excise policy of the Union Government and the sales tax policy pursued in the States; the larger the number of commodities brought within the divisible pool, the greater would be the evenness in the flow of resources to the States, as fluctuations in the yield of certain items would be neutralized by the fluctuations in the yield of certain other items; the State's requirements are growing and, therefore, an elastic source of revenue like a share in excise duty on all commodities would go to strengthen their position. The Commission fixed the States' share out of the divisible excises at 20 per cent of the net proceeds.

In regard to the principles for the distribution between the different States, the First and Second Commissions had taken population as the basis. The Third Commission, also took into account, in addition

to population, the relative financial weaknesses of the States, the disparity in the levels of development reached, etc. The Fourth Finance Commission was also of the view that while population should be the major factor for determining the distribution, relative economic and social backwardness of the States should be taken into account. Economic and social backwardness was taken to be indicated by such factors as: per capita gross value of agricultural production; percentage of workers to the total population; percentage of rural population to total population; and percentage of population of scheduled castes and tribes to total population. The Commission gave a weight of 80 per cent to population and 20 per cent to economic backwardness.

*Additional Duties of Excise:* The Government of India and the Governments of the States had agreed in 1956 that an additional excise duty should be levied on mill made textiles, sugar and tobacco, (and, later, silk fabrics) in replacement of the sales tax levied by the State Governments, the net proceeds being distributed among the States, subject to the existing income of each State being assured to it. The rationale of such additional duties is that chances of evasion are minimised and that a uniform levy on items of such large consumption saves the trade, industry and the consumer from the administrative complexities involved in the collection and payment of sales tax. The Second Finance Commission determined the income of each State from these duties in 1956-57 and after providing this "guaranteed amount" divided the balance of the proceeds among the States. The Third Commission, after providing the "guaranteed amount", divided the balance among the States partly on the basis of the percentage increase in the collection of sales tax in each State since 1957-58 (the year in which the duties were first imposed) and partly on the basis of population.

The Fourth Finance Commission recommended that the balance after the payment of the guaranteed amounts may be distributed on the basis of the proportion of sales tax revenue realized in each State to the total sales tax collected in all the States taken together over the years 1961-62 to 1963-64. The Commission thought that the figures for collection of all sales taxes in a State are the most direct indicator of the contribution made by each State to the divisible surplus.

*Co-ordination between Sales Tax and Excise Duties:* As adequate data for determining the combined incidence of the two taxes were not available, the Commission did not recommend any scheme of ceiling on the sales tax rates of any excisable commodities or suggest a formula for adjustments in the share of the States out of Union excises.

*Estate Duty:* The Fourth Finance Commission recommended the continuance of the principle of distribution of the estate duty already

laid down by the Second Commission and accepted by the Third Commission also, namely, that the part of the proceeds arising from immovable property should be distributed among the States on the basis of location and the rest should be distributed among the States in proportion to their population. The only departure made was that the share of the Union Territories was raised from 1 per cent to 2 per cent of the net proceeds.

The Commission was required to consider the question of the creation of a fund for the repayment of the States' debt to the Central Government out of the excess of the proceeds of estate duty above a certain limit. The Commission thought, however, that as the total annual net proceeds of estate duty assignable to the States are only about Rs. 7 crores at the current levels of taxation it would not be of any practical value to create such a fund.

The Second Finance Commission had recommended that the distribution of the proceeds of the tax on railway passenger fares in proportion to the route mileage of each zonal railway located in each State. After this tax was merged in railway passenger fares in 1961, the Third Commission recommended the distribution of the annual grant of Rs. 12.5 crores payable to the States in lieu of their share of the tax on the principle of compensation so as to place the States broadly on the same footing as they were before the tax was abolished. The Fourth Commission agreed with the principle worked out by the Third Commission and utilized the latest available statistics for fixing the shares of the States.

*Grants-in-aid:* Whatever taxes may be shared with the States and whatever principles of taxation may be adopted, some gaps in the resources of the States are still likely to remain. Further, principles of tax sharing which are uniformly applied to all the States can not take care of all the specific circumstances of each State. Hence, the provision for grants-in-aid. Each of the Finance Commissions has recommended grants to the States based on their budgetary needs. The Third Commission in assessing the fiscal needs of the States took into account not only non-Plan expenditure but also Plan expenditure on revenue account. It also recommended some special purpose grants (for the improvement of road communications). The Fourth Commission, however, did not recommend the inclusion of Plan grants. The Commission thought that there should not be any division of responsibility in regard to any element of Plan expenditure and hence it did not think it to be appropriate to take upon itself the task of dealing with the States' plan expenditure. The Commission did not recommend any special purpose grants either, as it felt that their utilization

cannot be effectively reviewed; however, it included certain special requirements in its forecasts of the expenditures of the States.

The Commission examined the forecasts of revenue and non-Plan revenue expenditure for each State, taking into account the trends of growth of revenue and expenditure in the past.

The Commission decided to consider only those increases over present levels of expenditure which were based on firm decisions of the State Governments and on which Government orders had been passed. Hence, it left out a few cases in which the proposals were at an advanced stage of consideration in the States (special requirements of hill districts in Assam, improvement and strengthening of police organization in Madhya Pradesh, and grants to Panchayats in Mysore). The Commission recommended, however, that in case these proposals are finalized before the President's orders on grants-in-aid to the States, these requirements may also be taken into account in determining the grants to these States.

In the case of three States, although firm decisions had been taken and Government orders had been issued with regard to increased expenditure on certain heads, yet the Commission could not take them into account, either because there was not sufficient time to examine them or because the proposals were not accompanied by the basic particulars and other necessary data (revision of dearness allowance in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, and rationalization of pay scales to Government employees and increase in emoluments and revision of pay of the staff of educational institutions in Uttar Pradesh). The Commission recommended, therefore, that the effect of these liabilities may also be taken into account in fixing the grants to be included in the order of the President.

On the basis of the above factors, the Commission worked out estimates for the non-Plan revenue gap for each of the States for the five-year period 1966-67 to 1970-71. The Commission also made estimates of the expected receipts of various Central taxes and the shares of Central taxes likely to be received by the different States, and concluded that the States of Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal would have surpluses for the five-year period. Hence, it did not recommend any grants for them. The remaining States were expected to have revenue deficits, even after taking into account their shares of Central taxes, and the Commission recommended certain sums that should be given to them as grants-in-aid.

*Borrowing:* The Commission felt that a competent body should be set up to study the entire question of indebtedness of the States and the soundness of their existing borrowing, interest payment, repayment

and accounting practices, the rates of contributions to sinking funds, etc.

*Minute of Dissent:* One of the members of the Commission, Shri M. L. Gautam, added a minute of dissent covering three aspects of the Commission's recommendations: the consideration of additional expenditure consequent on the revision of dearness allowance and pay scales effected in some States in July 1965; consideration not only of the existing needs of the States but also of certain needs which may arise during the next five years; and the change recommended by the Commission in the basis of distribution of the proceeds of additional duties of excise. The Commission did not agree with the first two because of lack of time or adequate data and with the third as it felt that the basis of distribution recommended by it was a more direct indicator of a State's contribution to the divisible surplus than population.

*Supplemental Minutes:* The Chairman, Dr. P. V. Rajamannar, and one of the members, Professor Bhabatosh Datta added supplemental notes to the Report on matters connected with Union-States financial relations. These are referred to later.

*Action taken on the Report:* The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Commission subject to certain modifications. The Commission had excluded from its assessment of revenue expenditure certain liabilities on account of increase in pay scales, etc., in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Uttar Pradesh because of lack of time or of adequate data, but had recommended that they should be taken into account in fixing the grants. The Government requested one of the members of the Commission, Prof. D. G. Karve, to undertake an assessment of these liabilities applying the same criteria as were applied to similar liabilities by the Commission. As a result, these States were awarded additional grants.

The Commission had also excluded certain proposals by the States of Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore as final orders on the proposals had not been issued and had recommended that if these proposals materialised before the Presidential order on the Report, they might also be taken into account in determining the amounts of grants-in-aid. The Government decided, however, that such liabilities of the States should not be met by statutory grants-in-aid, but should be taken into account while assessing the resources of the States for the Plan and their needs for purposes of Central assistance.

As regards the general observations of the Commission, since they do not need any immediate decision, they will be examined after the immediate action required on the Commission's Report is taken.

Table I summarises the recommendations of the Commission accepted by the Government.

TABLE I  
*Summary of Accepted Recommendations*

	Share of † Income Tax	Share of Union Excise Duties	Grant in-aid under Article 275(1)- Sub- stantive position	Share of Estate Duty	Grant in lieu of tax on Rail- way fares	Additional Ex- cise Duties	
	(Per- cent)	Per- cent)	(Rs. lakhs)	(Per- cent)*	(Per cent)	Income to be assured	Distri- bution of bal- ance
State's shares	75	20	..	98	..	..	97.45
Andhra Pradesh	7.37	7.77	1351	8.34	9.05	235.24	7.42
Assam	2.44	3.32	1652	2.75	2.79	85.08	1.98
Bihar	9.04	10.03	..	10.76	9.99	130.16	6.17
Gujarat	5.29	4.80	..	4.78	7.11	323.45	7.43
Jammu & Kashmir	0.73	2.26	657	0.83	..	..	†
Kerala	3.59	4.16	2082	3.92	1.85	95.08	5.65
Madhya Pradesh	6.47	7.40	270	7.50	9.85	155.17	4.62
Madras	8.34	7.18	684	7.80	5.81	285.34	11.13
Maharashtra	14.28	8.23	..	9.16	8.98	637.77	19.87
Mysore	5.14	5.41	2082	5.46	3.98	100.10	5.21
Nagaland	0.07	2.21	707	0.09	0.01	..	†
Orissa	3.40	4.82	2918	4.07	2.12	85.10	2.58
Punjab	4.36	4.86	..	4.70	7.43	175.19	5.01
Rajasthan	3.97	5.06	673	4.67	6.40	90.10	3.17
Uttar Pradesh	14.60	14.98	985	17.08	18.23	575.81	7.83
West Bengal	10.91	7.51	..	8.09	6.40	280.41	11.93
			14061			3254.00	

\* Applies only to tax allocated to other than immovable property.

† Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland will receive no compensation but 1½ per cent and 0.05 per cent respectively of the net proceeds will be paid to them.

## IV

The Fourth Finance Commission, like its predecessors has done a valuable job. It has recognized the growing needs of the States both on account of their increasing expenditure on social and departmental services, and increasing committed expenditure on schemes completed during earlier Plans. It has sought to provide for them by means of larger devolution both by way of shares of Central taxes and grants-in-aid. It has raised the share of the divisible pool of income tax to 75 per cent and included the proceeds of all Central excise duties, including those that may be levied in the course of the next five years, in the divisible pool of excise duties. The extension in the number of divisible excise duties is particularly important as it will enable the States to share a source of revenue which has so far been a very buoyant one. The Commission has recognized the strength of the States' case in such matters as the abolition of the railway passenger fares tax which deprives the States of a potentially growing source of income.

The Commission has rightly laid stress on the importance of providing a greater element of certainty with regard to the distribution among the States of the shares of the various taxes and has disfavoured a change in the principles of distribution by each successive Commission. On this ground, it has retained the basis of sharing the income tax adopted by the earlier Finance Commission, though it has changed the basis of sharing excise duties by pointing out, rightly, that such questions as relative financial weakness (as measured in terms of revenue deficits) should be taken care of by means of explicit grants to the States, rather than through their shares of divisible taxes.

The Fourth Commission recommended larger grants-in-aid to the States than earlier Commissions because the relative financial weakness of the States was not taken as a factor in determining their share of excise duties, as had been done by the Third Commission. If any State was in need of specific financial assistance because of large deficits that could not be covered by uniform applied principles of tax sharing the Commission, as mentioned earlier, recommended an explicit grant. As the Commission rightly pointed out, the earlier procedure would have had the effect of concealing the fact of its financial deficit.

Apart from the specific recommendations of the Commission it may be useful to draw attention to certain other vital questions relating to Union-State financial relations in India that have come to the fore during the fifteen years of the working of the Constitution. Some of these problems have also been referred to in the supplemental notes added to the Report by the Chairman and Professor Datta.

TABLE II

*Resources Transferred from Centre to States*

Crores of Rupees

	1st Plan period	2nd Plan period	3rd Plan period	1965-66 (B.E.)	1964-65 (R.E.)
<b>I. Shares of Taxes and Duties*</b>					
A. (1) Income Tax	278.24	374.67	555.11	122.93	123.77
(2) Union Excise Duties	46.06	152.96	393.55	94.85	86.20
B. (3) Estate Duty	2.44	12.67	25.93	7.17	6.78
(4) Additional Excise Duties	..	128.27	216.23	46.04	41.14
(5) Railway Passenger Fares Tax	..	42.56	..	..	..
C. Total Taxes and Duties (A+B)	326.74	711.13	1190.82	270.99	257.89
<b>II. Grants</b>					
A. Grants met from Revenue	248.01	667.93	1148.15	287.70	255.63
of which:					
(1) Grants under Article 275 (1) Substantial part*	27.03	152.99	289.93	63.75	63.50
(2) Grants in lieu of Rly Passenger Fares Tax*	..	..	62.50	12.50	12.50
B. Grants met from Capital	39.69	78.02	153.94	55.19	33.48
C. Total Grants (A+B)	287.70	745.95	1302.09	342.89	289.11
III. Loans	798.53	1410.84	2984.13	693.41	690.80
IV. Grand Total (I+II+III)	1412.97	2867.92	5477.04	1307.29	1237.80

\* Given on the recommendation of the Finance Commission.

Source: *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, March, 1965.

A glance at Table II will show that the States have become dependent on the Centre for resources to a very large extent since planning began, specially since the Second Plan. The needs of the States have grown not only on account of the increasing Plan—expenditure but also the necessity of continuing expenditure on completed schemes of earlier Plans to which the States have become committed. Apart from this, State expenditures have gone up because of increases in State Governments' functions in various directions, and increase in salaries and allowances of Government employees from time to time. It is evident that if we take the distribution of functions and sources of revenue in the Constitution as given, the principal way in which the States can fill the gap between their requirements and resources is by large scale transfers of funds from the Centre. This raises a number of problems.

First, in spite of the large and increasing devolution of funds from the Centre to the States, the States still find themselves short of resources. This has been repeatedly stressed by the States before successive Finance Commissions. As Prof. Datta has pointed out in his Note, the States' share of income tax can hardly be raised much above the level of 75 per cent recommended by the Commission due to the large percentage already being transferred and also due to such developments as the annuity deposit scheme. Similarly, while excise duties have grown phenomenally during the last fifteen years due to increases in the number of commodities taxed, increases in rates, rise in prices, and increases in the output of the taxable commodities, many of these factors may not continue to operate to the same extent in the years to come. Even though the share of excise revenue will probably continue to be an important instrument of transfer of resources and its capacity for expansion may not be so limited as feared by Professor Datta, yet the expansion of the yield of these duties may not be so rapid as it has been. One possible direction along which a solution to the problem may be sought is that a larger number of taxes may be made shareable between the Centre and the States—e.g., the Corporation tax may be included in the list of divisible taxes. Again, as pointed out by Professor Datta, full use has not been made of taxes which are to be levied and collected by the Centre but are to be wholly assigned to the States; indeed, a tax which had a good potentiality, the tax on railway fares, has been merged with railway fares, depriving the States of a potentially elastic source of revenue.

There is another side to the picture also. While the transfers from the Centre to the States have to be augmented, it is also true that the States have become accustomed to look to the Centre for resources and are hesitant to exploit fully their own sources of revenue. At present,

the sales tax is the only growing source of revenue for the States. They are reluctant to increase land taxation, for instance, mainly for political reasons, though some States have taken a few steps in recent years. The problem of finding some way of inducing the States to make fuller use of their own resources is an urgent one. Apart from this, the policy of prohibition deprives them of another potential source of revenue, even though there are grave doubts about the extent to which it has been effective in the achievement of its professed aims.

The second problem that arises in the devolution of resources from the Centre to the States is that of inter-State disparity. This is one of the important considerations which successive Finance Commissions have kept before themselves. Adequate measures of backwardness are, however, difficult to devise, and successive Commissions have been charged with neglecting the backward States. Whatever principles of distribution of shared taxes may be adopted (the main one having been population) the beneficiaries tend to be States which are even otherwise relatively well off, and grants-in-aid have had to be used as the principal instrument of reducing inter-State inequalities. This not only reduces certain States to a condition of dependency on the Centre, but also deprives them from the benefits arising from the buoyancy of Central revenues. While grants will have to continue to be used, the widening of the base of tax sharing and the adoption of different principles for sharing different taxes, may, as suggested by Professor Datta, make possible a more flexible scheme of devolution which may take care of the differing circumstances of the various States.

Another important problem that has arisen is due to the evolution of planning and the functioning of the Planning Commission. A large part of the total outlay on the Plans is incurred by the States. But as the resources of the States themselves are inadequate, a substantial part of their Plan outlay is met from resources received by way of Central assistance. This takes the shape of grants as well as loans. Out of the estimated States' Plan outlay of Rs. 1027 crores for 1965-66, the Central contribution was put at Rs. 650 crores, or about 63 per cent. For 1964-65, the estimate of Central assistance was about 61 per cent. The grants are given by the Central Government, on the advice of the Planning Commission, under Article 282 of the Constitution and are thus outside the purview of the Finance Commission as are all loans. Thus, some assistance is channelled to the States on the basis of the recommendations of the Finance Commission,\* and the rest mainly on the advice of the Planning Commission. The First Finance Commission did not draw any distinction between Plan and non-Plan expenditure.

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\* See Table II.

The Second Commission, which was specifically asked to take into account the requirements of the Second Five Year Plan, noted the anomaly arising from the overlapping of the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission. The Third Commission was also specifically asked to take into account the requirements of the Third Five Year Plan. It took an integrated view of the entire revenue budget of a State, whether Plan or non-Plan, as the Plans contain repetitive schemes of a continuing character, the expenditure on which is "committed" and unavoidable, and recommended grants under Article 275 to cover 75 per cent of the revenue component of the State's outlay on the Plan. It felt that the grants would enable the State Governments to plan their affairs on a sounder and more realistic financial base. The Government of India, however, did not accept this recommendation. The terms of reference to the Fourth Finance Commission were so framed as to exclude the States' outlays on the Fourth Plan, and it was only asked to take into account the committed expenditure on the maintenance and upkeep of the completed Third Plan schemes. However, the Commission has taken note of the overlapping functions of the Finance and Planning Commissions and the problem has also been touched upon by Dr. Rajmannar in his supplemental note. The Commission took the view that it was not unconstitutional for it to go into the whole question of the total revenue expenditure, and even the capital expenditure, of the States. However, it felt that as the Planning Commission has been specially constituted for advising the Government of India and the State Governments in this regard, it would not be appropriate for it to take upon itself the task of dealing with the States' new Plan expenditure. Dr. Rajmannar, in his note, also recognized that a body like the Finance Commission cannot operate in the same field as the Planning Commission. However, he felt that the relative scope and functions of the two Commissions should be clearly defined by amending the Constitution and the Planning Commission should be made a statutory body independent of the Government.

It is evident that there is no simple solution to the problem of eliminating or reducing the overlapping of functions of the Planning Commission and the Finance Commission with regard to Central assistance to the States. There can be no doubt that to the extent that Central assistance can be based upon the recommendations of a statutory body like the Finance Commission, the States can be assured of an independent and impartial consideration of their requirements and claims, and their autonomy can be protected from interference by the Centre. The assurance of the availability of funds over a period of years can enable them to plan their programmes more rationally in relation to their long-term needs and to give them a certain flexibility,

making it possible for them to devote their outlays to projects and schemes to which they wish to give priority at any particular time. Knowing the limits of their total resources over a given period they would also be compelled to act with a greater sense of responsibility.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that the present system of making Plan grants available to the States on the basis of annual discussions with the Planning Commission and the Central Ministries has several advantages. In a system of national planning there must be a certain uniformity of approach and a certain amount of co-ordination in matters which are of national importance. It is necessary to prevent each State from going its own way regardless of the consequences of its policies for the national Plan or the national economy. The very idea of planning involves that each State will not act purely in its own interest but in the national interest and that there must be some method of ensuring that they do not lose sight of the national interest. In the event of a conflict between the national interest and the narrower interest of a State, the supremacy of the former must be ensured. In a federal system, the most important instrument of bringing about such a co-ordination can be Central assistance based on agreed priorities. By means of grants and loans for specific purposes, the States can be persuaded to accept and implement schemes of national significance to which they might otherwise have given secondary importance or no importance at all. The States have complained that by means of Central assistance for Plan purposes, they are compelled to take up schemes which often have little or no relevance to their real needs and (in case of matching grants) have been compelled to divert their own resources from channels which are more productive from their point of view. While this is a legitimate complaint, it is not impossible to find a solution to difficulties of this character within the present system. Even in the case of Plan grants, steps can be taken to introduce a greater element of stability by ensuring a certain percentage of the total Plan grants to the States, and permitting the transfer of funds from one head to another over a wider range than is done now. Another advantage of the present system is that there is an annual review of Plan programmes and Plan implementation and further resources are made available to the States in the light of their performance in the preceding year and their emerging and future needs. This brings an element of realism and flexibility in the Plan which might not otherwise be possible. The extent to which they have themselves made efforts to raise and conserve resources of their own can also be taken into account.

While it is probably true to say that the present system does tend to result in excessive Central interference with the States and to make


them excessively dependent on the Centre and, to the extent that this is so, to reduce their own sense of responsibility, yet, the remedy for this is not a complete reversal of the present system and the placing of the entire Central assistance, or a great part of it, in the hands of a body like the Finance Commission. What is required is a modification of the present system so as to make it more flexible.

The suggestion of the Chairman that the Planning Commission should be made a statutory body is an important one and if adopted could meet some of the charges presently levelled against the Planning Commission. On the other hand, the present status of the Planning Commission makes possible a certain measure of flexibility in its working both in relation to the Central and State Governments. In any case, this is a wider question that has to be considered in the light of various factors besides Union-State financial relations.

Before concluding, one other important question may be considered. The appointment of each successive Finance Commission has become an occasion for each State to press its own point of view on the Commission and to reiterate the arguments and facts in support of its views. Even though, by and large, the four Commissions have taken a similar stand on most issues, yet changes have also been introduced in many cases, *e.g.*, with regard to the relative weightage to be given to population and contribution with regard to the division of the proceeds of income tax or with regard to the factors to be taken into account for the distribution of the proceeds of excise duties. Indeed, if they had all stuck to the same stand, there would hardly be any merit in the system of periodical review of Union-State relationship by Finance Commission. All the same, this arrangement, which keeps many questions open to revision, makes for uncertainty (and, therefore, to the repetition of its own claims by each State). In almost all the States, the budgets presented in anticipation of the Commission's Report are framed with the purpose of impressing their particular points of view on the Commission and the budget speeches of the State Finance Ministers tend to acquire the character of memoranda to the Commission. As it is physically not possible for all the States to be satisfied with the dispensation of the Commission, there tends to be widespread dissatisfaction and frustration and a tendency to shift the blame for their own difficulties on to the shoulders of the Commission. To prevent this uncertainty, speculation, periodical distortion of budgets and recurring dissatisfaction, the suggestion of Dr. Rajmanner that a definite allocation of the divisible taxes as between the Union and the States and the distribution of the net proceeds among the States may be laid down in the Constitution itself, after careful examination by

a competent body, deserves to be seriously considered. If such a provision is made, only grants-in-aid will have to be periodically determined by a Finance Commission or any other similar body.

All the questions referred to above have a serious impact on Union-State financial relationship. Fifteen years have now elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution. Many developments have taken place during these fifteen years that were not then visualized. A review of the developments in the field of Union-State financial relationship, specially the developments resulting from the evolution of national planning, and a fresh examination of all aspects of the problems arising from them is now called for. As the enquiry will have to be a comprehensive one, including the consideration of possible amendments to the Constitution, the task can only be entrusted to a special Commission to be set up for the purpose as suggested by the Finance Commission.



## RANKING CANDIDATES IN A COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION—A CASE STUDY

*W. N. Deshmukh & B. S. Murty*

In an interesting article on "Ranking Candidates at a Competitive Examination" in Vol. XI, No. 1, issue of Jan.-Mar., 1965, of this Journal, Shri J. R. Rao has drawn attention to the deficiencies of the prevalent method of ranking in examinations, particularly competitive examinations, and to the urgent necessity of introducing a more scientific method in its place. As it is today, in all examinations held by universities or Government agencies like Public Service Commission, candidates achieving the minimum required standard in each subject are ranked or graded on basis of their aggregate marks. According to the prevalent practice, these aggregate marks are arrived at by a simple addition of marks scored by the candidates in the individual subjects. The intention behind this practice is to give equal weightage to each subject and to the candidate's proficiency in it. However, the prevalent method fails to translate this intention into actual practice because subjects are not uniform in their mark fetching value.

When Shri Rao's article appeared in this *Journal*, the authors of this paper were, of their own, engaged in applying a somewhat more refined form of the method of ranking advocated by Shri Rao to the results of the written examination held by the Union Public Service Commission for admission to the National Defence Academy. The results of this study are given in some detail further below. Our study illustrates by a practical example the extent of differences in ranking obtainable by the prevalent method and the new method. In addition, we have also tried to elaborate how this method can also be used to iron out examiner to examiner differences and differences arising due to use of different media of expression.

### SUBJECT TO SUBJECT DIFFERENCES

Shri Rao has in his article attempted to explain how candidates of comparable competence may not have an equal advantage because of the different combinations of subjects taken by them for the examination—subjects with varying mark-fetching capacity. It may be added that such equal advantage under the prevalent system of ranking is not there even when the subjects of the examination are the same for all. For example, suppose there is a competitive examination consisting of two papers: one in English and the other in Mathematics. Both papers are equally important for selection purposes and carry 200 marks each. Let us suppose also that 99 candidates have appeared for the examination. The highest score obtained is 140 in English and 180 in Mathematics. The average score of the group is 90 in English

and 110 in Mathematics. Two candidates *A* and *B* obtain marks and positions in the two subjects as follows:

Candidate	Position in		Marks in		Total Marks
	English	Maths.	English	Maths.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	1	50	140	110	250
B	50	1	90	180	270

So far as their position in the group is concerned, *A* tops in English and is at average in Mathematics. Conversely, *B* tops in Mathematics and is at average in English. Their overall competence is, therefore, comparable. Even then, under the prevalent system of ranking on basis of simple addition of marks (columns 6 in the above table) *B* is placed in a higher position than *A*. This is because, the mark-fetching value of the two subjects is not the same. Putting statistically, the spreads of the two distributions (on the two subjects) are not alike and are not around the same average. To take this aspect into account, a more scientific method of ranking has to be employed in place of the prevalent method of ranking on basis of simple raw score totals.

The purpose of an examination, particularly of a competitive examination, is to determine the relative position of a candidate in the group. Where there is only one subject for the examination, the problem is simple. But, when there are more than one subject, the relative position of the candidate in each subject must be taken into account while determining his final rank in the examination. This can be done by calculating the average and standard deviation of the marks obtained by entire group in each subject and by finding how much above or below each candidate is from the average. In other words, an estimate of the relative rank of each candidate in each subject needs to be obtained. It is this estimate which Rao has called as "a standardised score in a subject" in his paper. These standardised scores of Shri Rao would necessarily be in fractions, proper or not, but never greater than 3.00 if the normality assumption of the distribution holds good and have to be regarded with proper positive or negative signs which, can, however, be conveniently avoided if the standardised scores of Rao are multiplied by 10 to which 50 is added. The scores thus obtained may be called Z-scores. These Z-scores for each subject may be rounded off and added to obtain the summed equivalent score of the candidate in the examination. The final rank of each candidate in the examination will be determined on the basis of this summed equivalent score. This could be valid when equal weight is given for all subjects in the examination. When differential weightage has to be given for the various subjects, corresponding adjustments can be made for the Z-scores in each subject, after which they can be added for each candidate to obtain his summed equivalent score.

Using Rao's notation, consider  $Y_{ij} = \frac{X_{ij} - \bar{X}_i}{S_i}$  where  $Y_{ij}$  is the standardised score of  $j$ th candidate in the  $i$ th subject when the raw score of this  $j$ th candidate in the  $i$ th subject is  $X_{ij}$ .  $\bar{X}_i$  is the average score and  $S_i$  the standard deviation of the group in the  $i$ th subject. Our Z-score is simply this  $Y_{ij}$  multiplied by 10 to which 50 is added.

The Z-scores obtained in each subject, would form a distribution with the average at 50 and the standard deviation as 10. The Z-scores of each candidate are added to obtain his summed equivalent score in the examination.\*

### *Application of the Method*

To find out how the final results and the ranking patterns obtainable by the two methods (the prevalent method and the one suggested) would compare with each other, an attempt was made by the authors to apply the new method to the results of 2,598 candidates who appeared at the written examination, held by the Union Public Service Commission in May, 1962 for entry to the National Defence Academy (NDA). All the candidates have to appear in the same three subjects of the examination, namely, English, General Knowledge and Current Affairs, and Mathematics. Each subject carries 300 marks and the total marks for the written examination are 900. In order to qualify in this examination a candidate has to obtain a minimum of 33 per cent in each subject and 40 per cent in the aggregate. Those who qualify have to further appear for interview before Services Selection Boards (SSBs). The maximum marks for interview are 900 and the minimum qualifying marks 40 per cent. Out of 2,598 candidates who took the written test 1,204 qualified in it. Of the latter 1,164 candidates appeared before SSBs and only 382 qualified finally. The first 254 in the final merit list alone were detailed for the NDA training.

The comparative study of the two rank structures has been for reasons of limited time confined only to the written examination level; the marks awarded by the Selection Boards in interview have not been taken into account. For purposes of the study it was further presumed that all candidates who obtained 40 per cent or more marks in the aggregate qualified in the test, and the minimum qualifying requirements in the individual subjects have not been taken into consideration. These limitations, however, do not in any way affect the main purpose of this study which is primarily to demonstrate the difference between the results obtained by the two methods.

From the original raw score distributions for the three subjects separately, averages and standard deviations were worked out. The average marks worked out to 116.8 in English, to 138.60 in General Knowledge to 120.90 in Mathematics. The standard deviations worked out to 43.16 in English, to 41.41 in General Knowledge, to 62.90 in Mathematics. On the basis of these averages and standard deviations, equivalent scores (Z-scores) have been calculated for the various subjects separately by the method outlined earlier.

\* For details, please see Garret H.E., *Statistics in Psychology and Education*, New York, Longman Green, 1958.

The Z-scores for the corresponding raw scores in the three subjects are as follows:

Raw Score	Z-Scores in		
	English	General Knowledge	Mathematics
1	23	17	31
5	24	18	32
10	25	19	32
20	28	21	34
30	30	24	36
40	32	26	37
50	35	29	39
60	37	31	40
70	39	33	42
80	42	36	43
90	44	38	45
100	46	41	47
110	48	43	48
120	51	45	50
130	53	48	51
140	55	50	53
150	58	53	55
160	60	55	56
170	62	58	58
180	65	60	59
190	67	62	61
200	69	65	63
210	72	67	64
220	74	70	66
230	76	72	67
240	79	74	69
250	81	77	71
260	83	79	72
270	86	82	74
280	88	84	75
290	90	86	77
300	93	89	78

The above table clearly shows that the same raw scores indicate different levels of achievements in different subjects. For example, a raw score of 120 indicates a slightly above average level in English, just average level in Mathematics and a little below average level in General Knowledge. This is best reflected by an equivalent (z) score of 51 in English, 50 in Mathematics and

45 in General Knowledge which all correspond to the same raw score of 120 in the table given opposite.

*Pass/Fail Criterion:* There were 1490 candidates who obtained 40 per cent or above marks in the aggregate and may be considered as qualified by the existing method (simple addition of raw scores).<sup>\*</sup> If the first 1,490 candidates were to be chosen on the basis of their summed equivalent scores (calculated by the Z-score method), the agreement or difference between the results obtained by the two methods is as follows:

*By Present Method*

		Pass Candidates	Fail Candidates	Total
<i>By Suggested Z-Score Method</i>	Pass Candidates	1,455	35	1,490
	Fail Candidates	35	1,073	1,108
Total		1,490	1,108	2,598

It would be seen that 1,455 candidates would have passed and 1,073 failed by both the methods. 35 candidates who are accepted by one method are rejected by the other and *vice versa*. Thus the disagreement between the two methods works out to 2.69 per cent (*i.e.*, in 70 cases out of 2,598).

*Rank Structure :* The 2,598 candidates who appeared for the written examination were ranked separately by both the methods. The difference between the two rank structures is shown in the following table :

Difference of		Number (frequency) of cases in which it occurred	Percentage of cases in which it occurred
Zero ranks		19	0.73
Less than 10 ranks		412	15.86
at least 10 but less than 20	20	314	12.09
" " 20 " "	30	296	11.39
" " 30 " "	40	264	10.16
" " 40 " "	50	197	7.58
" " 50 " "	60	156	6.00
" " 60 " "	70	137	5.27
" " 70 " "	80	133	5.12
" " 80 " "	90	100	3.85
" " 90 " "	100	105	4.04
100 and above		465	17.90
		2,598	100.00

<sup>\*</sup> The actual number of candidates who qualified was only 1,207 as there was also the additional requirement of obtaining a minimum of 33 per cent marks in each individual subject.

Thus less than 1 per cent of the candidates maintain identical ranks in the two merit lists prepared by the two methods under the comparison. A difference of 50 ranks and above occurs in 42.18 per cent of the cases, and a difference of 100 ranks and above (quite large and significant in a competitive examination) in as many as 17.9 per cent of the cases. Thus the difference between the two rank structures is apparently considerable. The difference is also found to be statistically significant.\*

After having considered so far how the subject to subject differences can be taken into account, we may now proceed to consider differences arising from the evaluation of the same papers by different examiners or due to answering them in different languages.

#### EXAMINER TO EXAMINER DIFFERENCES

$A_{11}$  candidate may get different scores when examined by two examiners independently on the same subject. Or more generally, consider the case where examiner  $E_1$  assessed the answer books of group  $G_1$  of candidates and Examiner  $E_2$  of group  $G_2$ .  $A_{11}$  candidate belongs to  $G_1$  group, and  $A_{21}$  to  $G_2$  group. *It is presumed that all the groups of candidates are comparable and have come from the same population.* As in the case of "subject to subject differences", we shall assume normality of the distribution for the scores of all the candidates put together. Now consider the following results of the candidates  $A_{11}$  and  $A_{21}$  along with the group averages to which they belonged. Suppose for the time being that there is only one subject for the examination, the general case being discussed at a latter stage.

Candidate	Marks obtained	Average score of the group to which the candidate belonged	Examiner who tested
$A_{11}$	50	55	$E_1$
$A_{21}$	50	45	$E_2$

If the examiner to examiner differences are not considered,  $A_{11}$  and  $A_{21}$  stand at par. But in reality  $A_{11}$  is rated as below average by Examiner  $E_1$ , while  $A_{21}$  is assessed above average by Examiner  $E_2$ . When the groups  $G_1$  and  $G_2$  have been obtained by a random process from the same population,

\* The rank correlation for the two rank structures works out to 0.9946. If every candidate had obtained the same rank by the two methods, the rank difference in respect of each candidate would be zero, and the rank correlation would be equal to unity (1.00). Any difference between the rank structures obtained by the two methods would be shown by the deviation of our rank correlation of 0.9946 from unity. Although this rank correlation of 0.9946 is very large, the difference between 0.9946 and unity (1.00) was found to be significant when tested by Fisher's Z-transformation test. For the details of the test, please see R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, London, Oliver and Boyd, (12th Ed.)

the above results have to be interpreted objectively. It is possible that the standard of assessment of  $E_1$  is more liberal when compared to that of  $E_2$ . This is why the average score of group  $G_1$  has been inflated by 10 marks when compared with the average score of group  $G_2$ . Therefore had  $E_1$  followed the same standard of assessment as that of  $E_2$  then the marks of  $A_{11}$  would have been less than what they are. This is why the examiner to examiner differences need to be considered before finally ranking the candidates. If there are more than 2 examiners, the method may be applied in the manner indicated in the table below :

Examiner	Group of Candidates tested	Candidates tested	Average	S.D.
$E_1$	$G_1$	$A_{11}, A_{12}, A_{13}$	$M_1$	$S_1$
$E_2$	$G_2$	$A_{21}, A_{22}, A_{23}$	$M_2$	$S_2$
$E_n$	$G_n$	$A_{n1}, A_{n2}, A_{n3}$	$M_n$	$S_n$

From the raw scores, the means and standard deviations are calculated. In each group, there are sufficient number of candidates so that their averages and standard deviations are not misleading owing to the smallness of the data. The Z-score of each candidate in each group can be obtained as follows :

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{For group} \\ G_i \text{ of} \\ \text{Candidates} \end{array} \right\} \frac{X - M_i}{S_i} = \frac{Z - 50}{10}$$

where  $X$  is the raw score,  $Z$ , the Z-score to be obtained,  $M_i$  &  $S_i$  are average and standard deviations of the group.

Each Z-score distribution of a group has an average 50 and standard deviation 10 and therefore, the Z-score of the different candidates coming from various groups can safely be compared. The Z-scores of all the candidates can be put together, arranged in order of magnitude, and the candidates ranked on this basis.

#### DIFFERENCES DUE TO MEDIA OF EXPRESSION

To illustrate these differences let us think of two candidates who have got the same amount of grasp of a subject. One took the examination in Hindi and the other in English. Both the candidates are examined by an examiner, who presumably studied the subject in Hindi as well as in English. The candidate who answered in Hindi got 50 per cent and the other who answered in English got 55 per cent. How do we account for this difference when both of them had the same grasp and are assessed by the same examiner, i.e., under the same standard of assessment? It is possible that "English" facilitates better expressions and therefore the answers given in English can

be more mark-fetching. Such a situation can also be dealt with on the same ration alementioned earlier and the method, using a similar notation, would be as follows :

Medium of Expression	Group using this medium	Candidates using this medium	Average Marks	Standard deviation
$L_1$	$G_1$	$A_{11}, A_{12}$	$M_1$	$S_1$
$L_2$	$G_2$	$A_{21}, A_{22}$	$M_2$	$S_2$
$L_3$	$G_3$	$A_{31}, A_{32}$	$M_3$	$S_3$
$L_n$	$G_n$	$A_{n1}, A_{n2}$	$M_n$	$S_n$

Presuming the same conditions as we did earlier in the case of examiner to examiner differences, the Z-scores of each candidate in the  $i$  the group can be calculated from the formula

$$\frac{Z-50}{10} = \frac{X-M_i}{S_i}$$

A situation where some or all these differences occur simultaneously can be dealt with on similar lines. The method will be the same as discussed earlier. For the sake of clarification, it may be briefly outlined here. There are different subjects for the examination. Each candidate can make his choice of the medium of expression. For the same candidate this medium of expression need not necessarily be same for all subjects. There are different examiners assessing the answer sheets in each of the subjects and in each of the media of expression. Then the totality of the candidates may be divided into groups as follows :

$G_{ijk}$  is the group of candidates who answered their  $i$ th subject in  $j$ th medium and were examined by  $k$ th examiner. By this process, the candidates can be grouped in such a way that all candidates in each group have taken the same subjects, chose the same media of expression for these different subjects, and got their answer papers assessed by the same set of examiners. Then the average and standard deviation for the candidates in each group can be calculated and using the formula as given above, the Z-score of each candidate in each group is obtained. The Z-scores of each candidate in different subjects are added to give his summed equivalent score. These scores put together determines the final rank of each candidate in the examination. This method will not be justified when there are many groups for, there are a small number of candidates in each group. When this is so, the group means and standard deviations are not reliable. The way-out would be to wait till a few more examinations are over when the data can be consolidated and the group size increased. The results of such consolidated data can be used for the next examination. For any subsequent examination, the results of the examination in the recent past must be consulted because the limitations which we have just mentioned would vary in degree and direction from time to time.

## INSTITUTE NEWS

The Director represented the Institute at the XIII Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences which was held in Paris from July 19 to 23, 1965. The agenda for discussion was as follows :

(1) How the functioning of the administration is affected by the people under it (excluding electoral law); (2) New techniques of preparation of budget; and (3) Administrative set-up of public enterprises. The Director was appointed a member of the Working Party on "Handbook of Training in the Public Services" set up by the United Nations, and attended the meeting of the Working Party held in Paris from July 24 to 30.

The Annual Day of the School was celebrated on July 15, 1965. *Shri M. C. Chagla*, Union Minister for Education, presided over the function, and awarded certificates of Master's Diploma in Public Administration to successful candidates. The Eighth, i.e., 1965-66, session of the Master's Diploma Course in Public Administration, commenced the same day. Students admitted to the Course include 11 officers deputed by the State Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and 6 officers from the Government of India. Two officers were nominated by the Government of Laos also. The first term of the Course was also attended by 13 probationers of the Delhi-Himachal Pradesh Civil Service.

The sixth eight-week Training Course for officers of the Ministry of Home Affairs was organized from July 26 to September 18, 1965.

At the instance of and in association with the Department of Administrative Reforms of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, the Institute's School has also organized from August 19 to October 1, 1965, the second eight-week Appreciation Course on "Techniques of Administration Improvement" for officers of the level of Deputy and Under Secretaries in the Central Ministries and officers of comparative level in the State Governments.

The Eleventh Annual General Meeting of the General Body of the Institute was held on Saturday, the 30th October, 1965. On account of unforeseen change in the programme of the President of the Institute, *Shri Asoka Mehta*, Chairman of the Executive Council, presided over the meeting. *Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri*, the Prime Minister of India, was unanimously re-elected President of the Institute for the year 1965-66. The Executive Council, at its sixty-fifth meeting, held immediately after the Annual General Meeting, re-elected *Shri Asoka Mehta* as its Chairman for the year 1965-66, *Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda* as a Vice President for a period of 2 years, and also re-co-opted *Shri S. Bhoothalingam*, *Shri Dharam Vira*, *Shri H. C. Mathur*, *Shri L. P. Singh*, and *Shri Tarlok Singh*, as its Members. The Council further appointed Standing Committee for the year 1965-66, consisting of *Shri Asoka Mehta* (Chairman), *Shri S. Bhoothalingam*, *Shri D. S. Joshi*, *Shri Shantilal Kothari*, *Shri H. C. Mathur*, *Shri H. M. Patel*, *Shri S. Ranganathan*, *Shri L. P. Singh*, and *Dr. J. N. Khosla* (Director and Secretary).



## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION\*

Recent months have witnessed an intensification of the efforts of the Government at the Centre and in the States to effect reforms in the Government machinery of Government. The Government of India set up on January 5, 1966, the Commission of Inquiry to be called the Administrative Reforms Commission, under the chairmanship of *Shri Morarji R. Desai, M.P.*, to examine the public administration of the country and make recommendations for reform, and re-organization where necessary. This is for the first time that a comprehensive inquiry into public administration in India will be undertaken from an all-India perspective. "The Commission will give consideration to the need for ensuring the highest standards of efficiency and integrity in the public services, and for making public administration a fit instrument for carrying out the social and economic policies of the Government and achieving social and economic goals of development, as also one which is responsive to the people. In particular the Commission will consider the following: (1) the machinery of the Government of India and its procedures of work; (2) the machinery for planning at all levels; (3) Centre-State relationships; (4) financial administration; (5) personnel administration; (6) economic administration; (7) administration at the State level; (8) district administration; (9) agricultural administration; and (10) problems of redress of citizens grievances." Some of the issues to be examined under each

head are listed in the schedule to this Resolution. The Commission may exclude from its purview the detailed examination of administration of defence, railways, external affairs, security and intelligence work, as also subjects such as educational administration already being examined by a separate commission. The Commission will, however, be free to take the problems of these sectors into account in recommending re-organization of the machinery of the Government as a whole or of any of its common service agencies.

Other members of the Commission include: (i) *Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, M.P.*, (ii) *Shri H. C. Mathur, M.P.*; (iii) *Shri G. S. Pathak, M.P.*; (iv) *Shri H. V. Kamath, M.P.*; and (v) *Shri V. Shankar, I.C.S., Member-Secretary.*

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Ministry of Works and Housing, an officer-oriented administrative set-up, aimed at cutting red-tape and ensuring quick decisions, has been introduced in the Works Division of the Ministry. The Division will work directly under a Joint Secretary, who will have 2 Deputy Secretaries and 6 officers of the rank of Under Secretaries. There will be a Central Registry consisting of 1 Supervisor and 3 subordinates, which will process all the files and submit them direct to the officers for decisions. Under the re-organized arrangements posts of Assistants will be reduced from 20 to 1, and of Lower

\* This feature covers the two quarters—July-September and October-December, as the last issue of the Journal was a Special Number on "Collector in the Nineteen Sixties".

Division Clerks, from 9 to 4, and a number of posts of Under Secretaries, Section Officers and Upper Division Clerks will be abolished. The system, if found useful and effective, may also be tried in other Ministries of the Central Government.

The Government of India has accepted many of the recommendations of the Study Team on the Central Public Works Department, appointed under the chairmanship of *Shri M. Govinda Reddy*, Member, Rajya Sabha, to go into the reorganization of the structure and works procedures of the C.P.W.D. A digest of the recommendations of the Study-Team appears at p. 788 of the Journal.

The Government of India has constituted a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri K. I. Vidyasagar*, Joint Secretary, Union Ministry of Labour & Employment, to undertake a comprehensive survey of the various matters connected with the administration/enforcement of the Minimum Wage Act, 1948.

On behalf of the Government of India, M/s. Booz, Allen & Hamilton International Inc. (Bahint) of U.S.A. has undertaken a study of the information gathering procedures of the Directorate General of Technical Development in the Union Ministry of Industry and Supply.

The Government of Punjab has set up a Rationalization Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri Kapur Singh*, Minister for Finance, to appraise the working of the Inspectorate system in the State and suggest improvements.

The Government of Bihar has set up an Administrative Reforms Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri Nawal Kishore Pandit Sinha*.

The Government of Kerala has set up an Administrative Reorganization and Economy Committee, under

the chairmanship of *Shri M. K. Vellodi*, I.C.S. (retd.), to examine in detail the administrative machinery and the procedures for transacting business in the offices of the Government at all levels, and suggest measures necessary for achieving the maximum economy compatible with security, efficiency and the paramount needs of the planned development of the State. The Committee will pay particular attention to the following matters: (i) distribution of functions between the State Governments and local authorities; (ii) logical and convenient allocation of work among the different department of the Government; (iii) organization of departments at all levels; State, Region, District and below; (iv) constitution and the structure of the State and the Subordinate Services; (v) delegation of administrative and financial powers among the officers of the Government at different levels; (vi) expenditure on travelling allowances, supplies and services and contingencies and on construction of buildings; and (vii) the pattern of subsidies and grants-in-aid and its rationalization.

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has abolished the State Subordinate Services Selection Board, and constituted a Cabinet sub-committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri D. P. Dhar*, Home Minister, to rationalize policy regarding recruitment of subordinate Government employees.

With a view to streamlining and improving the working of the administration in the State, the Government of Rajasthan has also taken the following measures: (1) A Committee of Administration and Direction, under the chairmanship of the chief Secretary, has been set up to periodically review the processes of administration and to take appropriate decisions thereon. A special officer has been appointed in the

O & M Department, who will, with the help of a research and study unit, examine the working of different departments from the point of view of the organizational set-up, need for any policy changes, and general administrative working. (2) Maintenance of a job chart so that actual performance can be judged against prescribed physical targets. (3) The State is being divided into regions to be categorized good, bad and indifferent from the point of view of the amenities it provides, and the difficult nature of the tasks which are to be performed, etc. Every officer shall serve for a minimum period of time in the difficult areas. The I.A.S. officers would normally be placed in charge of a district only after completing 8 years service, having also worked in miscellaneous departments like Taxation, Settlement, and as Block Development Officers under the Panchayat Raj administration. Officers would also spend some time in the Secretariat before they are given a district charge. (4) Senior experienced officers would be posted in important districts. Detailed study is being undertaken into the working of district set-up to help rationalize the work of the District Collector and give him additional assistance. (5) Postings for key position would be worked out in advance for a period of 4 or 5 years, and the minimum stay by a Government officer on one position would be 3 years. For technical and special jobs for which the aptitude and experience of the officer is beneficial, he may be required to stay longer. (6) Proper recognition will be given for merit in the form of assignment to good districts, appointment on jobs which carry special pay, and re-employment. Fifty per cent of vacancies would be filled in promotion posts on the basis of merit alone, as against the usual formula of seniority-cum-merit. This will prove to be an incentive for good work. As a safeguard, it has been

provided that the number of officers to be considered for merit promotion would be 10 times the number of vacancies available. Ten per cent posts in the subordinate services would be filled by a restrictive competitive examination from amongst the ministerial services alone. (7) Rules relating leave, pay, pension, promotion, etc., which affect the Government servant at every step, are being examined by the Committee with a view to their simplification and rationalization. A Work Study Cell in the O & M Department has also been set up for the purpose.

The Government of West Bengal has re-organized its Home (Publicity) Department and re-designated it as "The Department of Information and Public Relations". The new Department will have two Divisions, namely, the Information Division, and the Public Relations Division, each under a separate Director, who will be directly responsible to the State Government in respect of the subject allotted to each Division.

\* \* \*

The Union Ministry of Works and Housing has set up a Central Metric Cell in the National Buildings Organization, to expedite implementation of the metric system in the building industry.

The Union Ministry of Health has, in collaboration with the UNICEF, decided to set up the Central Health Organization to co-ordinate and guide the activities of the State Health Transport Organizations in fleet management, spare parts management, maintenance, repairs, etc., of vehicles engaged in Health Programme in Delhi area.

The Government of Assam has set up an Evaluation Unit as a wing of the Planning and Development

Department, under a Director who is also Joint Secretary of the Department, for objective and purposeful assessment of the progress and impact of development schemes.

The Government of Maharashtra has set up a Public Relations Organization (Defence Efforts) in the General Administration Department of the State, for assisting the public and various organizations that are interested in participating in the defence efforts. The Organization is in charge of a Deputy Secretary, and works in close liaison with other Government Departments.

The Government of Maharashtra has established a separate Directorate for the Employees' State Insurance Scheme, independent of the Surgeon General's Office which was administering the scheme hitherto. The Surgeon General will be *ex-officio* Director dealing with only policy matters pertaining to the scheme, and the Deputy Director, Employee's State Insurance Scheme, will be in executive charge of the new Directorate.

The State Government has also renamed the "Vital Statistics Section" of the Directorate of Health Services, West Bengal, as the "State Bureau of Health Intelligence, West Bengal".

The Government of West Bengal has reconstituted the Panchayats Branch of the erstwhile Local Self-Government and Panchayats Department, with a separate Department of Panchayats, under the Secretary to the Government.

\* \* \*

The Government of India has set up five groups under the chairmanship of *Major-General Harkirat Singh*, Adviser (Construction), Planning Commission, to study the different

aspects of economy and productivity in the construction industry in the country.

The Planning Commission has, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, established a Computer Centre with four sections, *i.e.*, electronic computation, tabulation and accounting, punching and verifying, and library and general matters, for processing and analysis of economic and statistical data. Its services will be available for analytical work of the Programme Evaluation Organization as well as of divisions of the Planning Commission, and other research institutions.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has appointed a Committee for preparing a comprehensive industrial plan for the private sector in the Fourth Plan, and for suggesting measures to attract private investments.

\* \* \*

The Planning Commission has decided to set up the Desert Development Board to advise on schemes for reclamation of desert areas in Rajasthan, Punjab and Gujarat.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has appointed a Committee on Water Resources, with *Shri N. D. Gulati*, Consultant, Water Resources Development, as its Chairman. The terms of reference of the Committee are: (1) to prepare, in outline, an adequate and realistic plan for the development of water resources of the State, with particular reference to the development of irrigation as a means of increasing agricultural production; (2) to supervise the preparation of master plans of different river systems, and advise the Government on the development works to be undertaken in accordance with them; and (3) to examine the adequacy of the present organization of

the Irrigation Department, and recommend improvements necessary for ensuring the desired quantum and pace of development.

\* \* \*

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has promulgated the Uttar Pradesh Vigilance Establishment Ordinance, to make statutory provision to empower the officers of the Directorate of Vigilance to function as Police Officers, to apply to them the Police Act and the rules and regulations made thereunder.

\* \* \*

The Government of India has set up a Central Forestry Commission, with the Inspector General of Forests in the Union Department of Agriculture as its Chairman. It will be a technical body, and will carry out advisory and liaison functions in accordance with the general directions issued by the Central Board of Forestry to which it is responsible.

A panel of 20 leading agriculturists from various States has also been constituted by the Union Government, under the chairmanship of the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, to advise the Government of India on the implementation of various agricultural programmes in different fields.

The Government of Kerala has constituted an Agriculture Consultative Committee, with the Adviser to the Governor as its Chairman, to advise and assist the Government in the implementation of agricultural production programme (including irrigation and soil conservation) in the State.

\* \* \*

The Government of India has constituted a Committee, headed by

*Shri B. N. Lokur*, Secretary, Ministry of Law, to determine the progress made by "backward areas" on the country's borders. The Committee will also suggest measures to accelerate the pace of development.

The Social Security Department of the Government of India has raised the stipends for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes trainees in various Industrial Training Centres under the Craftsmen Training Scheme from Rs. 25 to Rs. 45 per month from the current academic year. Provision has also been made for funds for hostel accommodation to trainees belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at these centres.

\* \* \*

The Government of Assam has constituted an Advisory Committee for Women's Education for each of the seven School Inspectors' Circles, with official and non-official members, to survey the local conditions, study the problems that generally stand in the way of women's education, and suggest remedies, and to chalk out plan and programme for expansion and development of women's education.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has constituted a Committee, with *Shri B. A. Mandloi*, MLA, and a former Chief Minister, as its Chairman, to make recommendations on revision of the existing rules and procedure regulating payment of grants-in-aid to non-Government educational institutions, rationalization of the present rates of tuition fees and other fees charged in Government and non-Government educational institutions, improvement in the standard of education and programme for a balanced all-round development of education.

With a view to giving impetus to girls' education, the State Government has exempted all girl-students whether studying in schools, exclusively meant for girls, or co-educational schools, from the payment of tuition fees up to the end of the stage of Higher Secondary education.

The Government of Punjab has launched a national loan scholarship scheme to provide financial assistance to needy and meritorious students, so as to enable them to complete their education, and to give an incentive to them to take up teaching as a profession.

\* \* \*

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has constituted a Committee, headed by *Shri Banshidhar Pande*, Parliamentary Secretary, to supervise the work of mobilization of rural manpower.

The Government of West Bengal has established a Regional Labour Institute at Calcutta, to deal with the scientific study of all aspects of industrial development as relating to human factor. Four more Regional Labour Institutes will be set up during the Fourth Five Year Plan.

\* \* \*

With a view to facilitating recruitment of engineers and doctors to the defence services, the Government of Assam, Maharashtra and Madras have decided that all the new entrants to the medical and engineering services (Class I and II) should be made liable to serve in the Armed Forces for a minimum period of four years, or on work relating to defence efforts, anywhere in India or abroad, if so required. The liability to serve in the Armed Forces will be limited to the first ten years of service and will not, ordinarily, apply to graduate

engineers above 40 years of age, or to doctors above 45 years of age.

The Government of Rajasthan has decided to extend the age of superannuation from 58 to 60 years (subject to medical fitness) for doctors in Government service, including non-clinical teaching members of medical colleges of the rank of demonstrators and above.

\* \* \*

The Government of Maharashtra has appointed a Pay Commission, with *Mr. Justice G. B. Badkas* as its Chairman, to review and rationalize the pay structure to the extent possible having due regard to Government's other financial commitments, and its resources, and also with reference to the pay scales pertaining to corresponding levels of responsibility in the various services under the Government of India and other States.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has, with effect from August 1, increased the emoluments of the teaching and non-teaching staff of educational institutions from elementary to degree stages.

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The Government of Assam has sanctioned, with effect from December, 1964, an *ad hoc* dearness allowance of Rs. 10 per month to all Government servants drawing pay up to Rs. 250 p.m. in the revised (1964) scales, with marginal adjustments up to Rs. 260, and up to Rs. 180 p.m. in the pre-1964 scales, with marginal adjustments up to Rs. 190.

The Government of West Bengal has decided, with effect from March 1, 1965, to give dearness allowance at the following revised rates: Rs. 10

for pay up to Rs. 150; Rs. 20 for pay between Rs. 151-300, Rs. 30 for pay between Rs. 301-600; and for pay between Rs. 601-629, an amount by which pay falls short of Rs. 630.

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The Government of India has taken the following decisions in respect of the house rent allowance admissible to Central Government employees: (1) House rent allowance has been extended to employees in towns with a population of 50,000 and above but below 100,000 at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 7.50. (2) The existing pay-limit of Rs. 250 per month for drawing house rent allowance without obtaining and verification of rent receipts has been raised to Rs. 500 per month. The following are the revised rates of house rent allowance: (a) For 'A' and 'B1' Class cities—Rs. 15 for pay below Rs. 100; for pay in the range of Rs. 100-300 at 15 per cent of pay subject to a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 300. (b) For 'B2' Class cities—Rs. 10 for pay below Rs. 100; for pay of Rs. 100 and above at 10 per cent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 15 and a maximum of Rs. 300. For 'C' Class cities—for pay below Rs. 500 at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 7.50; for pay of Rs. 500 and above, amount by which pay falls short of Rs. 536.

The Government of India has decided that the families of all persons belonging to the Defence Forces killed in action on the front from August 5, 1965 onwards will be entitled to special family pension, equal to two-thirds of the last pay drawn for a period of seven years and, thereafter, at fifty per cent over existing rate of special family pension applicable to them. These orders will also be applicable to disability pension in respect of all persons injured in action on the front, and

whose disability is hundred per cent. The concessions will also apply to those who were killed in action or disabled to an extent of 80 per cent and above as a result of the Chinese aggression in 1962. Separation and travel allowances will be given to the officers whose families have moved from certain operational areas along the border. Special family allowance for wives and children which is now admissible at 45 per cent of the last pay drawn in the case of missing persons has also been raised to two-thirds of pay.

As in the case of Services personnel, the Police personnel, who were or are killed, or disabled to the extent of 75 per cent, in the current operations against Pakistan on or after August 5, 1965, will also be eligible to Family Pension to the extent of two-thirds of the salary for the period of seven years. Thereafter, pension would be given at the rate which would be 50 per cent more than the current rate.

The pensionary benefits of civilian Central Government servants killed or injured, while on duty, by enemy action, including by Pakistani paratroopers or infiltrators, in the operations against Pakistan on or after August 5, 1965 have also been enhanced. The pensionary award to the family of a Government servant who is killed will, for the first seven years, be two-thirds of the basic pay last drawn by him, and thereafter  $\frac{3}{4}$  times the normal entitlement subject to the maximum of two-thirds of basic pay last drawn. In respect of those who are injured and invalided, the normal pensionary entitlements will be enhanced by 50 per cent, subject to a maximum of two-thirds of the basic pay last drawn. This will not apply to those Government servants who are governed by the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923.

The Government of India has enhanced the compulsory rate of provident fund contribution from 6½ per cent to 8 per cent in all coffee plantations, which are covered by the Employees' Provident Fund Act, and which employ 50 or more persons.

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The Union Ministry of Labour and Employment has instituted the "Shram Vir National Awards Scheme" for rewarding useful suggestions made by industrial workers on productivity, economy and greater efficiency. It will be open only to such undertakings as have suggestion schemes of their own. There will be five prizes in Class I, with a reward of Rs. 2,000 each, ten prizes in Class II, of Rs. 1,000 each, and 20 prizes in Class III, of Rs. 500 each.

The Government of Maharashtra has introduced a "Suggestions Scheme", with effect from August 15, 1965, for stimulating original thinking among Government servants, and improving efficiency and output in Government offices. The Scheme is applicable to all Departments of the State Government, and it will be open to all categories of staff, technical and non-technical, irrespective of their rank and status. Cash awards up to Rs. 1,000 per suggestion, depending upon the value of the each suggestion will be sanctioned by a Central Committee, headed by the Chief Secretary. The awards will be made only for suggestions which are accepted for implementation, after careful scrutiny and study.

The Government of Rajasthan has also formulated a scheme for grant of rewards to Government servants for exceptional devotion to duty.

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The Union Ministry of Works and Housing has requested the State Governments and Union Territories, to grant a joint loan to a husband and wife under the Low-Income Group Housing Scheme for the construction of a house on a plot of land jointly owned by them provided their income does not exceed Rs. 6,000 per annum.

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The Government of India has appointed a Committee, headed by *Shri M. Venugopalan*, Member, Central Water and Power Commission, New Delhi, to study the upward revision of D.V.C. power tariff, taking into account the financial position of the D.V.C. and the State Electricity Boards of West Bengal and Bihar. It will keep in view the commitments to the World Bank regarding minimum return, and the recommendation of the Venkataraman Committee on the working of electricity undertakings, and will also give its view on whether, pending the D.V.C.'s decision on the basis of its recommendations, the tariff as proposed by the D.V.C. should be allowed to remain in force.

The Union Ministry of Finance has set up the Bureau of Public Enterprises, headed by a Director General of the rank of Special Secretary to the Government of India.

The Bureau has been charged with the following functions: (1) To provide a central point of reference and consultation and to deal with matters of general interest, such as organizational patterns, methods of management, personal policies, collaboration arrangements, training programmes, project planning, economic, financial and social policies. (2) To explore all avenues of economy in the capital costs of projects, including townships, by carrying out a

careful scrutiny of all factors that add to the cost of the projects. (3) To devise steps for improving productivity and profitability of public enterprises by keeping under constant review their performance, through suitable methods of reporting and analysis of performance data. (4) To undertake appraisal and evaluation of selected areas in the performance of public enterprises from time to time. (5) To prepare annual reports for presentation to Parliament, and also other reports that might be called for by committees of Parliament, or other Government agencies.

It will be open to the public undertakings and the Central Ministries to refer to the Bureau any problem requiring study and examination. The existing Project Co-ordination Division in the Ministry of Finance has been merged in the Bureau.

The Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture has set up the Central Fisheries Corporation with an authorized capital of Rs. 5 crores at Calcutta. It will undertake developmental activities of both inland and marine fisheries throughout India, in consultation with the respective State Governments.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has also set up a Fisheries Corporation with an authorized capital of Rs. 50 lakhs, to ensure proper and effective exploitation of the fisheries resources developing and expanding the fisheries industry in the State.

The Government of India has set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao*, Member, Planning Commission, to recommend how best studies on the subject of import substitution and import rationalization could be undertaken.

The Central Advisory Council of Industries has set up a Sub-Committee, under the chairmanship of

*Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar*, to review all licences issued, refused, amended or revoked from time to time. It will also advise the Government on the general principles to be followed in regard to the issue of licences for new undertakings, or for substantial expansion of the existing undertakings.

The Governments of Bihar and Maharashtra have set up an Export Promotion Advisory Board, in their respective States with the State Chief Minister as the Chairman, to advise the respective State Governments in formulation of policies to promote export trade, and examine factors which stand in the way of expansion of export promotion work.

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The Government of India has set up an Advisory Council for the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, under the chairmanship of *Prof. D. G. Karve*, to advise on the suitability of courses and other matters concerning arrangements for the training of higher services at the Academy. *Dr. J. N. Khosla*, the Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, is also one of the members of the Council.

A Committee, headed by *Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao*, Member, Planning Commission, has also been set up by the Government of India, to review the status of social science research in the country, and make recommendations regarding their future line of development, including organizational steps necessary for it. The Director of the *Institute*, is one of the members of the Committee.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has constituted a State Research Programmes Committee, under the chairmanship of Special

Secretary to Government, Planning Department, to process the projects to be taken up for study, prescribe time limits, and provide financial assistance to the various universities and other research institutions. It will have overall supervision, and co-ordinate research work entrusted to the universities and other academic and research institutions in the State.

The Government of Assam has decided to award financial aid, during 1965-66, in the shape of ex-gratia grants, for post-graduate studies/training abroad in scientific technical, industrial and literary subjects for which facilities are not available in India, and also for post-graduate studies/training in specialized and advanced courses in India for which facilities are not available within the State, to persons who have given evidence of conspicuous merit or who have shown aptitude for original research.

The State Government has decided to offer educational loans for 1965-66 to Assam students for (i) higher studies/training abroad; (ii) studies/training in special or technical course in India irrespective of whether such facilities exist within the State or not; and (iii) studies of training in engineering and medical courses within the State.

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A National Committee on the Development of Extension Training Programme has also been set up, under the chairmanship of *Dr. M. S. Randhawa*, Director General, Intensive Agricultural Area in the Union Department of Agriculture, to assist the State Governments in the development of an effective training programme in all its aspects, at various levels.

The Government of India has set up a Committee, headed by *Shri*

*G. Ramachandran, M.P.*, to evaluate the working of Panchayati Raj Training Centres in the country. It will evaluate how far the training given in Panchayati Raj Training Centres, both institutional and peripatetic, has been effective in equipping office bearers, members and other functionaries of Panchayati Raj institutions at village and block levels to carry out their responsibilities efficiently. The Committee will also go into the adequacy of organizational and administrative arrangements, staff, accommodation, library and other equipment for the training centres.

The Government of India has approved the launching of 20 pilot projects on urban community development, on an experimental basis, during the current financial year. The cities so far selected for these projects are: Bangalore, Patna, Hyderabad, Panjim, Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Kanpur, Ludhiana, Sambalpur, Aurangabad, Mattancherry, Imphal, Agartala, Salkia, (Howrah), and Tollyganj (Calcutta).

The Central Government has also set up a Working Group, under the chairmanship of *Shri S. C. Sen Gupta*, Joint Secretary, Department of Social Security, to formulate detailed proposals for the development of Khadi, village industries and handicrafts in Hill Areas. The Group will study the present pattern of financial assistance and problems of operation in management, including the utilization of existing personnel in the Community Development Blocks and Tribal Development Blocks. It will also formulate proposals for the development of Hill Areas in the Fourth and Fifth Plans, through an integrated programme of khadi village industries and handicrafts.

The Government of Madras has established a separate Department

of Rural Development, by integrating the various units now functioning separately under the control of the Joint Development Commissioner, who will be re-designated Director of Rural Development. He will continue to have *ex-officio* Secretariat status of Joint Secretary in the Rural Development and Local Administration Department. A post of Deputy Director of Rural Development has been created to assist the Director in discharging his functions as a Head of the Department.

The Union Ministry of Transport has appointed a Study Group on Road Transport Financing, under the chairmanship of *Shri R. G. Saraiya*, to make a comprehensive examination of the arrangements and agencies, including hire-purchase agencies, for financing road transport operators for the purchase of motor vehicles etc.

The Committee on Plan Projects has, in consultation with the Union Ministries of Railways and Transport, and the Planning Commission, constituted an expert Study Team on Metropolitan Transport, under the chairmanship of *Shri P. H. Sarma*, former General Manager, Northern Railway, and Member, Railway Rates Tribunal to assess the present requirements for transport

facilities and their existing limitations in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi, including roads, road transport and rail transport.

The Government of Gujarat has set up a Road Planning Board, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Public Works Department, to accelerate the road development works in the State. The Board will examine proposals for Road Development drawn up for the annual and five year plans, and advise the Government on the preparation of co-ordinated long-term development plans. It will also recommend priorities and phasing of programmes.

The Government of Kerala has established a Road Planning Board at the State level, under the chairmanship of the Transport Commissioner, to, *inter alia*, examine proposals for road development drawn up for the Annual and Five Year Plans; advise on the preparation of co-ordinated long-term road development plans; recommend priorities and phasing of programmes; appraise progress made from time to time; promote research and training; and consider questions concerning road specifications and standards in relation to utilization of different types of vehicles.

## DIGEST OF REPORTS

*INDIA, REPORT OF THE STUDY TEAM ON THE CENTRAL PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT*, Ministry of Works & Housing, New Delhi, 1965, 147p.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption that each Ministry/Department/Undertaking should immediately undertake review of all existing procedures and practices to find out why and where delays occur and to devise suitable steps for their avoidance, the Government of India constituted on August 17, 1964, a Study Team, under the chairmanship of *Shri M. Govinda Reddy*, Member, Rajya Sabha, "to examine the organization, structure, methods of work and procedures of the offices of the Central Public Works Department, with particular reference to the points at which delays occur, where bottlenecks exist and where administrative failures are possible in the context of combating corruption". It may be recalled a number of committees had at earlier stages examined one or more aspects of the organization and working of the Central Public Works Department—Kasturbhai Lalbhai committee on general re-organization, report submitted in July, 1952; inter-departmental committee on rationalization of Central Public Works Department contracts, April, 1953; inter-departmental committee on eradication of corruption, April, 1962; Panel on planning and execution of works set up by the Building and Projects Team of Committee on Plan Projects, November, 1962; and Working Group on simplification of Central Public Works Department Accounts Code, March, 1963.

(2) The Study Team submitted

its report in July, 1965. Its more important recommendations and findings are as follows:

### ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTIONS

(3) The Central Public Works Department is the agency of the Central Government (excluding Defence Services, Ministries of Railways and Communications and Department of Atomic Energy), operating throughout the country for construction, maintenance and repair of all works and buildings financed from the Civil Works budget. The jurisdiction of the Department includes also the following: (i) Technical control over the Public Works Departments of Union Territories, (ii) Maintenance of National Highways in Delhi and Highways in Sikkim, (iii) Certain roads in the North Eastern Frontier Agency and in Sikkim, other than Border Roads maintained by the Directorate General of Border Roads, (iv) Road works financed from the Central Road Fund in Delhi. The Ministries of the Government of India and Heads of Departments are authorized to carry out original works and special repairs costing up to Rs. 5,000 in respect of the buildings under their charge at places where no C.P.W.D. officers are functioning. The C.P.W. Department also renders advice to other Departments on technical matters, certifies the reasonableness of rent of private buildings hired or requisitioned by other Departments of the Government of India and evaluates immovable

properties of the Central Government officers when called upon.

(4) The Department is organized in a number of units, arranged hierarchically into Sections, Sub-Divisions, Divisions, Circles, Zones, and the Central Office. A Section is in the charge of a Section Officer who is a non-gazetted officer. A Sub-Division normally consists of 4 Sections and is under an Assistant Engineer. A Division generally has 4 Sub-Divisions, and is headed by an Executive Engineer. A Circle normally consists of four Divisions and is in the charge of a Superintending Engineer. A Zone generally comprises five Circles (4 Civil and 1 Electrical) and has an Additional Chief Engineer as its head. The Chief Engineer as Head of the Department exercises overall control in all matters of organization, establishment, planning, works, accounting and budgeting.

(5) There is also Chief Technical Examiner's Organization, the functions of which are checking and inspection of important works both during progress and after completion to see whether they have been executed according to contract terms; test examination of works expenditure to ascertain whether quantity and quality for which payment is claimed do in fact represent the quantity and quality of work actually executed; checking of work carried out by departmental labour; checking the actual labour at site; checking a percentage of accepted contracts from a technical point of view to see that there is no ambiguity in description of any item or specifications that may lead to overpayment; and technical checking of a percentage of bills after payment.

(6) The Central Public Works Department has 7 Zones under the

Additional Chief Engineer who draws a fixed salary of Rs. 2,000 per month.

(7) The total number of employees in the Central Public Works Department as on 1st March, 1965, in various categories, was 29,540.

#### PLANNING OF WORKS

(8) The Studies by the Team show that the greater part of the delays and administrative failures in implementation of the construction programmes lies in the lack of the proper planning at all stages, from the inception of the project up to its physical commencement. The Central Public Works Department should be allowed the time that is necessary and irreducible for the proper planning and designing of each particular work with a view to obtaining the best results. A minimum period of 12 to 21 months, depending on the nature and the size of the work, is reasonably required by the Department for proper planning and designing of a work.

(9) Availability of the site is a pre-requisite for planning and designing of work and no Ministry should call upon the Department to initiate planning until the site is physically in their possession. Where land has to be acquired, the earliest the Central Public Works Department should be asked to take any steps is after issue of a notification under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. In the case of transfer of land from one Ministry to another or from a State Government or Municipal Body, the Central Public Works Department should not be approached until the transferring authority has finally agreed to the transfer.

(10) Ministries should work out their requirements accurately and comprehensively at the earliest possible stage so that once the planning

is begun, changes are kept to the minimum and no substantial or radical change is asked for.

(11) Any major or large scale changes in the conception or size of the work that disrupt the smooth and even flow of architectural drawings should be discouraged.

(12) (i) No budget provision should be made for any work that has not previously received administrative approval. (ii) Token budget provision, if at all necessary, should only be made for procurement of land.

(13) Administrative delays are frequently liable to occur at the stage of expenditure sanction, which should, therefore, be issued along with administrative approval by the administrative Ministry. For works costing up to Rs. 2 lakhs there is practically no such problem, but for works costing above that figure, the procedure by which the concurrence of the Works Division of the Ministry of Finance is obtained is unnecessarily circuitous. There is no need for these estimates to pass through the Ministry of Works and Housing.

(14) Queries or objections raised by the Ministry of Finance should be answered by the Additional Chief Engineer directly provided that where departures from the specifications of the administrative Ministry are proposed these should have the concurrence of the administrative Ministry.

(15) Many a time there is absence of complete drawing before award of the work and that after the award additional items have again to be contracted for which results in collusion between the contractor and the executive staff and may frequently lead to disputes which if

not amicably settled go to arbitration. To avoid this, complete architectural drawings and specifications should be made available to the tenders along with the Notice inviting the tenders.

#### STRUCTURE AND STAFFING

(16) The Architect Wing of the Central Public Works Department consists at present of a Chief Architect, 14 Senior Architects and 32 Architects assisted by Deputy and Assistant Architects and ancillary staff. Considering the size of the country and the ever-increasing magnitude of the workload of the Department, the number of Government Architects is very small and compares unfavourably with that in many other smaller and less developed countries. Government should take a decision about the workload that a Senior Architect Unit can reasonably be expected to handle in a year. On the basis of the yardstick that may be decided the Architect Wing should be properly strengthened to enable it to cope with the workload expected of C.P.W.D. Until then, the designing of some selected works should be entrusted to private architects as an experimental measure.

(17) Central and State Governments should take steps to start a 3-year diploma/certificate course in architecture in polytechnics and other institutions. In order to attract graduates in architecture, Government should, as an interim solution, create a graduate of Architectural Assistant in the scale of Rs. 325—15—475—EB—20—575.

(18) (i) Early steps be taken to bifurcate the Surveyor of Works Organization in a suitable manner so as to provide separate units for contract matters and for structural planning and designing. (ii) An Assistant Surveyor of Works with

one Section Officer and a Grade I Draftsman should be provided in each Division. (iii) The proposal to assign one Assistant Surveyor of Works exclusively for quantity survey accepted in principle in 1952 should be implemented. Along with it, the requirements of the Circle Office in the matter of structural planning should be re-assessed and on the basis of the actual work that is now required to be done as a result of the increased delegation of powers, the Surveyor of Works should be provided with the necessary number of Assistant Surveyors of Works which, in practice, will be at least two on the civil side.

(19) The Electrical Circles in the Calcutta and Nagpur Zones should each be given a Surveyor of Works for planning works up to the value of Rs. 2 lakhs.

(20) An office at Additional Chief Engineers' level should be set up for all the zones, to exercise proper technical control and to scrutinize all proposals for deviation, additions and alterations, etc., for all electrical works costing above Rs. 10 lakhs. This will enable another proposal of advantage to be implemented, namely that the Superintending Engineer (Electrical) of the respective zones would be able to plan all works costing up to Rs. 2 lakhs; this figure would cover the normal planning work of the zones in respect of estimates other than of specialized items.

(21) For improving the technical competence of the Department in the matter of specialities, a Central Designs Office should be set up within the Department which should marshal the latest methods of design and construction and should be able to apply them to the specialized construction projects entrusted to it.

In addition, the Central Designs Office should engage in studies directed to finding solutions for current technical problems encountered by the Department in their works programmes. Creation of this office would also place at the disposal of the Chief Engineer adequate and specialized technical assistance for carrying out his functions as Consulting Engineer to Government.

(22) The executive unit of the Department is the Divisional office under the Executive Engineer. This key officer, as has been long recognized, is overloaded with office and paper work to an extent that prejudices his main functions, *i.e.*, to organize and to supervise the actual execution of works. To relieve the Executive Engineer of a great deal of routine administrative work, S.A.S. Accounts should replace Divisional Accountants. However, the ultimate responsibility of the Executive Engineer, as prescribed in the Central Public Works Accounts Code, must remain.

(23) While the workload of the Department is constantly increasing, its staffing position has not apparently been systematically examined, so that Government might have the confidence that their principal executing agency is actually capable of carrying out the construction programmes of the Ministries and Departments of Government. The problem of the proper yardstick has, by remaining unsettled, held up the legitimate proposals of the Department for the additional staff required to carry out its tasks. Government should ensure, by a proper investigation of the whole problem, that the workload is such that the Department can execute it efficiently with the staff, present or future, that Government is prepared to sanction for the purpose.

(24) As a result of the great and constantly increasing burden on the cadre in the last few years, the periods of training of Assistant Executive Engineer and an Assistant Engineer had to be reduced to 5 years and 3 years respectively. The eligibility period of 8 years as Assistant Engineer and of 5 years of service as Assistant Executive Engineer for promotion should be restored at the earliest stage.

(25) There is no provision for the deputation reserve in the Department, which is required to depute a large number of officers to other Departments and organizations. The number of permanent posts of Engineers in the Department should be increased by 20 per cent so as to improve on the intake of direct recruits through the Union Public Service Commission.

(26) (i) Officers of the Department to whom the direct recruits are attached for training are normally busy with their day-to-day work and have little time to spare to watch their progress and guide them. To improve matters Government has recently created a post of Superintending Engineer (Training). The trainees will be attached to this officer and he will attach them to Circles, Divisions, etc. He will peruse their diaries, give them instructions and arrange their training studies. Besides the creation of this post, the period of training in the engineering service should also be restored to 52 weeks as soon as possible. (ii) Section Officers should be given training in Public Works Accounts and engineering practices. (iii) Clerks with special aptitude in accounts should be given training in Public Works Accounts and should remain in Accounts Branches of the Divisional Offices should be rotated between the Divisions and Sub-Divisions periodically.

(27) (i) Action should be taken to weed out or revert unsuitable officers to lower posts in accordance with the various alternatives open to Government. (ii) Fundamental Rules 56 (a) (iv) should be suitably amended so that the Engineers who do not attain the rank of Superintending Engineer may be retired on reaching the age of 50 years. (iii) The four year transfer rule should not be applied rigidly and the Chief Engineer should have full discretion in the matter in case of officers of Class II and III. In case of Class I officers the Chief Engineer should be authorized to extend the period by one year in suitable cases. Transfers should be well planned and regulated and should be ordered after taking into account the progress of works in hand and likely repercussion of transfer on the progress. Normally, transfers should not be ordered in the midst of an academic session in case of officers with school going children. Transfers towards the closing period of a financial year should also be avoided. Officers of very advanced age, indifferent health or those having prolonged illness of family members should not be transferred to difficult stations. The transfer of officers of undoubted integrity should not be very frequent.

#### AWARD AND SUPERVISION OF WORKS

(28) The powers of the Superintending Engineer to award works without the prior approval of the Central Works Advisory Board, should be enhanced to Rs. 5 lakhs and those of the Chief Engineer/Additional Chief Engineer to Rs. 25 lakhs.

(29) The powers of the Chief Engineer/Additional Chief Engineer to award a work by negotiations

with a tenderer other than the lowest should be raised to Rs. 25 lakhs.

(30) The powers of the Chief Engineer/Additional Chief Engineer to award a work by negotiations without call of tenders or after an infructuous call of tenders or with a firm which has not quoted should be raised to Rs. 50,000.

(31) No negotiations should be resorted to when the lowest rates obtained through call of tenders are within marginal limits.

(32) The supervisory staff often do not point out defective work during the progress of construction and this omission may sometimes be wilful or motivated. As a site order book has to be maintained at each site of work for noting the observations of inspecting officers, failure to take notice of defective work would imply either extreme carelessness or wilful negligence on the part of the supervisory staff. Defective works should be pointed out during execution and got rectified immediately.

(33) If the experiment of reduction of supervisory staff in the case of works entrusted to the N.B.C.C. proves successful, it should be extended to other public sector undertakings and to contractors of proved integrity and technical competence.

#### CONTRACTORS AND CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT

(34) In view of the enhancement of the powers of the Executive Engineers and Superintending Engineers to accept tenders, the time limits should be changed to 7 days in the case of works costing up to Rs. 1 lakh to at least 2 weeks for works costing between Rs. 1 lakh to 10 lakhs and at least three weeks for works of more than Rs. 10 lakhs. These limits will conform to the

financial powers of the Executive Engineers, Superintending Engineers and Additional Chief Engineers/Chief Engineer respectively.

(35) Executive Engineers and Superintending Engineers should personally satisfy themselves that the instructions regarding issue of tender notices to the press, associations, Circle Office, other Local Divisions, Local Bodies and Collector's Officers, etc., are meticulously followed. They should also inspect the notice boards regularly to ensure that all current notices are properly and prominently displayed.

(36) No tenders should be invited unless the stipulated materials are likely to be available.

(37) Tender notices should issue only when all tender documents are ready. Tender forms should not be sold on the date on which the tenders are due to be opened. In case of tender costing less than Rs. 2 lakhs, the sale of tenders forms should be stopped 24 hours before the time fixed for opening of the tenders. Conditions of contract should not be issued with individual tenders but should be consolidated in the form of a saleable pamphlet.

(38) The comparative study of contract forms in other countries with a view to considering improvement in the conditions of Central Public Works Department contracts, which is under way, should be completed as expeditiously as possible.

#### Earnest Money

(39) Amount of earnest money to be deposited should be fixed at 1 per cent *ad valorem* of the estimated cost of the work, subject to a minimum of Rs. 100 and maximum of Rs. 20,000.

(40) Executive Engineers should be authorized at their discretion to dispense with the condition of calling for earnest money in case of works costing Rs. 5,000 or less.

(41) Executive Engineers should periodically review the tender registers with a view to ensuring that the earnest money is refunded in time. If the tenderers do not come forward to get their challans endorsed for refund, the challans should be sent to them by registered post within a week after expiry of the prescribed period.

#### *Security Deposit*

(42) The refund of security deposit is generally considered only at the time of payment of the final bill, which in turn is sometimes delayed for want of sanction for extra or deviated items or for extension of time.

(43) The Executive Engineers should keep a close watch on the delays in the refund of security deposits to contractors and for this purpose, they should constantly review the register of security deposits maintained in the Division.

#### **MATERIALS AND STORES**

(44) A Liaison Office should be set up in the Directorate General of Supplies & Disposals to expedite procurement of stores required by the C.P.W.D.

(45) A scientific study of the procedure followed in the Stores Divisions should be undertaken.

(46) To avoid delay in recording measurements all items of work should be measured by the Section Officer except those specifically entrusted to the Assistant Engineers. Instructions regarding recording and

checking of measurements by the departmental officers should be revised.

(47) The prescribed time schedules in the general conditions of contract for various stages of payment of bills should be rigidly enforced by keeping a close watch on entries in the bill register which should be put up to the Executive Engineer at least once a week. Every case of delay in recording of measurements, issue of completion certificates or passing of bills should be taken note of by the Superintending Engineers and Additional Chief Engineers during inspection so as to ensure that no unreasonable delays occur. A special responsibility devolves on these senior officers for ensuring effective implementation of the instructions regarding expeditious payments.

(48) In case of contracts up to the value of Rs. 1,00,000 the power to sanction advance payment of running bills should be delegated to the Executive Engineer who will record his reasons for authorizing such advances in a special register which should be inspected by the Superintending Engineer at the time of his inspection.

(49) Detailed instructions should be issued to implement the provision in para 10.2.25 of the C.P.W. Accounts Code regarding the advance payment (without measurements) at pre-determined stages of construction.

(50) Superintending Engineers should be given power to authorize payment of alternate running bills when monthly payments cannot be made on the basis of recorded measurements.

(15) The decision reached in the meeting held in the Ministry of

Works and Housing in August, 1964, regarding payment of interest to contractors at 1 per cent per annum from the 11th day should be implemented provided that the delay is not due to the fault of the contractors. Where a tenderer offers a rebate for timely payment this should be accepted.

#### ARBITRATION

(52) The following steps should be taken to reduce disputes with contractors: (i) availability of sites should be assured before tenders are called for; (ii) complete and detailed architectural and structural drawings should be ready and made available before inviting tenders and should form part of the contract document; (iii) specifications should be scrutinized and made as precise as possible; (iv) a simple procedure for sanctioning rates of extra and substituted items should be evolved; (v) proper and timely decision should be taken for settlement of deviated items; and (vi) payment of final bills should be expedited.

(53) An average of 25 new cases are now being brought on to the files of the two arbitrators every month while the rate of final disposal is not more than 15 or 16 cases per month. To reduce arrears of arbitration cases, the number of arbitrators and counsels should be increased.

(54) To ensure preferring of claims by contractors without delay and early settlement of disputes, the arbitration clause should be amended to provide that if a contractor fails to claim reference to arbitration within 30 days of the intimation to him by the Engineer-in-charge that his final bill was ready for payment his claim would be deemed to have been finally extinguished and time barred.

(55) Generally all issues should be referred to arbitration and the decision whether any issue is or is not within the purview of the arbitration clause should be left to the arbitrator.

#### REDUCTION OF WORK IN DIVISIONAL OFFICES

(56) The number of periodical returns should be reduced from 688 to 262 in a year.

(57) The recommendation of the Working Group set up by the Committee on Administration for simplification of the Central Public Works Accounts Code in regard to raising of the limit for minor works from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 should be accepted.

(58) Since the Chief Technical Examiner's Organization is now under the Central Vigilance Commission, technical assistance in the matter of evaluation of properties is available in the Commission. Central Public Works Department should be absolved of the responsibility of evaluating the houses of officers suspected of possessing disproportionate assets.

(59) The work of payment of rent or recompensation in respect of buildings hired or requisitioned by the Government at Bombay and Calcutta is being done by the Estate Managers in those cities whereas in Delhi it is being done by the Central Public Works Department. This item of work should be taken over by the Directorate of Estates in all places where it operates.

(60) Allotment and recovery of rent of Government residences where there is no organization of the Directorate of Estates should be done by the administrative Ministries concerned and not by the C.P.W.D.

(61) The Central Public Works Department should not be called upon to furnish certificates of non-availability of Government accom-

modation or to certify the reasonableness of the rent of private buildings or to hire private accommodation for other Ministries.

*INDIA, REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION*, Ministry of Community Development & Co-operation (Department of Co-operation), New Delhi p. 110.

The Government of India constituted in 1964 a Committee on Co-operation, under the chairmanship of *Shri Ram Nivas Mirdha*, Speaker, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, with the following terms of reference:

(1) To lay down standards and criteria to adjudge the genuineness of co-operative societies and to suggest measures to weed out non-genuine societies and prevent their registration; (2) To review the existing co-operative laws, rules and practices with a view to removing the loopholes which enable vested interests to entrench themselves in co-operative institutions, and recommend measures—legislative as well as administrative—for the elimination and prevention of such vested interests; and (3) To examine the factors inhibiting self-reliance and self-regulation in the co-operative movement and to suggest appropriate remedies.

The Committee submitted its report in August, 1965. Its more important recommendations and findings are as follows:

#### *Historical Background*

(1) The co-operative movement in India started primarily as an agricultural credit movement and it continued to remain so till the dawn of Independence. Though some beginning was made to extend the movement to other activities like urban banking, consumer service, transport undertakings, and purchase and sale of agricultural commodities, it was only after Independence and parti-

cularly after the rural credit survey in 1965 that systematic efforts were made to extend the movement to diverse economic activities.

(2) The various contemporary shortcomings and defects of the Co-operative movements are more an outcome of deliberately accelerated pace of expansion rather than inherent and inevitable weaknesses. These could be remedied successfully with vigilant administration and supervision at official as well as non-official levels.

(3) The movement as a whole is proceeding on right lines, has thrown up good leadership in various sectors and has made itself serviceable to an ever increasing membership. It has to its credit a vast network of societies with millions of sincere members which can be energized into a tremendously vibrant force, once the necessary financial, administrative and supervisory inputs are assured.

#### *Co-operative Principles*

(4) That co-operative movement offers an organization most suitable to protect the small man from exploitation by the powerful and the rich and should be clearly recognized in state policy and reflected in co-operative legislation.

(5) The following co-operative principles, which find expression in the co-operative laws prevailing in India today in some form or the other, are essential for the sound growth of

the movement : (i) Open membership; (ii) Democratic control; (iii) Distribution of surplus to members in proportion to their transactions; (iv) Limited interest on capital; (v) Mutual aid; (vi) Thrift and self-help; (vii) Promotion of education. The State Co-operative laws which do not contain suitable provisions to cover any of these principles should be appropriately amended.

(6) Certain conditions are laid down by co-operative law to be fulfilled before a society is registered. The pattern of conditions suggested in clause 7 of the Model Co-operative Societies Bill should be supplemented by the requirements that the aims of the proposed society facilitate the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society.

(7) In each State detailed conditions intended to ensure minimum performance may be prescribed by the Registrar in consultation with the apex institutions concerned. Even within each State different sets of conditions may be prescribed, if necessary, for different regions to take into account the general level of socio-economic development and other factors.

(8) The Registrar should be empowered to cancel the registration of a society which remains dormant or has ceased to function or has departed from co-operative principles. This power should be exercised in consultation with the apex institutions concerned.

#### *Criteria of Genuineness*

(9) In organizing new societies either for credit or in any other sector, planning should ensure that targets have some relation to financial resources and administrative preparedness.

(10) (i) Agricultural credit/services society should admit all the rural population except money-lenders, within its area who are willing to participate in its services. (ii) Where money lending as a business by private persons is not controlled or regulated by law suitable legislation should be enacted.

(11) Admission to agricultural marketing societies should be restricted only to agriculturists and should not be open to traders in agricultural commodities.

(12) A labour co-operative should not admit a contractor as a member. Admission of non-labourers other than contractors to the membership may be allowed up to 5 per cent of the total membership subject to a maximum of 5 in a society.

(13) (i) Admission to transport co-operatives should be restricted to workers, traders and mechanics. Persons who have their own transport business should not be allowed membership. Others may be allowed up to 5 per cent of the total membership subject to a maximum of 5 in a society provided they are prepared to work for the society and promote its growth. (ii) Lack of finances has often impeded the growth of genuine transport societies and special attention of the Government is necessary to this aspect.

(14) (i) Traders in consumer commodities should not be admitted into the membership of consumer societies. A consumer society should try to build up mutual loyalty between the members and the society. (ii) There should be a tie-up between the consumer movement and the marketing movement so that an integrated attempt is made at satisfying the needs of the consumers as well as the producers.

(15) (i) Membership of industrial societies should be confined to workers and artisans, and such other persons who may wish to serve an industrial society faithfully. The number of the latter should not exceed 5 per cent of the total membership subject to a maximum of 5. (ii) Persons who run industries of their own should not be allowed to join a society undertaking similar industrial activity.

### *Vested Interests*

(16) Enforcement of the principle of open membership is a vital check against the growth of vested interests. There must be a provision for appeal against refusal to admit a member; such appeal should be heard and decided by a committee at the district or state-level, as the case may be, consisting of representatives of the co-operative federal bodies concerned and of the Registrar.

(17) Sanction of loans in favour of the members of the managing committee of a credit society and their relatives should be reported to the general body in its next meeting for information. Cases of default in repayment of such loans should also be similarly reported.

(18) The practice of holding annual elections for electing the full committee or replacing a few members who retire by rotation is inconvenient. There should be a gap of at least two years between one election and another in the same society whether it be for electing the full committee or a few members.

(19) Conscious efforts should be made by the Committee members to associate the general members in the management of the affairs of a society. Formation of sub-committees to which general members can

be co-opted will be a helpful step in this direction. A sense of participation among the general members should be fostered.

(20) (i) Meeting of the general body should be held regularly both for considering the accounts of the society and also for holding election. This will also be a check against growth or continuance of vested interests. (ii) The Committee members must be answerable for not holding the general meeting in due time and penalty for non-compliance should be provided in the co-operative law.

(21) Societies should follow a clear structural pattern, *i.e.*, a primary society should consist of individuals; a central society, of primaries; an apex society, of central societies; and a national society, of apex societies. Individual members should not normally be allowed in central or apex or national societies.

(22) In the committee of management of a federal society, all important interests reflected by member societies should be represented. For this purpose constituencies should be delimited and seats allocated on territorial or functional basis.

(23) Nomination by government to the committee of management of a society should be kept to the minimum, and in any case the nomination should not exceed one third of the committee members or three whichever is less. Only Government servants should be nominated and not any non-official.

(24) A code of conduct should be evolved for the nominated directors in order to ensure that they realize their responsibilities and discharge them in the best manner possible.

*Audit and Supervision*

(25) Audit machinery should be strengthened in all states on the basis of the yardsticks suggested by the Committee on Co-operative Administration\* as a matter of high priority.

(26) (i) Arrangement for audit must be tightened up and concurrent audit provided in all big institutions with heavy transactions. (ii) Dates must be prescribed for keeping the accounts ready for audit and members of the committee of management must be answerable for non-compliance. (iii) Penal provisions such as apply to Directors of Companies should be made in the co-operative law and applied to bigger co-operatives who can afford to engage qualified people to write accounts.

(27) In order that audit may be more objective and may provide a faithful indicator of the trends in the co-operative movement, it should be entrusted to an agency under the Government but independent of the Registrar. This agency should function under the Finance Department or on the lines of the organization of Local Fund Audit.

(28) Federal co-operative bodies should increasingly take more responsibility for supervision of the activities of their primary constituents. Assistance should be given to them by Government to maintain adequate supervisory staff for this purpose. Efficient supervision by federal societies will pave the way for the eventual transfer of some of the statutory functions of the Registrar to them.

(29) Central and State Governments should follow a positive policy of promoting and strengthening

central and apex societies in those co-operative sectors where they do not exist at present or exist as weak bodies. They should help the central and apex societies to build up cadres of qualified and trained personnel for effective discharge of the supervisory and other responsibilities.

*Resources for Co-operatives*

(30) Central and State Governments should come to the assistance of the co-operatives in a big way. The existing policy of State partnership in co-operative societies should continue. The Long-term Operations Fund of the Reserve Bank should be augmented, if necessary, to enable State Governments to borrow larger amounts for share capital participation.

(31) Adoption of the crop loan system by agricultural credit societies over the entire country is essential for meeting the credit needs of cultivators. This will, however, lead to an increase in the credit requirement. An overall assessment of credit requirement, short, medium and long-term, should be made. Generally, there is a shortage of medium and long-term resources and these require to be augmented during the Fourth Plan.

(32) Co-operative institutions should be enabled to collect more deposits by removal of legal and administrative obstacles which at present prevent local bodies, statutory corporations, etc., from using co-operative banks as their bankers. A suitable system of insuring or guaranteeing the deposits should be evolved so that public confidence in these financial institutions may be assured.

(33) As a logical culmination of a progress that has been going on for

\* The digest of the Report of the Committee on Administration appears in the April-June, 1965 issue of the Journal.

years, steps should be initiated for setting up a national co-operative bank which would form the apex of the co-operative financial structure in the country. All finance to be provided by the Central Government as well as by the Reserve Bank of India may flow to the co-operative movement through this national institution.

#### *Education in Co-operation*

34. For the co-operative movement to be self-reliant and to develop on sound and healthy lines, utmost emphasis should be laid on the programme of Co-operative Education.

(35) The National Co-operative Union and the State Co-operative Unions should take Complete responsibility for running the training institutions. The training centres in several States which are still administered by State Governments should be transferred to the concerned State Co-operative Unions as early as possible.

(36) It is essential that societies should contribute to Co-operative Education Fund out of their net profits. Those States which have not yet made legal provision for this purpose should do so quickly. The pattern followed in Maharashtra is commended to other States in this regard.

(37) The Member Education Programme is of basic importance in the promotion of the co-operative movement. The revised programme which has been chalked out should be implemented vigorously. For this purpose formation and strengthening of district unions and formation of

committees at the block level are very essential.

(38) In order to give a practical bias to Member Education Programme, it is necessary to actively involve co-operative business federations in it and it should not be difficult to work out mechanisms of collaboration for this purpose.

(39) Strengthening of co-operative unions is important from the point of view of de-officialization of the movement. Co-operative training should seek to develop the quality of leadership among members. This underlines the importance of the role envisaged for co-operative unions which have to be the nurseries of co-operative leadership.

(40) The Member Education Programme should be linked up with the national drive for promotion of literacy. A concerted and massive programme of adult education in the country can be launched through the co-operative movement. It would be a tremendous national achievement if the target of imparting literacy to the total co-operative membership is achieved. It will usher in a revolution of light and learning in rural India.

(41) The Co-operative Department in each State should prepare a detailed annual report not only containing the relevant facts and figures regarding the co-operative movement in the State but also bringing out the weaknesses in the movement that have come to light in the course of the year. This report should be placed before the Legislature which may provide adequate time and opportunity to discuss it.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF INDIA*; By W. H. MORRIS-JONES, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1964, 236 p., Rs. 15.

Within the compass of just over 200 pages, *The Government and Politics of India*, by Prof. Morris-Jones is a much bigger book than its deceptive size or title would lead one to expect. There is often "an inside story" to the political life in a country and usually there is something more than what seems to be on the surface. This is what the book sets out to achieve.

Prof. Morris-Jones has had the advantage of studying the Indian political life and its national institutions on the spot when he spent several months in India in 1953 and thereafter produced a highly praised book entitled *Parliament in India*. Since then he has paid several short visits to India and taken visual note of the developments and changes that have taken place. Simultaneously he has kept himself in close touch with the events as and when they have taken place by reading enormous materials in the shape of reports, publications, brochures, pamphlets, etc., produced by the Parliament, Government and other organizations in India. The bibliography at the end of his present book will be a proof, if one is needed, of his wide reading and knowledge of the literature on and about India. Indeed Prof. Morris-Jones has by now become an accepted authority on the Indian political affairs, not only in India but, what is much more important, to the people outside India. His chief merit lies in the fact that he brings to bear his own mind, close analysis, objectivity and sound judgment on what he

sees, reads and writes. He discards extreme views and commonplace and trite observations. He loves to state facts *in extenso* and to record his observations like a true research scholar, and then having soaked himself in these, gives a penetrating analysis of the trends behind the seeming phenomena as a disinterested foreign observer.

In his present book Prof. Morris-Jones sets about exploring and correlating the forces at play from different levels of the Indian polity in an attempt to project the Indian scene in its true depth and dimensions. And to this task he brings a rare combination of objectivity and understanding.

The book falls into a tidy scheme. The first two chapters set out the Indian scene and point to some of its distinctive features. The third sketches the events and issues since Independence—first during the period of transition, *i.e.*, in the years 1947-1952 and then, during the first phase of the "operational journey" which, according to the author, came to a close in 1962. The ground thus prepared, the next three chapters pass on to a detailed examination of the three main factors in Indian politics—the Government, the political forces and the "ordering framework" of parliamentary and judicial institutions. The concluding chapter is devoted to some kind of stock-taking of current tendencies and ideas.

Prof. Morris-Jones conceives of the Indian scene as one in which

there is taking place a constant and continuing dialogue between two main inherited traditions—"Government" and "Movement"—within the mediating framework of parliamentary institutions and judicial processes, which themselves constitute yet another tradition. "Government" here stands for not only the tangible equipment and machinery of government but also the psychological sum capital of mental habits and attitudes in and towards government. "The observer from outside discovers in India", says the author, "an awareness of government, a sense of its importance and a feeling of the need for its stability and strength which is found in some other countries." "Movement" likewise is a reference to the nationalist movement and includes, besides, all that goes with it in the form of faiths, beliefs, aspirations and attitudes. In the course of this dialogue, which is carried on in three idioms—the "modern", "traditional" and "saintly"—the converging elements have all been influencing and moulding one another and in the process themselves undergoing change.

Prof. Morris-Jones in analysing the framework of the Indian Constitution and the parliamentary procedure brings out how the parliamentary institution acts as a mediating factor between party and Government, and explains the pivotal role which is played by the Speaker in preserving its independent character. He mentions the various factors and legacies which are responsible for the opposition groups in Parliament exerting far greater influence than their small numbers would warrant. According to him, one significant factor—legacy of independence struggle—is distrust of established political authority; and there is an atmosphere of "separation of powers" without any constitutional basis for it.

The author describes the role of parliamentary committees, specially the Public Accounts and the Estimates Committees and commends their activities and for inspiring in the administration a feeling of accountability. He also observes "the Government has continuously to act in the knowledge that scrutiny of any item may take place and that waste or impropriety may be widely exposed in the House and the Press. The fact that Government replies are often vague and cool is less important than that behind the reply there has often been embarrassment and some resolve not to let it happen again".

In the legal framework, the author takes note of the legal system which was evolved in the Imperial days as an "expansion" or "migration" of the English Common law, and some principles of which have since been enshrined in the Indian Constitution. He mentions how the High Courts and Supreme Court have made bold pronouncements on the Fundamental Rights, provisions of the Constitution which have forced the Government to amend the Constitution more than once to get over the difficulties. The author underlines the independent character of judiciary and concludes "The political and moral values inherent in a system of rule by law have been sufficiently communicated to all parts of the political system to ensure considerable resistance to arbitrary action".

The presence of a single dominant party in India is a common enough point of criticism. But nowhere has the positive aspect of the situation been argued so convincingly as by Prof. Morris-Jones. The dominant party, he points out, has been a unifying agent not merely in the obvious "horizontal" sense in which it holds together a range of

opinions but also in the more important "vertical" sense that it brings into contact and interpenetration all levels of politics from the most sophisticated to the most simple and traditional.

There is much to derive strength from the author's final conclusions. It is in itself a signal achievement of the Indian polity, says the author, that it has, over a relatively short period, acquired definable shape and form, which could hardly be said of all new States. Speaking of Parliament, he notes how in some of the countries "party and government have in one way or another become indistinguishable, so that the mediating role disappears and the parliamentary institutions if they exist constitute a meaningless survival". In India, on the other hand, he sees in Parliament an independent institution possessing a distinct cha-

racter and performing a distinct role—an institution not to be regarded as an extension of government or party.

Prof. Morris-Jones does not take too gloomy a view of separatist forces in the country. "A study of other federal states", he points out, "would reduce the dangers of India's regionalist tendencies to life-size. It only means that India is probably now more genuinely federal than ever in the past, that the units now are real lively centres of loyalty and distinctness. It also means, of course, that all-India leadership has now to be negotiated, worked for and created. It means that in the business of administration as well as in the life of political groups, the reconciliation of regional pressures is to be a large fact of public life."

S. L. SHAKDHER

**LEADER PARTICIPATION SKILLS—A WORK BOOK;** By N. H. ATTHREYA, Bombay, M.M.C. School of Management, 1965, xvi+95 pp., Rs. 10.

Proceeding from the proposition that "communication plays an important part in managing men and things" Shri Atthreya has planned this guide book with a view to offering useful hints to those who are required to participate in discussions at various levels in varying capacities. The method he follows is that of analyzing each situation calling for communication skills in terms of its components—objects, motivation, means and personnel—and suggesting the most effective way of tackling it. But this book is not the traditional sort of textbook pedantically setting out the "dos" and "don'ts". It is, as the sub-title indicates, a work-book. The reader is not to be merely a passive recipient of Shri Atthreya's ideas; he is called upon to participate in the process of communication between the author

and himself by reflecting on his own experiences as a listener or speaker and attempting their conscious evaluation in the light of acceptable criteria. The task, however, is not likely to be burdensome and the reader will enjoy his travels with Shri Atthreya in a territory which has remained largely unexplored in this country. A large number of short chapters, ample spaces, a type which is "easy on the eye", an under current of mild humour and the reproduction of a delightful piece with cartoons on "How to wreck a conference" in the appendix—speak for Shri Atthreya's own skills of communication. Those in, or aspiring to be in, the management should welcome this addition to the know-how of their craft.

S. V. KOGKAR

*THE MANAGEMENT OF DEFENCE*; By JOHN C. REIS, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 228 p., \$ 6.50.

*THE DEFENCE MECHANISM OF THE MODERN STATE*; By NAGENDRA SINGH, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 479 p., Rs. 55.00.

The main theme of the author in the first book is that "Centralization" does not mean "Central Control". Prof. Reis has analyzed some of the concepts which influence current thinking concerning defence organization and defence strategy. The effects of defence organizational structure on the nature of authority, the policy process and the effectiveness of centralization have been examined in detail.

The first two parts of the book deal with the background and earlier attempts at unifying the United States armed forces. The final portion of the book, "Return to Orthodoxy" traces the changes in U.S. defence organization since 1949.

Although the authority is critical of recent trends in the organizational set-up, the book is in no sense an indictment of the McNamara methods. He merely makes an appeal to soldiers and politicians alike to profit from the lessons of history.

While suggesting some organizational alternatives, the author has borne in mind the influence of the political process and the policy process and the effects of policy on organizational structure.

This refreshing book brings out new ideas on the controversial subject of unification of the armed services. Although, primarily dealing with the United States, politicians and defence staff from all countries can draw inspiration from this book. Prof. Reis recommends the consolidation of line and staff officers into functional commands which he avers will rationalize decision-making

and restore organizational equilibrium.

In his brilliant analysis of the higher echelons of the armed forces structure in the second book, Dr. Nagendra Singh has focussed attention on the Chiefs of Staff Committee which is the organization that translates political policies into military strategy. The author deftly traces the evolution of the Chiefs of Staff Committee from 322 B.C. right up to the modern times. He has examined its organizational structure in each country and brings out the interaction between the cabinet which enunciates the political doctrine and the Chiefs of Staff Committee (CSC) which implements it.

The author considers the CSC the greatest organizational achievement since it is the instrument through which the citizens of a nation exercise their sovereignty. But he also considers it a mixed blessing. Since it could, in totalitarian states, pose a danger by inconsiderate use of scientific innovations in the field of military equipment.

Examining contemporary alliances and collective Defence Pacts, the author has brought out the reasons which have necessitated these, in spite of the existence of the United Nations. He feels that the NATO represents easily the most successful effort towards achieving a multinational system of armed self-defence. He has emphasized the need to resolve certain procedural problems in the NATO, concerning the use of nuclear weapons.

National security, the author states, is the true *raison d'être* for the

existence of the Armed forces. In peace time, there might be a temptation to use the armed forces on productive enterprises. If it has to this, then a separate set of armed forces has to be raised and organized for this purpose. This, according to the author, is borne out by the expansion of the armed forces beyond recognition when civil governments are militarized.

In the last chapter, the author has given a scintillating dissertation

of the problems concerning the armed forces, analyzing them against the background of democracies, totalitarian States and international organizations.

This is an invaluable textbook of reference not only for the senior officers of the armed forces but also for political leaders and defence administrators.

K. PENNATHUR

*THE ADMINISTRATORS: THE REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICE;*  
By A FABIAN GROUP, 1964, Fabian Tract 355, 445 p., 4s.

The Fabian tract on "The Administrators" provides many valuable insights to the consideration of one of the most rivetting topics in the realm of public policy in India today, viz., administrative reform. The tract does not consider the entire gamut of problems of administrative reforms; it seeks to deal with only the reform of the civil service and that too of the administrative class. The problem which the tract poses is "How can the higher Civil Service be made equal to the challenging task of overall planning for modernization of the national economy?" The answer it provides is broadly in terms of a greater professionalization of the Civil Service. What relevance do the problem and solution bear to the Indian conditions?

No doubt, the social conditions, the state of economy and the administrative requirements of a long-industrialized mature country like Britain are not comparable to those of stagnant, traditional society and backward economy like that of India, awakened at long last, after a slumber of centuries and making now a supreme effort for an economic "take-off". But curiously, enough, the concentration on problems of

growth and consequently, on techniques of planning as an instrument of growth seem to be the common concern today of the developing no less than the developed countries. It is in this context that the tasks of administration in situations, far removed from each other, begin to assume a modicum of similarity.

If Dean Appleby considered India as one of the twelve best administered countries in the world, in Britain it has always been customary to regard its Civil Service as the best. The feeling of complacency, however, no longer obtains today. Common market countries led by France have forged ahead of Great Britain in growthmanship. This has set thinking keen observers in Britain about the contemporary scene. They have begun making critical comparisons. In a contentious pamphlet, which I had an occasion to review in an earlier issue of the Journal, Prof. Brian Chapman attributed the British lag to institutional backwardness. In the same strain, the Fabian group have analyzed the institution of the "administrative class" to show its incompatibility with the current tasks of modernization, growth and planning. The British Civil Service

might have been the best; but that was for the tasks of yesterday. Liberal education, intelligence, and incorruptibility were adequate enough qualifications for administering a regulatory system of Government. Even with the wider introduction of Social Services, the repertoire of the traditional Civil Service revealed no serious gap. But confronted with novel task of modernization of the national economy and forward economic planning, the traditional Civil Service with its amateurism, negative approach, concentration on matters of procedure rather than substance, preoccupation with daily expedencies rather than with long time purpose and direction and its secretive and close-up attitude impervious to the wind of change blowing from without has increasingly been found wanting. A wide gap between administrative means and ends has begun to emerge. The entire ethos of the Civil Service organization has to alter to create a new Civil Service for new tasks of today and tomorrow. What are required are administrators with positive ideas to promote social and economic change. And for this, the net of recruitment to the administrative class has to be cast wider, beyond the pale of Arts Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. Natural Scientists as well as Social Scientists, the products of the old as well as new universities have to be drawn in. Liveliest minded young men and women have to be attracted to look forward to really challenging and worthwhile service in the Civil Service. Free movement into and out of the services has to be encouraged. At fairly senior levels, outsider with special experience and expertise such as scientists, engineers and other professionals, have to be recruited for specific posts. At the same time greater specialization and professionalization must be built amongst the

regular recruits by providing an initial training course of two years combining theory and practice at the Post-Graduates Institution of Administrative Studies such as the French *Ecole Nationale D'Administration* and a better mid-career training in meaningfully related jobs. All these would develop in the civil service the habit of studying a subject deeply, and grappling with the big though uncertain issues of public administration of long-term significance rather than small precise points of immediate interest, with broad national policies seen as a whole than the small crisis issues which arise from time to time.

The present system is an anachronism and the civil service has to be more professional, more adaptable to the new methods of planning and more creative fulfilling the new tasks of planning for modernization. But for ushering in the reform of the civil service on these lines, the present instrument of personnel management—the treasury—is singularly unsuited. For the treasury, personnel management is a mere by-product of its function of control over expenditure. No wonder, its establishment methods appear to be “negative and petty-fogging”. The idea that the service has any productive, positive or creative contribution to make to the nation's economy is by it, largely unrecognized. The Fabian authors suggest a radical organizational change in the agency of personnel management. They would entrust the Civil Service Commission with the responsibility in all questions of promotion, career planning and training. For these new tasks, the Civil Service Commission would naturally have to be reformed apart from being reinforced by the erstwhile treasury staff.

The diagnosis of the British Civil Service and the remedy prescribed

would, in the judgment of the present reviewer, hold good for the higher civil service in India today. Amateurism, negative approach, closed and secretive tendencies, would seem to be as much a hindrance to creative and positive administration in India as in England. In an article published in *Modern Review*, February-March, 1959, at the end of a survey of a decade of administration, the present reviewer has expressed his conviction that specialist administrators would be required for the tasks of India's planning and development. In an unpublished essay on "Training of Civil Service in a Developing Economy" submitted to the Indian Institute of Public Administration, he had recommended a reorganization

of training at the Indian Academy of Public Administration on the lines of the course at *Ecole Nationale D'Administration*. In reviewing the Fabian work on "The Administrators", the reviewer is all the more confirmed in his earlier convictions and would indeed commend the suggestions of the Fabian authors for the consideration of those in charge of administrative reform in India. To be sure, the scope of administrative reforms is wider than the reform of the senior civil service; but latter is of such key importance that its consequences are bound to have an impact on the entire administrative apparatus. It, therefore, deserves our first attention.

P. R. DUBHASHI

**RECENT TRENDS IN UNION FINANCE**—A Critique of the Budgeting Policy of the Government of India since 1935; By S. K. MUKHERJEE, Calcutta, Bookland, 1964, vi+514 p., Rs. 12.00.

As the title suggests, the study attempts to focus attention on the Budgetary Policy of the Government of India since the inauguration of the Provincial Autonomy. The rationale for choosing 1935 as the starting point is not made sufficiently clear. It may be an important milestone for federal—state financial relations; but, its relevance for the study of the budgeting policy is not quite convincing. Having chosen this point of time Shri Mukherjee has digressed at length into Union-State financial relations. One has the feeling that chapters III, IV and V are superfluous for the purposes of the present study. If there is a relationship that is not at all established.

In fact, the scope of the study is not made quite clear in the introductory chapter of the book. He begins by quoting the late Prime Minister that the budget should be viewed in the perspective of what the country has to

do and what it has to achieve, thereby indicating the relationship between the budgetary policy and the broad national objectives. He quickly amends this by saying that his study is meant to examine how the entire government machinery has been geared to achieve the objective of economic development for which the nation is pledged. This widens and restricts the scope of the study at the same time.

It throws the study wide open so as to embrace the whole gamut of public administration which is far more extensive than budgetary policy or even public finance and financial administration. Perhaps this has tempted him to ramble unnecessarily into a number of peripheral fields such as tax administration, budget classification, performance, budgeting, financial control etc., the treatment of which he could not do full justice.

At the same time, such an amendment has narrowed down the national objective to one single theme, namely, economic development. This has led to a confusion about objectives which pervades throughout the study. Shri Mukherjee does mention about budgetary policy aiming at achieving a balance among the various objectives of policy, *e.g.*, national security, social security, economic and social progress and political stability. He has also referred to the Directive Principles of State Policy which lay emphasis on social justice, prevention of concentration of wealth, etc., and has drawn our attention to the socialistic pattern of society which he is inclined to identify with a welfare society. He has underlined welfare principles such as "maximum Social advantage", and "maximum net aggregate welfare". He has even delineated certain economic objectives such as maximum economic well being, full employment, maximum rate of capital accumulation, greater equality of incomes, stability etc. towards which the budgetary policy could be directed. But he has neither attempted to evolve a formula which would strike a balance between these conflicting objectives nor to evaluate the budgetary policy in terms of the various objectives enunciated. Instead he has confined his evaluation to capital formation and development ignoring the adverse effects in other directions especially in income distribution. That is why he has tended to justify the regressive impact of commodity taxation and inflation in terms of a climate for saving and ability to save and invest. In effect, his study attempts to rationalize the budgetary policy of the Government of India.

Shri Mukherjee could have done better if he had analyzed the subject matter of his study in terms of tax revenue, non-tax revenue, current expenditure, investment outlay, net

increase in liabilities, cash balances etc., instead of his period analysis of public income, public expenditure and public debt policies. The result of his effort is an undue emphasis on tax policy neglecting other important elements of budgetary policy such as non-tax revenue and public investment. In fact, Shri Mukherjee could devote only one paragraph for "surplus from public undertakings".

The core of Shri Mukherjee's contribution consists of his analysis of the tax policy of the Government of India. Six Finance Ministers have had their hands in shaping this policy. The pre-partition budget of Liaquat Ali Khan has attempted to reduce inequalities of income through redistributive taxation in the form of reduced indirect taxes and increased direct taxes. But the subsequent Finance Ministers seem to have reversed this trend as part of their disinflationary and development efforts. In the immediate post-partition years combating inflation seems to have been the primary pre-occupation of Shri Shanmukham Chetty. He has sought to achieve this objective directly by reducing spendable income and indirectly by increasing investment and production. But soon in the disinflationary drive the emphasis shifted from the curtailment of demand to increase of supplies. Concessions to plough back profits were held out to instil confidence in the stagnant capital market.

But when John Mathai assumed office in 1949 he laid greater emphasis on economy on government expenditure and easing of the burden on the private sector. Relief in super and corporate taxes and liberal provisions for depreciation were designed to raise production, step-up investment and modernize machinery. Alongside such relief measures to the profit earning classes there was an increase

in indirect taxes whose overall impact was on the poorer sections of the community. Thus, tax policy before the Plan period was aiming at combating inflation either by restricting demand or by stimulating production. But since there was no co-ordination between fiscal and monetary policies the Government could not succeed in checking and inflationary pressures within the economy.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh attempted to design his budget of 1951 as an instrument of combating inflation and raising resources for planned economic development. He brought about a better co-ordination between fiscal policy and monetary policy, and replaced import duties on raw materials by excise duties on manufactures.

Following the advice of the Taxation Enquiry Commission the Second Plan aimed at tapping as much resources as possible for development. Both T. T. Krishnamachari and Morarji Desai were wedded to the policy of raising the proportion of taxes to national income. In 1957, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari enumera-

ted mobilization of additional resources, provision of incentives to saving, restraint on consumption and improved tax administration as the objectives of tax policy of the Government of India. Such a policy of widening and deepening of the tax base resulted in a double spin attack of indirect taxes and inflationary financing on the middle and poorer classes. Mr. Mukherjee feels that under the existing socio-economic order and the existing motivation pattern, indirect taxation is the only way to mobilize resources and preserve the incentives. However, he agrees that the large cultivators and traders offer an attractive tax potential. Shri Mukherjee is aware of the criticism that the Finance Ministers have neglected the adverse effects of indirect taxation on the incentives of workers in production. But his own feeling is that a vigorous pursuit of the present tax policy is the only way to mobilize the requisite resources for the plans without injuring the willingness and ability to save and invest. It is his belief that development benefits all sections of the Community.

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